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# CABALA:

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## MYSTERIES

OF

## State & Government:

IN

# LETTERS

Of illustrious Persons, and great Agents; in the Reigns of *Henry* the Eighth, Queen *Elizabeth*, K: *James*, and the late King *Charls*.

## IN TWO PARTS.

In which the Secrets of Empire, and Publique manage of Affairs are contained.

With many remarkable Passages no where else Published.

*LONDON*,
Printed for *G. Bedel*, and *T. Collins*, and are to be sold at their Shop at the Middle-Temple-gate in *Fleetstreet*, 1654

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

# Cabala,

# Mysteries of State,

IN

LETTERS of the great MINISTERS of K. *James* and K. *Charles.*

WHEREIN

Much of the publique Manage of Affaires is related.

*Faithfully Collected by a Noble Hand.*

*LONDON,*

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1654.

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# The Preface to the Reader.

*Here is published a Piece, not to be matched in* Antiquity; *a* Collection, *not so much of* Letters, *as of the mysteries of* Government, *the wisdom, and manage of Publick businesses in the late* Reigns, *where the great* Ministers *of* State *are presented naked, their* Consultations, Designs, Policies, *the things done by them, are exposed to every mans eye, as they were brought forth by themselves. The most famous of all* Modern Historians *glories in the helps and advantages he had above all men else to write;*



464354

Strada. *He came (so he tells us) prepared and furnished from the* Cabinets *of* Princes, *he had seriously perused, and sifted their* Letters *and* Orders; *the Letters of the Illustrious Persons imployed by them, the private* Commands, Dispatches, *and* Instructions *of* Embassies; Debates, *and* Resolutions *of* Councels, *without which all* History *must be lame and imperfect.*

*This was the way to make the causes of actions as visible as their effects, and without which all Diligence and Faithfulness else will do little. Much of the History of the last years of King* James, *and beginnings of King* Charles *may be here read. Here the height of the mighty Favourite the* Duke *of* Buckingham *may be taken; The Arts and Subtleties of* Spain, *of the* Conde Gondomar, *and the* English-Spanish *Party are discovered; the Journey into* Spain, *breach of the* Spanish, *overtures for the* French *Match, for the renning Leagues with the enemies of the*

Spanish

Spaniſh *Pride and Univerſality; the carriage of the* Imperialiſts, French, Netherlanders, *and other* Concurrents *of thoſe* Reigns, *are exactly Related : with the Practiſes of our home-*Roman Catholicks, *and growth of thoſe who were here called* Puritans *then; the Secrets of the* Court *and* State; *without any falſe gloſſe to writhe, or ſtreighten, to deprave or extenuate, with more truth and ſincerity, then all the* Annals *can ſhow; where* Paſſion *and* Intereſt *ſway oftentimes too much, and the cleaneſt hand makes blots and ſtains, carried away with* Love *or* Hatred, *to the* ſide *or* man. *Here are no* ſnares *ſet to catch or* inveagle *any mans judgment, all things are left clearly to their own worth and Reputation.*

A

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*Read the Letters according to the Order of this Table.*

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Earl

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# *E. of* Sommerset *to* K. James.

BY this Gentleman your Majesties Lieutenant, I understand of some halt you made, and the Cause of it, at such time as he offered to your Majestie my Letters. But soon after, your Majestie could resolve your self and behold me nothing so diffident of you, but in humble language petitioning your favour; for I am in hope, that my condition is not capable of so much more misery, as that I need to make my self a passage to you by such way of intercession. This which followes after, I offer your Majestie, though not as to your self, for upon lesse motive you can find favour for me: Now I need onely move, not plead, before your Majestie, as my Case doth stand, for what I seek to have done, followes upon what you have already done, as a Consequence and succeeding growth of your own act. But to the effect, that your Majestie may see that there is enough to answer those (if any such there be) as do go about to pervert the exercise of your Power, and to turn it from its own clear excellency, for to minister unto their passions: I have presumed to this end to awake your Majesties own Conceipt upon this subject, which can gather to it self better, and more able defences in my behalf upon this view; for though the acts of your mercy which are not communicable, nor the Causes of them with others, as derived from those secret motives, which are only sensible and privie to your own heart, and admit of no search or discovery to any general satisfaction, and that under this protection I might guard my particular sufficiently; yet my Case needs not hide it self, but attend the dispute with any,

that would put upon it a monstrous and heavy shape. For though that I must acknowledge, that both life and estate are forfeit to you by Law, yet so forfeited, as the same Law gives you the same power to preserve, as it doth to punish, whereby your Majesties higher prerogative doth not wrestle with it, nor do you infringe those grounds by which you have ever governed; so as the resistance is not great that your Majestie hath, for to give life, and which is lesse, in the gift of estate, for that the Law casts wholly upon your self, and yields it as fit matter for the exercise of your goodnesse. Once it was your Majesties guift to me, so it may be better not taken then a second time given; for it is common to all men for to avoid to take that which hath been once their own. And I may say farther, that Law hath not been so severe upon the ruine of innocent posterity, nor yet Cancelled, nor cut off the merits of Ancestors, before the politique hand of State had contrived it into those several forms, as fitted to their ends and government. To this I may adde, that that whereupon I was judged, even the Crime it self might have been none, if your Majesties hand had not once touched upon it, by which all accesse unto your favour was quite taken from me. Yet as it did at length appear, I fell, rather for want of well defending, then by the violence or force of any proofes: for I so far forsook my self, and my Cause, as that it may be a question whether I was more Condemned for that, or for the matter it self which was the subject of that dayes Controversie. Then thus far nothing hath appeared, wherein your Majestie hath extended for me your power beyond the reasonable bound, neither doth any thing stand so in the way of your future proceedings, but rather make easie the accesse of your Majesties favour to my relief.

What may then be the cause, that Malice can pitch upon, wherefore your Majestie should not proceed for to accomplish your own work? Aspersions are taken away by your Majesties letting me become subject to the utmost power of Law, with the lives of so many of the offendours, which yieldeth the world subject of sorrow rather then appetite to more bloud, but truth and innocency protect themselves in poor men, much more in Kings. Neither ever was there such aspersion (God knowes) in any possibility towards your Majestie, but amongst those who would create those pretences to mislead your Majestie, and thereby make me miserable. If not this (whereof the virtue, and use, was in the former time and now determined) there is not any but your pleasure. It is true, I am forfeited to your Majestie, but not against you by any treasonable or unfaithful

ful act. Beſides, there is to be yielded a diſtinction of men as in faults; in which I am of both under the neereſt degrees of exception; yet your Majeſtie hath pardoned life and eſtate to Traytors, and to ſtrangers, ſometimes the one, ſometimes the other; Nay to ſome concerned in this buſineſſe wherein I ſuffer, you have pardoned more unto, then I deſire; who as (it is reported) if they had come to the teſt, had proved Copper, and ſhould have drunk of the bitter Cup as well as others. But I do not by this envy your favours to any perſon, nor ſeek I to draw them in the yoak with my ſelf, but applaud your Majeſties goodneſſe, being in that reſpect in a neerer poſſibility to come at me. Beſides this, to *Elviſh* your Majeſtie hath given eſtate, which is a greater gift then life, becauſe it extends to poſterity, who was the worſt deſerver in this buſineſs; an unoffended inſtrument might have prevented all after-miſchief, who for his own ends ſuffered it, and by the like arts afterwards bewrayed it. To this I may adde *Treſham* in the Powder Treaſon, upon whoſe ſucceſſours I do not caſt any of his infamy, yet he preſerved himſelf to poſterity, ſo as what he, or others ſuch as he, have defrauded by the arts of Law, and whom their own unfaithfulneſſe made ſafe, I have much adoe to hold by ingenuity, and Confidence. How may it be, that becauſe I diſtruſted not your Majeſtie, or becauſe it returned in your power from whom I had it, it is in danger to be broken or diſmembred. Let me hope that there is nothing which by favour may be excuſed, or by induſtry might have been avoided, that will fail me, where your Majeſtie is to determine. It is not I who thus put your Majeſtie in mind importunely: It is he that was your Creature, it is *Sommerſet*, with all your honours, and envious greatneſſe, that is now in queſtion. Kings themſelves are protected from the breach of Law by being Favorites and Gods anointed, which gives your Majeſtie the like priviledge over yours; As I took from Dr. *Dunne* in his Sermon, that the goodneſſe of God is not ſo much acknowledged by us in being our Creator, as in being our Redeemer; nor in that he hath choſen us, as that nothing can take us out of his hands, which in your Majeſties remembrance let me challenge, and hope for: For the firſt acceſſes of favour, they may be aſcribed to ones own pleaſing themſelves, but that appears to be for our ſakes and for our good, when the ſame forſakes not our civil deſerts. This redemption I crave, not as to my own perſon, but with your benefits once given; nor do I aſſume them very deep, for I have voluntarily departed from the hopes of penſion, place, office; I only cleave to that which is ſo little, as that it will ſuffer no pairing, or diminution.

*m.* Sir *m. Elviſh.*

Sir *Lewis Treſham.*

Dr. *Dunne.*

And as in my former Letters, so by this I humbly crave of your Majestie not to let the practises of Court work upon your Son the Prince, not fearing your sufferance of my losse in that particular so much, (for I cannot lose it, but willingly all with it) as for to take off the Stage, that which in the attempt may prove inconvenient. And consider I pray your Majestie, that my hope in desiring to passe these bad times, was to be restored to my fortunes; others are made unhappy by me, if otherwise, and then I lose my end. I speak of impairing, of changing, or supplying, as of any other way, all such alterations, and ruine, are alike, without I be worthy of your gift, and that I can be worthy of all, that Law can permit you to give, or cast upon your Majestie by a more neerer title, as it doth by this; I shall account them equal evils, that leave nothing, or a patched and proportioned one, changed or translated from one thing to another.

But if your Majestie have any respects to move you to suspend your good towards me; let that which is mine rest in your own hands, till that you find all opposite humours conformed to your purpose. I have done wrong to my self, thus to entertain such a doubt of your Majesty; but the unrelenting of adversaries, which when you will have them, will sooner alter; and that all this while I have received nothing of present notice for direction, or to comfort me, from your Majesty, hath made me to expostulate with my self thus hardly. For God is my judge Sir, I can never be worthy to be; if I have these markes put upon me of a Traytor, as that tumbling and disordering of that estate would declare the divorce from your presence, laies too much upon me, and this would upon both.

I will say no farther, neither in that which your Majesty doubted my aptnesse to fall into, for my Cause, nor my Confidence is not in that distresse as for to use that mean of intercession, nor of any thing besides, but to remember your Majestie, that I am the Workmanship of your hands, and bear your stamp deeply imprinted in all the characters of favour; that I was the first plant ingrafted by your Majesties hand in this place, therefore not to be unrooted by the same hand, lest it should taint all the same kind, with the touch of that fatalnesse; And that I was even the Son of a Father, whose services are registred in the first honours and impressions I took of your Majesties favour, and laid there as a foundation stone of that building; These and your Majesties goodnesse for to receive

receive them, is that I rely upon. So praying for your Majesties prosperity, I am in all humblenesse

*Your Majesties loyal servant, and Creature,*

R. Sommersett.

---

## *The Lo. Chancelour* Bacon *to the Lords.*

*If it may please your Lordships,*

I shall humbly crave at your Lordships hands a benigne interpretation of that which I shall now write; for words that come from wasted spirits, and an oppressed mind, are more safe in being deposited in a noble Construction, then in being Circled with any reserved Caution. Having made this as a protection to all, which I shall say, I will go on, but with a very strange entrance (as may seem to your Lordships at the first) for in the midst of a state of as great affliction, as I think a mortal man can endure, (honour being above life) I shall begin with the professing gladnesse in some things.

The first is, that hereafter the greatnesse of a Judge or Magistrates, shall be no Sanctuary, or protection to him against guiltinesse, which in few words is the beginning of a golden world.

The next, that after this example, it is like that Judges will flie from any thing in the likenesse of Corruption (though it were at a great distance) as from a Serpent, which tendeth to the purging of the Courts of Justice, and reducing them to their true honour and splendour. And in these two points God is my witnesse (though it be my fortune to be the anvile upon which these good effects are beaten and wrought) I take no small comfort. But to passe from the motions of my heart, whereof God is onely Judge; to the merits of my Cause, whereof your Lordships are onely Judges, under God, and his Lievtenant; I do understand, there hath been expected from me heretofore some justification, and therefore I have chosen one onely justification instead of all others, out of the justification of *Job*, for after the clear submission and Confession, which I shall now make unto your Lordships, I hope I may say, and justifie with *Job* in these words, *I have not hid my sin as did Adam, nor concealed my faults in my bosome.* This is the only justification I will use. It resteth therefore

fore that without fig-leaves, I do ingenuously confesse and acknowledge, that having understood the particulars of the charge, not formally from the house, but enough to inform my Conscience and memory, I find matter both sufficient and full, to move me to desert the defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me. Neither will I trouble your Lordships by singling out particulars, which I think may fall off. *Quid te exempta juvat spinis de millibus una?* Neither will I prompt your Lordships to observe upon the proofes, where they come not home, or the scruples touching the Credit of the Witnesses: Neither will I present unto your Lordships, how far a defence might in divers things extenuate the offence, in respect of the time, or manner of the gift, or the like circumstances, but onely leave these things to spring out of your own noble thoughts, and observations of the evidence, and examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the particulars of the charge here and there, as God shall put in your minds, and so submit my self wholly to your piety and grace.

And now that I have spoken to your Lordships, as Judges, I shall say a few words unto you, as Peers, and Prelates, humbly commending my Cause to your noble Minds, and magnanimous affections.

Your Lordships are not onely Judges, but Parliamentary Judges, you have a farther extent of arbitrary power, then other Courts: and if you be not tied to the ordinary course of Courts, or presidents, in point of strictnesse and severity, much more in points of mercy and mitigation. And yet if any thing I should move might be contrary to your honourable and worthy ends to introduce a reformation, I should not seek it. But herein I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to tell you a story. *Titus Manlius* took his sons life for giving battail against the prohibition of his General. Not many years after the like severity was pursued by *Papirius Cursor* the Dictator against *Quintus Maximus*, who being upon the point to be sentenced, was by the intercession of some principal persons of the Senate spared; whereupon *Livie* maketh this grave and gracious observation, *Neque minus firmata est disciplina militaris periculo Quinti Maximi, quam mirabili supplicio Titi Manlii.* The discipline of War was no lesse established by the questioning onely of *Quintus Maximus*, then by the punishment of *Titus Manlius*. And the same reason is of the reformation of Justice; for the questioning of men of eminent place hath the same terrour, though not the same rigour with the punishment. But my Case stayeth not there, for my humble desire is, that his Majestie would take the Seal into his hands,

which

which is a great downfal, and may serve I hope in it self for an expiation of my faults.

Therefore if mercy and mitigation be in your Lordships power, and do no wayes crosse your ends, why should I not hope of your favours and Commiserations? Your Lordships may be pleased to behold your chief Pattern the King our Soveraign, a King of incomparable Clemencie, and whose heart is instructable for wisdom and goodnesse. You well remember, that there sate not these hundred years before in your House a Prince (and never such a Prince) whose presence deserveth to be made memorable by records, and acts, mixt of mercy and justice. Your selves are either Nobles (and Compassion ever beateth in the veins of noble bloud,) or Reverend Prelates, who are the servants of him, that would *not break the bruised reed, nor quench smoaking flaxe.*

You all sit upon a high Stage, and therefore cannot but be more sensible of the changes of humane Condition, and of the fall of any from high places. Neither will your Lordships forget that there are *vitia temporis*, as well as *vitia hominis*, and that the beginning of reformation, hath a contrary power to the pool of *Bethesda*; for that had strength onely to cure him, that was first cast in, and this hath strength to hurt him onely, that is first Cast in; and for my part, I wish it may stay there, and go no further.

Lastly, I assure my self, your Lordships have a noble feeling of me, as a member of your own body; and one, that in this very Session, had some taste of your loving affection, which I hope was not a lightning before the death of them, but rather a spark of that grace which now in the Conclusion will more appear. And therefore my humble suit to your Lordships is, that my voluntary Confession be my sentence, and the losse of the Seal my punishment, and that your Lordships will spare any farther sentence, but recommend me to his Majesties grace and pardon for all that is past. And so, &c.

Your Lordships, &c.

*Francis St. Alban Canc.*

Five

## Five Letters more of my Lord *Bacons.*

### *Bacon to the King*, July 31. 1617.

Lord Keeper *Bacon* to his Majestie.

I Dare not presume any more to reply upon your Majestie, but reserve my Defence till I attend your Majestie at your happy return, when I hope verily to approve my self not onely a true servant to your Majestie, but a true friend to my Lord of *Buckingham*, and for the times also I hope to give your Majestie a good account, though distance of place may obscure them. But there is one part of your Majesties Letter, that I could be sorry to take time to answer; which is that your Majestie conceives, that whereas I wrote, That the height of my Lords Fortune might make him secure; I mean that he was turned proud, or unknowing of himself. Surely the opinion I have ever had of my Lord (whereof your Majestie is best witnesse) is far from that: But my meaning was plain and simple; that his Lordship might through his great fortune, be the lesse apt to Cast, and foresee, the unfaithfulnesse of friends, and the malignity of enemies, and accidents of times. Which is a judgment (your Majestie knoweth better then I) that the best Authors make of the best, and best tempered spirits, *Ut sunt res humanæ*; Insomuch as *Guicciardine* maketh the same judgment (not of a particular person) but of the wisest state of *Europe*, the Senate of *Venice*, when he sayeth their prosperity had made them secure, and under-weighers of perils. Therefore I beseech your Majesty, to deliver me, in this, from any the least imputation to my dear and Noble Lord and friend. And so expecting, that that Sun, which when it went from us, left us cold weather, and now it is returned towards us, hath brought with it a blessed harvest, will when it cometh to us dispel and disperse all mists, and mistakings.

I am, &c.

*Lord*

# Lord Chancellour to his Majestie,

## 2. *Jan.* 1618.

*It may please your most excellent Majestie,*

I Do many times with gladnesse, and for a remedy of my other labours, revolve in my mind the great happinesse which God (of his singular goodnesse) hath accumulated upon your Majesty every way, and how Compleat the same would be, if the state of your meanes were once rectified, and well ordered, your people militarie, and obedient, fit for war, used to peace, your Church illightened with good Preachers, as an heaven of Stars, your Judges learned, and learning from you, just, and just by your example, your Nobility in a right distance between Crown and People, no oppressors of the people, no overshadowers of the Crown, your Councel full of tributes of Care, faith, and freedom, your Gentlemen, and Justices of Peace, willing to apply your Royal Mandates to the nature of their several Counties, but ready to obey, your servants in awe of your wisdome, in hope of your goodnesse; The fields growing every day by the improvement and recovery of grounds, from the desert, to the garden; The City grown from wood to brick, your Sea-walls or *Pomerium* of your Island surveyed, and in edifying; your Merchants imbracing the whole compasse of the World, East, West, North, and South; The times give you Peace, and yet offer you opportunities of action abroad: And lastly, your excellent Royal Issue entayleth these blessings and favours of God, to descend to all posterity. It resteth therefore, that God having done so great things for your Majestie, and you for others; You would do so much for your self as to go through (according to your good beginnings) with the rectifying and settling of your estate and means, which onely is wanting. *Hoc rebus defuit unum.* I therefore whom onely love, and duty to your Majestie, and your royal line, hath made a *Financier*, do intend to present unto your Majestie a perfect book of your estate, like a perspective glasse to draw your estate neer to your sight; beseeching your Majestie to conceive, that if I have not attained to do that, that I would do in this which is not proper for me, nor in my element, I shall make your Majestie amends in some other thing in which I am better bred.

*God ever preserve, &c.*

## *The Lord Chancellour to the Marqueſſe of* Buckingham, 25. March, 1620.

*My very good Lord,*

YEſterday I know was no day; Now I hope I ſhall hear from your Lordſhip, who are my anchor in theſe flouds. Mean while to eaſe my heart, I have written to his Majeſtie the incloſed, which I pray your Lordſhip to read adviſedly, and to deliver it, or not to deliver it, as you think Good. God ever proſper your Lordſhip.

*Yours ever What I am*

*Fr. St. Alban. Canc.*

## *The Lord Chancellour to the King.* March 25. 1620.

*It may pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſtie,*

TIme hath been, when I have brought unto you *Gemitum Columbæ* from others, now I bring it from my ſelf. I flie unto your Majeſtie with the wings of a Dove, which once within theſe ſeven daies, I thought would have carrried me a higher flight. When I enter into my ſelf, I find not the materials of ſuch a tempeſt as is come upon me. I have been, as your Majeſtie knoweth beſt (never authour of any immoderate Counſel, but alwaies deſired to have things carried *ſuavibus modis*. I have been no avaritious oppreſſor of the people. I have been no haughty, or intolerable, or hateful man in my converſation, or carriage. I have inherited no hatred from my father, but am a good Patriot born. Whence ſhould this be? for theſe are the things that uſe to raiſe diſlikes abroad.

For the houſe of Commons, I began my Credit there, and now it muſt be the place of the Sepulture thereof. And yet this Parliament upon the Meſſage touching Religion, the old love revived, and they ſaid I was the ſame man ſtill, onely honeſty was turned into honour.

For the Upper Houſe, even within theſe daies, before theſe troubles, they ſeemed as to take me into their arms, finding in me ingenuity,

nuity, which they took to be the true streight line of nobleneſſe without Crooks or angles.

And for the briberies and guifts wherewith I am charged; when the books of hearts ſhall be opened, I hope I ſhall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert Juſtice, howſoever I may be frail, and partake of the abuſes of the Times.

And therefore I am reſolved, when I come to my anſwer, not to trick my innocency (as I writ to the Lords) by Cavillations, or voidances, but to ſpeak to them the language, that my heart ſpeaketh to me, in excuſing, extenuating, or ingenuous confeſſing; praying God to give me the grace to ſee to the bottom of my faults, and that no hardneſſe of heart do ſteal upon me, under ſhew of more neatneſſe of Conſcience, then is Cauſe.

But not to trouble your Majeſtie any longer, craving pardon for this long mourning Letter; that which I thirſt after, as the Hart after the ſtreams, is, that I may know by my matchleſſe friend that preſenteth to you this letter, your Majeſties heart (which is an *abyſſus* of goodneſſe, as I am an *abyſſus* of mercy) towards me. I have been ever your man, and counted my ſelf but as an uſufructuary of my ſelf, the property being yours. And now making my ſelf an oblation to do with me as may beſt conduce to the honour of your Juſtice, the honour of your Mercy, and the uſe of your Service, reſting as

Clay in your Majeſties gracious hands,

*Fr. St. Alban. Canc.*

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## Magdibeg *to his Majeſtie.*

*May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſtie,*

I Make bold after a long ſilence, to proſtrate my ſelf before your Majeſtie, and being the Ambaſſadour of a great King, that counteth it an honour to ſtile himſelf your friend, I do beſeech you to afford me that juſtice, which I am ſure you will not refuſe to the meaneſt of your Subjects.

At my firſt arrival into this your happy Kingdome, I was informed by the general relation of all that had recourſe unto me, that one here (who had the title of Ambaſſadour from my Maſter) did

vainly brag that he had married the King of *Persia's* Neece, which kindled in me such a vehement desire to vindicate my Masters honor, from so unworthy and false a report, that at my first interview with him, my hand being guided by my dutie, I endeavoured to fasten upon him a Condigne disgrace to such an imposture. But the caution that I ought to have of my own justification, when I return home, biddeth me the more strictly to examine the truth of that which was told me (whereon my action with Sir *Robert Shirley* was grounded) and to have it averred in the particulars, as well as by a general voice. Therefore I humbly beseech your Majestie, that out of your Princely goodnesse you will be pleased to give such order, that this point may be fully cleared. Wherein for the manner of proceeding, I wholly and humbly remit my self to your Majestie: And this being done, I shall return home with some measure of joy to ballance the grief which I have, for having done ought, that may have clouded your Majesties favour to me. And so committing your Majestie to the protection of the greatest God, whose shadowes, and elect instruments, Kings are on earth, I humbly take my leave, and rest, &c.

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*The Copy of a Letter written by his Majestie to the Lord Keeper, the Bishops of* London, Wynton, Rochester, St. Davids, *and* Exceter, Sir Henry Hubbert, Mr. Justice Dodderidge, Sir Henry Martin, *and* Dr. Steward, *or any six of them, whereof the Lord Keeper, the Bishops of* London, Wynton, *and* St. Davids *to be four.*

IT is not unknown unto you, what happened the last Summer to our trusty and welbeloved Councellour, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who shooting at a Deer with a Crossebowe in *Bramzil* Park, did with that shoot, casually give the Keeper a wound, whereof he dyed. Which accident (though it might have happened to any other man) yet because his eminent rank and function in the Church hath (as we are informed) ministred occasion of some doubt, as making the Cause different in his person, in respect of the scandal (as is supposed,) we being desirous (as it is fit we should) to be satisfied therein, and reposing especial trust in your learnings, and judgments, have made choice of you to inform Us concerning the nature of this Cause, and do therefore require you to take presently into your Considerations, the Scandal that may arise thereupon, and to certifie Us



what

what in your Judgements the same may amount unto, either to an irregularity, or otherwise. And lastly, what means may be found for the redresse thereof (if need be) of all which points, we shall expect to have your Reports, with what diligence and expedition you may. Dated at *Theobalds*, Octob. 3d. 1621.

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## *The Archbishop of* York *to King* James.

*May it please your Majestie,*

I Have been too long silent, and am afraid that by silence, I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majestie to place me in. But now I humbly beseech, that I may discharge my Conscience towards God, and my dutie towards your Majestie. And therefore I beseech you Sir, to give me leave freely to deliver my self, and then let it please your Majestie to do with me as you please.

Your Majestie hath propounded a Toleration of Religion, I beseech you to take into your Consideration, what your Act is, and what the Consequence may be. By your act, you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore of *Babylon*. How hateful will it be to God, and grievous to your Subjects (the true professours of the Gospel) that your Majestie who hath often defended, and learnedly written against those wicked heresies, should now shew your self a Patron of those doctrines which your Pen hath told the world, and your Conscience tells your self are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable: Also what you have done in sending the Prince without Consent of your Councel, and the privitie and approbation of your People: For although Sir, you have a large interest in the Prince, as the Son of your flesh, yet have your People a greater as the Son of the Kingdom, upon whom (next after your Majestie) are their eyes fixed, and their Welfare defends. And so slenderly is his going apprehended, that believe Sir, how ever his return may be safe, yet the drawers of him unto that action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdome, will not passe away unquestioned, and unpunished.

Besides, this Tolleration you endeavour to set up by your Proclamation, it cannot be done without a Parliament, unlesse your Majestie will let your Subjects see, that you now take unto your self a libertie to throw down the Lawes of the Land at your pleasure. What dread-

ful

ful Consequence these things may draw after, I beseech your Majestie to Consider.

And above all, lest by this Tolleration, and discountenance of the true profession of the Gospel (wherewith God hath blessed us) and under which this Kingdome hath flourished these many years) your Majestie doth draw upon the Kingdom in general, and your self in particular, Gods heavy wrath and indignation.

Thus in discharge of my dutie to your Majestie, and the place of my Calling, I have taken the humble boldnesse to deliver my Conscience. And now Sir, Do with me what you please.

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Next of all, in order, follow the Letters that passed between the King and his Agents, about the *Spanish* Transactions.

The first Letter written, *per anonymum*, brings newes of the Princes arrival.

## *The Copy of a Letter sent from* Spain, *concerning the Princes arrival there*, &c.

I Presume his Highnesse being now returned, you may by Conference have such choice, and free relations of his proceedings in *Spain*, that I may well hold my Pen, (it being not priviledged with that freedom that the tongue is) yet to comply with that constant obligation I purpose still to owe you, I will write something, and point at some passages, where others perhaps may not so punctually inform you.

The Prince's coming hither seemed not so strange, as acceptable, and pleasing unto all. The Common sort expressed it by extraordinary shouts, and acclamations of joy, offering, and marrying the *Infanta* (as it were) presently, by publique voice, as having wonne and truly deserved her, by so brave an adventure. The King and State studied how to do him all the honour that might be: The first decree that the Councel of State made, was, that at all occasions of meetings, he should have the precedencie of the King. That he should make entrie into the Palace in the form of State, as the Kings of *Spain* do in the first day of their Coronation. That he should have one of the chief Quarters of the Kings House for his lodgings, one hundred of the Guard to attend him, all the Councel to obey him, as the Kings own person. All prisoners were released, the new

Proclamation

Proclamation against excesse in apparel revoked, and sundry other arguments of joy. But a wonder lasteth not but for nine daies.

This universal joy was grounded upon hopes, that the Prince came not onely to fetch a wife, but also to make himself a *Catholique*. The Pope incited him hereunto by Letters, which his Nuntio delivered. He sent a charge to the inquisitor general, to use all possible diligence herein. Many processions, and shewes were made to stirre him. But they soon saw how *improbable* it was to win him, how amongst all his servants there was not one Catholique about him: what slight esteem they made of the Churches, and Religion here; some committing irreverent, and scandalous actions in the Kings own Chappel, so that they began to behold the English with an ill aspect, to inveigh against the *Conde de Gundomar*, that he should inform the King and State, that the Prince had a disposition easie to be wrought upon to be made a Catholique. Adde hereunto the ill offices that the *Irish* do, who to preserve themselves in the *Spanish* pension did prejudice the business, by casting aspersions upon the *English*, the mis-information of the persecution in their Country, and in *England* notwithstanding being here, and the abuse of the Ambassadours servants in *London*.

*Say you so?*

*For which God be thanked.*

When the Prince came, there wanted nothing for the final consummation of all things but the dispensation, which came two moneths after. And whereas it was expected to come absolute, and full; it came infringed with Cautions and limitations, *viz.* That the *Infanta* should not be married till matters in *England* were in perfect execution; that in case the King of *England* could not give sufficient security, the King of *Spain* himself should swear, and undertake the oath for him. Hereupon a *Junto* of Divines was appointed to determine hereof, Whether the King might do this with a safe Conscience or no. These Divines went gravely and tediously to work; which put the Prince upon that impatiency, that he was upon point of departure. When at last the business came to a resolution, and so the Match was publiquely declared. The Prince had then often (though publiquely) accesse to the *Infanta*, the King being still himself present, and in hearing. After this a Ratification was sent for from *Rome*, but the Pope dying in the interim, and the new Pope falling suddenly sick, it could not be speedily procured. For want of this Ratification there was no Contract made, and the Prince himself seemed not to desire it. A little before his departure, the King and the Councel of State, with the Patriarch of the *Indies*, the Prince-Prelate, after the Bishop of *Toledo*, (who is under age) swore to all the Capitulations, so that the Prince seemed to depart well satisfied.

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The King brought him to the *Escurial*, and a little before his departure, the King and he went into a close Coach, and had a large discourse together, (my Lord of *Bristol* being in another Coach hard by to interpret some hard words, when he was called.) And so they parted with many tender demonstrations of love. A Trophy of Marble is erected in the place where they parted. Many rich Presents were given on both sides. The Prince bestowed upon the Queen the biggest Crown Pearl in the world between two Diamonds. He gave the *Infanta* a rope of Pearl, and an anchor of great Diamonds, with many other Jewels. He hath been very bountiful to every one of the Kings house, and all the Guard. Never Prince parted with such an universal love of all. He left every mouth filled with his Commendations; every one reporting him to be a truly Noble, discreet, and well deserving Prince. I write what I hear, and know, and that without passion, for all he is the Prince of my Countrey.

My Lord of *Buckingham* at first, was much esteemed, but it lasted little; his *French* garb, with his stout hastinesse in negotiating, and over-familiarity with the Prince, was not liked. Moreover, the Councel of *Spain* took it ill, that a green head, should come with such a superintendent power to treat of an affair of such Consequence, among so many grave Ministers of State, to the prejudice of so able and well-deserving a Minister as my Lord of *Bristol*, who laid the first stone of this building. Hereupon his power was called in question, and found imperfect in regard it was not confirmed by the Councel. Thus the businesse began to gather ill bloud between *Olivarez*, and him, and grew so far out of square, that unlesse there had been good heads to peece them together again, all might have fallen quite off the hinges. He did not take his leave of the Countesse of *Olivarez*, and the farewel he took of the *Conde* himself was harsh; for he told him, he would be an everlasting servant to the King of *Spain*, the Queen, and the Infanta, and would endeavour to do the best offices he could, for the concluding of this businesse, and strengthening the amity between the two Kingdomes; but for himself, he had so far disobliged him, that he could make no profession of friendship to him at all. The *Conde* turned about, and said he accepted of what he had spoken, and so parted.

Since his Highnesse departure, my Lord of *Bristol* negotiates closely, he is daily at the Palace to attend the *Infanta*, and he treats by means of the Countesse of *Olivarez*.

There is a new *Junto* appointed for the disposing of the Infanta's affairs,

affairs, and we hope here, that all things will be ripe against the next Spring to bring her over. And so I rest, &c.

*From* Madrid. 30. Septemb. 1623.

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## *His Majesties to the Earl of* Bristol, Jan. 21. 1625.

WEE have read your Letter addressed to us by *Buckingham*, and We cannot but wonder that you should through forgetfulnesse make such a request to us of favour, as if you stood evenly capable of it, when you know what your behaviour in *Spain* deserved of Us, which you are to examine by the observations We made, and know you will remember, how at our first coming into Spain, taking upon you to be so wise as to foresee our intentions to change our Religion, you were so far from disswading us, that you offered your service, and secresie to concur in it, and in many other open Conferences pressing to shew how convenient it was for us to be a *Roman Catholique*, it being impossible in your opinion, to do any great action otherwise; how much wrong, disadvantage, and disservice you did to the Treaty, and to the right and interest of our dear Brother, and Sister, and their Children; what disadvantage, inconvenience, and hazard you intangled us in by your artifices, putting off, and delaying our return home. The great estimation you made of that State, and the vile price you set this Kingdome at, still maintaining, that we under colour of friendship to *Spain*, did what was in our power against them, which (you said) they knew very well. And last of all, your approving of those Conditions, that our Nephew should be brought up in the Emperours Court, to which Sir *Walter Aston* then said, he durst not give his Consent for fear of his head; you replying to him, that without some such great action, neither marriage nor peace could be had, &c.

## *Lord* Conway *to the Earl of* Briſtol.

March 21. 1625.

*My Lord,*

I Received a Letter from your Lordſhip dated the 4th of this month, written in anſwer to a former, which I directed to your Lordſhip by his Majeſties Commandment. This laſt Letter (according to my duty) I have ſhewed unto his Majeſtie; who hath peruſed it, and hath commanded me to write back this unto you again. That he finds himſelf nothing ſatisfied therewith; the queſtion propounded to your Lordſhip from his Majeſtie was plain and clear, Whether you did rather chooſe to ſit ſtill without being queſtion'd for any errours paſt in your negotiation in Spain, and enjoy the benefit of the late gratious pardon granted in Parliament, whereof you may have the benefit; or whether for the clearing of your innocency (whereof your ſelf, your friends, and your followers are ſo confident) you will be contented to wave the advantage of that pardon, and put your ſelf into a legal way of examination for the tryal thereof? His Majeſties purpoſe hereby is not to prevent you of any favours the Law hath given: but if your aſſurance be ſuch as your words and letter import, he conceiveth it ſtands not with that publique and reſolute profeſſion of your integrity, to decline your tryal. His Majeſtie leaves the choyce to your ſelf, and requires from you a direct anſwer, without Circumlocution, or bargaining with him for future favours before hand.

But if you have a deſire to make uſe of that pardon which cannot be denyed to you, nor is it any way deſired to be taken from you; His Majeſtie expects, that you ſhould at leaſt forbear to magnifie your ſervice, and out of the opinion of your own innocency caſt an aſperſion upon his Majeſties Juſtice, in not affording you that preſent fulneſſe of liberty and favour which cannot be drawn from him, but in his own good time, and according to his own good pleaſure. Thus much I have in command to write unto your Lordſhip, and to require your anſwer cleerly and plainly by this Meſſenger ſent on purpoſe for it. And ſo, &c.

*The*

*My Lord,*

I Received your Letter of the 25. of *February*, and therein a Commandment from his Majestie, and in his Majesties name to make a cleer and plain answer, Whether I desire or rest in the security I am now in, and to acknowledge the gratious favour of his late Majestie, and of his which now is, who have been pleased not to question my actions, &c. Hereunto I have laboured exactly to obey, but find that a plain and clear answer cannot possibly be made, untill there be a cleer understanding of the thing propounded; so that I may crave pardon if my answer be not so cleer as I could wish it: for I must freely acknowledge, that I no way understand what is meant by the security I am now in, whether it be by the present estate I am now in, or not: If it be so, I conceive a man cannot be under a harder Condition; for your Lordship knoweth, that by order my person is restrained, and you were pleased lately to send me word, that you would not advise me to make use of the liberty which his late Majestie had given me of coming to *London*, although that were onely to follow my private affairs, and for the recovery of my decayed health. I stand likewise prohibited to come to the Court, or to the Kings presence, (I passe by my being removed from all my places, and offices, and wholly depending upon his Majesties royal pleasure.) But being a Peer of this Realm, I have not onely by Commandment, been formerly stayed from the Parliament, but of late, my writ hath been detained, as though my honour were forfeited. And this is truly the Condition I am now in, but I cannot imagine that this is the security intended I should rest in; but am in hope, that the security intended is, that I may for the future enjoy the liberty of a free Subject, and the priviledges of a Peer of the Kingdom. Which being so, I shall with all humility acknowledge his Majesties grace and favour, and be ready to serve him with all fidelity even to the laying down of my life, not thinking it to stand with the duty of a Subject to presse his being questioned, since such being the pleasure of his Soveraign, it were not in the power of any subject to avoid it. But in case his Majestie shall be pleased to bring me to any legal tryal, I shall most willingly and dutifully submit my self thereunto, and doubt not but my innocency in the end will be my best Mediatour for his Majesties future favour. And in that Case I am a suitor that my Writ of Parliament as a Peer of this Realm may be sent unto me, and that my present re-

pair to *London* may not diſpleaſe his Majeſtie; As for the pardon of the 21. *Reg. Jacobi*, which you mention, I ſhould renounce, but that I know that the juſteſt and moſt cautious man living, may through ignorance or omiſſion offend the Lawes, ſo that as a Subject I ſhall not diſclaim any benefit which cometh in the general as it doth uſually to all other Subjects in the Kingdom: But as for any Crime in particular, that may trench upon my imployments in point of Loyalty, fidelity, or want of affection to the King or State, I know my innocency to be ſuch, that I am confident I ſhall not need that pardon. I ſhall conclude with a moſt humble ſuit unto your Lordſhip, that out of your nobleneſſe, and that friendſhip that hath been betwixt us, you will uſe your beſt endeavours both with his Majeſtie and the Duke, that this unfortunate buſineſſe may be paſt over, by the renewing whereof I can ſee little uſe that can be made but the adding to a mans misfortunes already ſufficiently humbled; For I am ready to do all that a man of honour and honeſtie may do; but rather then to do any thing that may be prejudicial to me in that kind, to ſuffer whatſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend. And ſo with the remembrance of my humble ſervice unto your Lordſhip, I recommend you unto Gods holy protection, And reſt

*Sherborn* Lodge, &c.

*Your Lordſhips humble ſervant,*

Briſtol.

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Here next follow the Letters of my Lord of *Briſtol* concerning the buſineſſe of the Match.

*The E. of* Briſtol *to the Lord Biſhop of* Lincoln, Aug. 20. 1623.

*My very Worthy Lord,*

I Give you many thanks for your Letter of the 23d. of *July*, by which I underſtand your great care of me, by ſeconding a former motion it pleaſed your Lordſhip to make, of having me reconciled to my Lord Dukes favour, (A thing which I have infinitely deſired) and have eſteemed the good offices you have been pleaſed to do therein, as a very high obligation your Lordſhip puts upon me. But I conceive your Lordſhip will find that any motion you have made in that kind

kind unto his Grace hath been deſpiſed, rather then received with any thankfulneſſe, or that he hath returned you any anſwer of his inclination thereunto. For the truth is, my Lord doth look down upon my poor Condition with that ſcorn and contempt, that I conjecture the very moving of any ſuch thing, eſpecially under the term of reconciliation, hath not been pleaſing unto his Lordſhip. But thereof your Lordſhip can make the beſt judgment by the anſwer you received from him. I do but gueſſe thereat, by what I have heard he hath been pleaſed to ſay, and the manner wherewith he hath uſed me. Which hath been ſuch, that the *Spaniards* themſelves (which moſt afflicted me) have out of compaſſion pitied me. Yet I may with much truth aſſure your Lordſhip, that I have not omitted towards him either any reſpect or ſervice that was fit for me to perform, either towards his perſon, or the high place he holdeth in my Maſters favour, or unto his preſent imployment; well knowing how undecent and ſcandalous a thing it is for the Miniſters of a Prince to run different wayes in a ſtrange Court, but have attended him in all his publique audience, and uſed in all kinds that reſpect and obſervance towards him, that I think malice her ſelf cannot charge me with an omiſſion. And my Lord, this is the truth, whatſoever may be ſaid or written to the contrary: It is true, that ſome four moneths ſince in a buſineſſe that no leſſe concerned his Majeſtie and the Prince's ſervice, then abruptly to have broken off all our Treaty, I was far differing from my Lords opinion; And thereupon happened betwixt us ſome diſpute in debate of the buſineſſe, but without any thing that was perſonal, and there was no creature living at it but the Prince, to whoſe Cenſure I ſhall willingly refer my ſelf. In me I proteſt it unto your Lordſhip, it made no alteration, but within half an hour I came to him with the ſame reverence and reſpect that I was wont to do, the which I have continued ever ſince, ſo that I have much wondered how it cometh to be ſo much ſpoken of in *England*, that my Lord Duke and my ſelf ſhould live here at too much diſtance. And I cannot find any other reaſon for it, but that every body hath taken ſo much notice of my ill, and contemptible uſage, that they think it unpoſſible for any Gentleman, but to be ſenſible of it. But if any one diſreſpect, or omiſſion from me towards my Lord Duke can be truly inſtanced in by any man, I will be contented to incur his Majeſties high diſpleaſure, and your Lordſhips Cenſure.

For the preſent Newes here, it is, that the ninth of this Moneth, the Prince intendeth (God willing) to begin his journey for *England*. And the day before, I conceive the Contract will be. The *Infanta* is

to follow in the Spring, and the Prince hath commanded my ſtay here. I know not how things may be reconciled here before my Lord Dukes departure, but at preſent, they are in all extremity ill, betwixt this King, and his Miniſters, and the Duke, and they ſtick not to profeſſe, that they will rather put the *Infanta* headlong into a Well, then into his hands. I write unto your Lordſhip you ſee with much freeneſſe, and I intreat you let it remain with you. And ſo in much haſte I onely intreat your Lordſhip to believe, that you have not living an honeſter, nor a true hearteder a friend, and ſervant, then

Your Lordſhips ever to be commanded,

*Briſtol.*

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## *The E. of* Briſtol *to the Lord Biſhop of* Lincoln, 24. of Septemb. 1623.

*My ſingular Lord,*

I Have diſpatched this Bearer my ſervant *Greiſlie* with the draught of the temporal Articles, which I hope will be to the King and Prince his ſatisfaction, and he will let your Lordſhip have a ſight of them.

Since the departure of the Prince, there have every day paſſed Letters of extraordinary affection between the King, and the Prince; and the love that is here generally born unto the Prince is ſuch, as cannot be well believed by thoſe that daily hear not, what paſſeth both from the King and his chief Miniſters. And to ſay the truth, his Highneſſe hath well deſerved it; for in the whole time of his being here, he hath carried himſelf with the greateſt affability, patience, and conſtancie, and at his departure with the greateſt bountie, and liberality, that I think hath been known in any Prince in our times. And I proteſt unto your Lordſhip as a Chriſtian, that I never heard in all the time of his being here, nor ſince any one exception taken againſt him, unleſſe it were for being ſuppoſed to be too much guided by my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, who is indeed very little beholding to the *Spaniards* for their good opinion of him, and departed from hence with ſo little ſatisfaction, that the *Spaniards* are in doubt, that he will endeavour all that ſhall be poſſible to croſſe the Marriage: Wherein certainly they are very much miſtaken; For my

Lord

Lord cannot but be obliged a servant for any particular distastes of his own to crosse the advancement of his Majestie, and the Prince's service, especially in a businesse of so high Consequence as this.

It may be your Lordship will hear many Complaints, and that the Match never was, nor yet is intended; I beseech your Lordship to give little belief in that kind, and the effects will now speedily declare the truth, if the fault be not on our side. It is true that the *Spaniards* have committed many errours in their proceedings with the Prince; but the businesse is now by the Prince overcome, if we our selves draw not back: For which I confesse I should be heartily sorry, and so I conceive would most honest men; for if this match, and the alliance with *Spain* hath been so long desired by his Majestie, and that for it he hath been pleased to do so much, and the Prince to take so hazardous a voyage, if all the same reasons are yet on foot, which have ever moved the King and Prince to wish the match; if to this may be added, that his Majestie hath overcome all the difficulties on his part, and that both he, and the Prince do stand ingaged for the performance of it, as far as Princes can be, God forbid, that any particular distastes, or misunderstandings (which God knoweth have little relation to the businesse) should be of power to disturb it, especially now, when the Match is past all danger of miscarrying, the portion, and all temporal Articles settled, and I hope to the Kings Content, and all other good effects that could be expected by this allyance in a very fair way, I hope there will be no cause of doubt in this kind; if there should be, I am sure that your Lordship would put to a helping hand to keep the businesse from being overthrown, since you have done so much for the overcoming of former difficulties, and the bringing it to the passe 'tis now in. If there be no cause of writing this, I beseech your Lordship to impute it to my zeal to the businesse, and my freenesse with your Lordship, upon whose true love and friendship I so much rely, as I shall not forbear to tell you, any of my fears. I hope within 3. daies Sir *Francis Cottington* will be able to begin his journey towards your Lordship. He will tell you many truths, being on my knowledge, as hearty a servant and friend as 'tis possible for your Lordship to have. He hath told me how much I am bound to your Lordship for your love, and favour, and truly I will deserve it the best I can, and that I think will be onely by loving you, for otherwise I conceive I am like to have little means of meriting at any bodies hands, yet at your Lordships it may be I may, by being a man of honesty, and honour; And such an one I will labour

bour to be, and your affectionate friend and ſervant. And ſo I kiſſe your Lordſhips hands.

*Madrid*, &c.

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## *The E. of* Briſtols *Letter to the Prince, touching the delivery of his Proxie to the King of* Spain.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſſe,*

IN this Letter I ſhall onely ſpeak unto your Highneſſe concerning that particular whereof you were pleaſed to write unto me after your departure from St. *Lorenzo*, and have preſumed to ſet down exactly the caſe as it ſtands. In what ſort a woman betrothed, and *poſt Matrimonium ratum*, may before the Conſummation of marriage betake her ſelf unto a religious life; I have likewiſe ſet down unto your Highneſſe all ſorts of ſecurity, that may be taken before the betrothing for the preventing of any ſuch courſe in the parties, that are to be betrothed. To this your Highneſſe may adde any other you can think of, for that the King, and his Siſter, and all the Miniſters profeſſe ſo really the punctual and preſent performance of all that is capitulated with your Highneſſe; That they will refuſe no kind of ſecurity, that in reaſon can be demanded in this behalf: ſo that your Highneſſe may ſet down, whatſoever you think this King and his Siſter may do with decencie, and honour, and they will be ready to perform it.

I muſt now crave leave to ſpeak unto your Highneſſe like a faithful plain ſervant, which is, if your Highneſſe pleaſure be to have uſe made of the Powers you have left in my hands; I no way doubt, but in this particular ſuch ſatisfaction will be given, as will appear reaſonable to all the world. But if your Highneſſe deſire, that theſe Powers ſhould not be uſed, they may be detained upon other juſt reaſons which will ariſe in the treatie of the temporal articles. And I doubt not but the *Depoſorio's* may be deferred for ſome few daies upon other fair pretexts. But theſe inconveniencies I conceive will follow. Firſt it will be of great diſcomfort to the *Infanta*, who until the *Depoſorio's* are paſt, is not her own woman, but muſt be governed by the pleaſure of the *Junto*, which I think ſhe is very wearie of, neither till then may ſhe declare her ſelf to be yours, nor Comply with your

your Higheſſe in anſwering of your Letters, and Meſſages, and giving you thoſe reſpects, and Comforts, which I know ſhe would be glad to do. But if ſhe ſhould any way judge, that the delay of the *Depoſorios* ſhould ariſe from your Highnes part, I conceive ſhe would take it moſt heavily. Secondly, it will certainly raiſe great jealouſies in this King, and his Miniſters, and retard the reſolutions, that are fit to be taken with ſpeed for the putting in execution that which is capitulated. I therefore offer it unto your Highnes wiſdom, whether upon the ſatisfaction, which they will give in this particular, which will be whatſoever you can deſire; and upon the agreement of the temporal articles your Highneſſe would upon the coming of the Popes approbation make any farther ſcruple in the delivering of your Highneſſe powers; If I ſhall, I am confident they will not preſſe it, as not decent for the womans part to urge the haſting of the Marriage. But I conceive it will caſt ſuch a cloud of Jealouſie and diſtruſt upon the buſineſſe, that beſides the diſcontent and affliction, which I know it will give the Infanta (which moſt worketh upon me,) it will ſo diſorder the buſineſſe, that it will make a ſtand in your whole proceedings, and preparations, wherein they now go on chearfully, and confidently, and I conceive will punctually perform all that they have capitulated with your Highneſſe. I dare not ſo much as give my ſelf leave once to queſtion your Highneſſe intentions of proceeding to the real effecting of the match, which makes me deſirous that all things may be executed, that may any way retard or diſturb it. Only I ſhall like a faithful poor ſervant preſume to ſay thus much to your Highneſſe; That for divers years paſt, I know the King your father, and your ſelf, have held this the fitteſt Match in the World, and by a deſire of effecting it, your Highneſſe was induced to undertake that hazardous journey of coming to this Court in perſon. In the time of your being here, (admitting that their proceedings have been in many things unworthy of you.) And that divers diſtaſtes have grown by intervenient accidents; Now things are reduced to thoſe terms, that the Match it ſelf is ſure, the portion, and the temporal Articles ſettled (I hope to the Kings liking and yours) And all other good effects that could be hoped for by this alliance, are in a fair way. If to theſe reaſons may be added, That on his Majeſtie and your Highneſſe part, you have already paſſed by, and overcome the main difficulties; and your Highneſſe by your journey hath ſatisfied your ſelf of the perſon of the *Infanta*, God forbid, that either any perſonal diſtaſtes of Miniſters, or any indiſcreet, or paſſionate carriage of buſineſſes ſhould hazard that, which his Majeſtie and your

Highnesse have done so much to obtain, and whereby doubtlesse so much good, and peace is to accrew to Christendom by the effecting of it; and contrariwise so much trouble and mischief by the miscarrying of it. Besides the individual happinesse of your Highnesse in such a Wife, which the World supposeth you infinitely esteem for her person. And for her Birth and Portion is no where to be matched; And questionlesse for her vertue, and settled affection to your Highnesse deserveth you better then any woman in the World. I humbly crave pardon for writing unto your Highnesse in this manner, which I hope your Highnesse well enough knowes, neither the benefits I have received from *Spain*, nor their grateful usage of me upon occasions (nor I protest unto your Highnesse any other earthly respect) moveth me unto it, but the zeal, and love I bear to your service, for which I shall ever undervalue any thing, that may concern my self. And therefore I shall conclude by intreating your Highnesse, that if you would have things go well, that a Post may instantly be dispatched back unto me, authorizing me to deliver the said power upon the arrival of the dispensation, and having taken fitting securitie in this particular point. And this I earnestly beseech your Highnesse may be done with all possible speed and secresie; and that the *Spanish* Ambassadours may not know that ever there was any suspension made of the delivery of the powers. In the interim I will find means if the dispensation come for 20, or 24 daies to alledge some other fair pretexts for the deferring of the *Depositorios*; But herein I desire I may know your Highnesse resolution with all possible speed, &c. And so with, &c.

*Bristol.*

*Madrid.*

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## *The E. of* Bristol *to the Prince his Highnesse,*
Septemb. 24. 1623.

WHen your Highnesse shall remember, that your Highnesse being here in person, it was not possible in lesse then a moneth, to get that dispatcht which you were promised Mr. Secretary *Cottington* should have carried with him, if your Highnesse would have but stayed him 24 hours; I hope you will pardon your servants although they sometimes mistake in the time, which they limit for the procuring of the dispatch of businesse, especially if they depend upon

upon the dispatches, that are to be procured from them. I have these 10. daies had *Greisly* in a readinesse to depart, having every day expected a resolution from the *Junto*. First in point of the portion, and since in the daies of payment, and at last I have received their answer in them both, in such sort as your Highnesse will see in the paper inclosed, which is an extract of the heads of the temporal Articles that we have agreed, although I have onely consented unto them *de bene esse*, until I shall receive his Majesties approbation and yours: In the point of the portion, I have had a tough and a knotty piece of work, by reason that not onely the *Conde de Olivarez*, but all the *Junto* were absolutely ignorant of what had passed in the late Kings time, which I foresaw, and that was the cause that I moved so earnestly at the *Escurial*, to have the *Conde de Gondomar* remain here. They made many presidents to be searched, and found that the *two millions* demanded was four times as much as ever was given with any daughter of *Spain* in money. They alledged that it would be said, that the King of *Spain* was fain to purchase the friendship and alliance of *England*; that this would be such a president, as that Spain hereafter must marrie no more daughters. I onely insisted that it was a thing, by the last King settled, and agreed with me, that this King had by several answers in writing to me undertaken to pursue the businesse as it was left by his father, and to make good whatsoever he had promised. And thereupon desired that the original Papers, and *Consultos* of the last King might be seen, which very honestly by the Secretary *Cirica* were produced, and appeared to be such, that I dare say, there was not a man that saw them, that doubteth of the last Kings real intention of making the Match. And questionlesse this had been the usefullest occasion to have disavowed former proceedings, and I was resolved to put them to it. But both the King and his Councel upon the sight of what had been promised by his father, presently took resolution to make good the two millions, onely to remonstrate unto his Majestie the vastnesse of the Portion, and to desire him to consider how far the King had stretched himself in this particular for his satisfaction. And therefore, that he would have Consideration of it in such things for the future, as might be treated of betwixt them, and their Kingdoms. As for the daies of payment, I insisted to have had half a million upon the *Desposorios*, half a million to be carried along with the *Infanta*, and the other million at their Fleets the two next years after by equal portions. But I have now received the Kings answer in this particular, which your Highnesse will see in the enclosed paper; as likewise what I have done

therein by the Copie of the diſpatch, which I now write about it to Mr. Secretary. So not having any thing more to add concerning this particular, I recommend your highneſſe to Gods holy protection, &c.

*Madrid.*

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## *The E of* Briſtol *to the Duke of* Buckingham, Decemb. 6. 1623.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

THe preſent eſtate of the Kings affairs requireth the concurrencie of all his ſervants, and the Co-operation of all his Miniſters, which maketh me deſirous to make unto your Grace this tender of my ſervice, that if there have happened any errours, or misunderſtandings your Grace would for that regard paſſe them over: and for any thing that may perſonally concern my particular, I ſhall labour to give you that ſatisfaction as may deſerve your friendſhip. And if that ſhall not ſerve the turn, I ſhall not be found unarmed with patience againſt any thing that can happen unto me. And ſo wiſhing, that this humble offer of my ſervice may find that acceptation as I humbly deſire, I reſt

Your Graces moſt humble
*Madrid.* ſervant,

*Briſtol.*

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## *The E. of* Briſtol *to Secretary* Cottington, Apr. 15, 1623.

*Good Mr. Secretary* Cottington,

THere is no man living knoweth better then your ſelf, how zealous I have been unto the Prince's ſervice, and whileſt I thought he deſired the Match, I was for it againſt all the World. Now the Treatie is ended, the world ſhall ſee I never had, nor will have any affections of my own, but will wholly follow my Maſters, as I have written

unto

unto you in my former Letters, and have not theſe four moneths ſpoken a word in the marriage. If his Majeſtie and the Prince will have a war, I will ſpend my life and fortunes in it, without ſo much as replying in what quarrel ſoever it be. And of thus much I intreat you let his Highneſſe be informed by you. And I intreat you let me know his directions, what he will have me do, and how to behave my ſelf, for I abſolutely caſt my ſelf at his feet, which I deſire to do the firſt thing after my landing, to the end that underſtanding his pleaſure, I may commit no errour. I beſeech you to diſpatch this bearer back unto me withal poſſible ſpeed, though it be with not one word more, but what the Prince will have me do, wherewith I ſhall come *muy Conſolado.* I underſtand that I have been much bound to the Prince for the procuring the 4000 l. to be payed, and for my Penſion.

I pray preſent unto him my moſt humble thanks: and I confeſſe I have been much more comforted with that demonſtration of his favour, then I can be with the money. I doubt not but at this time I ſhall have the effects of a real friendſhip from you in this particular. And ſo deſiring to have my ſervice remembred to my Lady *Cottington*, I reſt

*Poitiers.* Yours, &c.

*Briſtol.*

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*Poſtſcript.*

I Pray move the Prince, that one of the Kings Ships may be preſently appointed to waft me over; For I have a great charge of of the Princes with me.

*W. Greiſly* met me within 10. poſts of *Burdeaux*, and is paſſed on to *Madrid*, I think he ſhall find the *Blandones* for his Highneſſe in a readineſſe, for Mr. *Stone* taketh care of them, and hath the money in his hand.

*The*

*May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſtie,*

I Hope your Majeſtie will not be diſpleaſed that I continue unto you that moſt humble and juſt ſuit, which I have often made unto your Majeſtie, and your Majeſtie hath been often gratiouſly pleaſed to promiſe, which was that I ſhould be no waies leſſened, or diminiſhed in your Majeſties favour, and good opinion, until you ſhould be firſt pleaſed gratiouſly to hear me, and my Cauſe. And although your Majeſtie for juſt reſpects, hath not been pleaſed hitherto to admit me into your preſence, which I eſteem an infinite misfortune to me: Yet I hope that time will no way confirm thoſe impreſſions of diſpleaſure, which I do no way doubt, but will be fully cleared, whenſoever I ſhall be ſo happy as by your Majeſtie to be heard. For I take God to record, that I have faithfully and honeſtly ſerved you, and exactly purſued your ends to the beſt of my underſtanding, and abilities. And I do no way doubt but your Majeſtie will in the end protect ſo faithful a ſervant as I have been, and ſhall appear to be to your Majeſtie. And in the interim my moſt humble ſuit unto your Majeſtie is, that ſince I am neither admitted my ſelf, nor any man elſe will ſpeak any word in my defence, or juſtification, your Majeſtie according to your Juſtice, will let nothing that may be ſaid of me redound to my prejudice in your gracious opinion: For it ſhall be found, that I will in all things wholly conform my ſelf unto your Majeſties will and pleaſure. So wiſhing unto your Majeſtie a happy journey, and a ſafe return with the increaſe of all hapineſſe. I humbly, &c.

Your Majeſties, &c.

*London.*

*Briſtol.*

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Here next of all follow divers Diſpatches and Letters from Sir *Walter Aſton* to the Duke.

## *Sir* Walter Aſton *to the Duke.*

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

I Have received ſo much comfort by the care which I ſee in your grace to take all occaſions to honour, and favour me, that I ſhould be

be glad (if it were poſſible) in my affection to your perſon, and in my deſire to ſerve you, that your grace might ſee ſomething in me above what you cold find in any other ſervant. What an honeſt thankfulneſſe can be, I am, and what an honeſt ſervant can yield you, ſhall be ever vigilant in me to ſerve you. Since the departure of the laſt poſt (by whom I wrote lately unto your Grace) my Lord of *Briſtol* hath had audience with this King (taking me along with him) to whom his Lordſhip repreſented the King our Maſters deſire concerning the Palatinate in conformity to what his Majeſty hath commanded by his late letters, we are now ſoliciting to haſten this kings anſwer, which we hope we ſhall ſhortly ſend unto his Majeſty, and there is no diligence omitted by my Lord of Briſtol, nor my ſelf (that we can think on) to negotiate ſuch an anſwer, as may be to his majeſties good liking. The Diſpatches from *Rome* are not yet come, but by letters which they have lately received from the Duke of *Paſtrana*; it is advertized, that all things are concluded, and that he would ſend them away within a few dayes. By my Lord of *Briſtols* Letter to his Majeſty, your grace will underſtand the reſolution, which his Lordſhip hath taken concerning his proceedings upon the arival of of the diſpaches from Rome: his Lordſhips hath communicated with me his Majeſties Letter, and deſired my opinion concerning the reſolution, which he had taken, wherein I have concurred with his Lordſhip, not underſtanding it any way to be differing in ſubſtance from his Majeſties directions; the altering of the day mentioned in his Majeſties letters being onely the changing it from a time when the powers are of no force, to a time when they may be of uſe: the putting of any thing in execution in the one time, or in the other, depending upon his Majeſties, and his Highneſſes further directions. I have hitherto underſtood, that his Majeſty and his highneſſe have really affected this match, and have laboured faithfully to ſecond their deſires with my utmoſt endeavours. There is none I am ſure a better witneſſe then my ſelf of the affection which your Grace hath born unto it, which I have ſeen remain conſtant through many tryals. And therefore until I underſtand the contrary from your ſelf, I muſt believe that your deſires are the ſame, which I have ſeen them. I muſt ever ſpeak my heart freely unto your Grace, and confeſs that upon the letter which I received from his Highneſſe, and upon the ſight of his Majeſties to my Lord of *Briſtol*, I have been jealous of his Majeſties heart and his Highneſſe, that they are not that to the match which they have been; but theſe are but diſtruſts of my own, and not foundation ſufficient to ſlacken or cool thoſe diligences which I daily perform

form in conformity to his Majeſties, and his Highneſſe Commands, and to what remains apparent of their deſires. I ſhall therefore humbly deſire your Lordſhip to open mine eyes, and if I am out of the way to ſet me ſtraight, for I have no affections of mine own, but what agrees with my Maſters, and will ever ſubmit with all humility my ſelf, and my judgment unto his Majeſties wiſedome, and faithfully labour to ſerve him accordingly to what I ſhall underſtand to be his will and pleaſure. But untill I know by your Graces favour by what Compaſſe to guide my Courſe, I can onely follow his Majeſties revealed will; and will once take the boldneſſe to repreſent unto your Grace in diſcharge of what I owe you theſe Conſiderations, which my deſire to ſerve you, forceth from me. I do look upon your Grace as a perſon infinitely provoked to be an enemy to this match, and believe, that you have had repreſented unto you many reaſons, ſhewing how much it concerns you to ſeek to break it, with all the force you have: But I can neither believe, that the errour of one man can make you an enemy to that, which brings along with it ſo much happineſſe and content unto his Majeſtie, and his Highneſſe: nor that your Graces judgment can be led by thoſe arguments, that under the colour of ſafety, would bring you into a dangerous labyrinth. Your Grace hath given noble teſtimonie, how little you have valued your own ſafety in reſpect of his Majeſties ſervice, and therefore I aſſure my ſelf you would contemn all Conſiderations concerning your ſelf, that might hinder the advancement of his Majeſties ends. In the proceeding to this Match, there is the ſame conveniency to his Majeſtie, that ever hath been, there is the ſame Lady, the ſame portion, the ſame friendſhip deſired, they profeſſing here an exact complying with what is capitulated, and a reſolution to give his Majeſtie ſatisfaction in whatſoever is in their power. From your Grace none can take away the honour of having been the principal means by which this great buſineſſe hath been brought to a Concluſion. And whatſoever others may ſuggeſt againſt your Grace, the *Infanta* truly informed, cannot but underſtand you the perſon to whom ſhe owes moſt in this buſineſſe. Your Grace, and the *Conde Olivarez*, have fallen upon different waies, that which concerns the honour of the King our Maſter, being different to that, which he underſtood concerned moſt his Maſter, your ends were both one for the effecting of the Match, and with the Concluſion of it, he cannot but better underſtand you. Would your Grace would commit it to my charge to inform the *Infanta* what you have merited, and to accommodate all other miſtakes here concerning the proceeding. If

your

your Grace would reconcile your heart, I would not doubt, but with the Concluſion of the Match to compoſe all things to your good ſatisfaction, and to bring them to a truer underſtanding of you, and of their obligation unto you. In what a Sea of Confuſions the breaking of this alliance would ingage his Majeſtie, I will leave to your Lordſhips wiſdom to conſider of, it being too large a diſcourſe for a Letter.

I will therefore onely deſire your Lordſhip to conſider, that even the moſt proſperous War hath misfortune enough in it to make the Authour of it unhappie: of which how innocent ſoever your Lordſhip is, the occaſions that have been given you, will ever make you liable to the aſperſion of it. This I write not unto your Grace as thinking to divert you from what you are falling into; for I am confident your heart runs a more peaceable way: but I am willing, that you ſhould ſee, that howſoever others ſhould be inclined to carrie you into this tempeſt, it concerns you, in your care of their happineſſe, and your own, to divert them from it. I humbly deſire your Grace to pardon this errour of mine (if it be one) which I can excuſe with the affection, and infinite deſire, which I have to ſee you ever happie and flouriſh.

Concerning my ſelf, your Grace knowes my wants, and I doubt not but your Care is what I could wiſh. I ſhould be glad when you have done with *Peter Wych* to ſee him diſpatched away with ſome ſupplies unto me, which I ſhall be in extream want of by *Chriſtmaſſe*, my debts beſides in *England* being clamorous upon me for ſome ſatisfaction. I leave all to your Graces care and favour, Ever reſting

*Your Graces humbleſt and moſt bound ſervant,*

Wa: Aſton.

*Poſtſcript.*

THe *Condeſſa* of *Olivarez* bids me tell you, that ſhe kiſſes your Graces hands, and doth every day recommend you particularly by name in her prayers to God.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

MY Lord of *Briſtol* intended to have diſpatched away a Poſt unto his Majeſtie this night with the advice of the arrival of the diſpenſation, which came to this Town the 12th. of this moneth, hoping that he ſhould have been likewiſe able to have given to his Majeſtie, and his Highneſſe a clear account of all things concerning it. But the deliverie of the Queen this morning (who is brought to bed of a daughter) hath ſtopped all negotiation, and I believe it will be theſe two daies before he can be ready to ſend him away. There is no noveltie (as I yet underſtand) that is come with the diſpenſation; there will be ſomething deſired for better explanation of his Majeſties, and his Highneſſe intentions, and ſome omiſſions there are which as they underſtand was his Highneſſe intention ſhould have been in the Capitulation, they being promiſed by his Highneſſe. But I do not find that theſe will be any ſtop to the buſineſſe. For they do preſſe my Lord of *Briſtol* very much to proceed preſently to the *Depoſorios*. Your Grace ſhall underſtand all things more particularly by the next Poſt. I do now make the more haſte, forbearing to trouble you with other occurrences, leſt my Letters come ſhort of the departure of the Poſt, as they did of his who was laſt diſpatched from hence.

I do moſt humbly deſire your Grace to continue the doing me thoſe offices that may continue me in his Majeſties and his Highneſſe good opinion, and I doubt not but I ſhall be ever able to let your Grace ſee that you have not a more faithful ſervant, then he which your Grace hath moſt bound to be ſo, and that ſhall ever remain

*Yours, &c.*

W. A.

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## *The Lord Duke of* Buckingham *to* Sir Walter Aſton.

IN your Letter of the 5th. of December, you deſire me to give you my opinion, my ancient acquaintance, long cuſtome of loving you, with conſtancie of friendſhip invites me to do you this office of good will, and to ſerve you according to your requeſt. And for your more

more intire ſatisfaction, I will deliver the things in the paſt and preſent. You in all the beginning of the treaty won to your ſelf a good eſtimation, while you were onely at large in the treaty, and had communication of the paſſages from the Lord of *Briſtol*, as by courteſy: and in his abſence handled no farther in the treaty of marriage then by direction from him. When the *Prince* was there, your carriage gave his Highneſſe and my ſelf all ſatisfaction. Now you muſt give me leave to put you in mind of the freedom uſed with you whileſt we were at *Madrid*, and of the explanation, the *Prince* made of himſelf to you by his Letters from *St. Anderas*. From which you might obſerve, the reſentment the *Prince* had of their proceedings with him. And by his Highneſſe declaration to you from thence, you might ſee both his care and reſolution not to ingage himſelf into the marriage without good conditions for the Pallatinate, and Conſervation of his honour every way. My care and my intentions were to move increaſe of honour to you, and to recompence by a good underſtanding to be layed in his Majeſtie towards you, which I purſued ſo ſoon, as I came to the Kings preſence. And the *Princes* confidence was ſo great in you, as he joyned you in the Commiſſion, beſides he declared himſelf to you by his Letters, not leaving you thereby to gueſſe at his Majeſties directions to the E. of *Briſtol*, which he was to communicate to you. Now you may think how ſtrange it was to the *Prince*, and how much I was troubled (not being able to make your excuſe) when your joynt Letters made known, how you had concurred with the *Earle* of *Briſtol*, to ingage his Highneſſe by prefixing a day for the *Depoſorios*, without making certain the reſtitution of the *Palatinate* and Electoral dignity, the portion and temporal articles. Which proceeding of yours with the Earl of *Briſtol* was ſo underſtood by the Lords of the Committee, as they took reſolution once, to adviſe his Majeſtie to revoke both the Lord of *Briſtol*, and you, upon thoſe grounds, which you will underſtand by his Majeſties own Letters, and Secretarie *Conwayes* Letters written to you with this diſpatch. I was not able at firſt by any endeavour to oppoſe the reſolution of your revocation, ſo far had you caſt your ſelf into miſconſtruction, and given ſtop to the progreſſe of your own advancement. But with conſtant induſtry and time, I have won this point, of qualifying all ill opinion of you, and ſufferance of your continuing there. So as it will be now in your power (by your Carriage) to come off without reproof. And I ſhall hope to overcome the reſt with time, to to bring you again to the condition of honour and recompence. Being confident that ſince you ſee your own errour, and acknowledge it,

you will be careful by a ſtiff and judicious carriage to warrant all your preſent aud ſucceding actions. If you think at firſt ſight I preſſe you a little hard upon this point, you may be pleaſed to interpret it to be a faithful way of ſatisfying your requeſt, and expreſſion of my affection to have you to do all things ſuitable to your wiſdome virtue and honour, and according to the wiſhes of

Yours, &c.

*G. Buckingham.*

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## *The Duke of* Buckingham *to Sir* Wa. Aſton.

I Had not leiſure in my former diſpatch, being haſtie to write the reaſon why I wondered at, the errour you commited in the laſt diſpatch of my Lord of *Briſtols* and yours; for the matter is, that his Majeſtie having plainely written unto you both in his former diſpatch, that he deſired to be aſſured of the reſtitution of the Palatinate, before the *Depoſorium* was made, ſeeing he would be ſorrie to welcome home one Daughter with a ſmiling cheer, and leave his own onely Daughter at the ſame time weeping and diſconſolate. And the *Prince* having alſo written unto you, that he never meant to match there, and be fruſtrated of the reſtitution of the Palatinate ſo often promiſed, that notwithſtanding this clear Language, you ſhould have joyned with my Lord of *Briſtol* in a reſolution of ſo haſtie a delivery of the Prince's *Proxie*, before you had received his Majeſties anſwer to your former diſpatch, wherein my Lord of *Briſtol* urged of his Majeſtie a harſh anſwer and direction, and his Majeſtie cannot but take it for a kind of Scorn, that within 4. dayes after ye had urged his Majeſties anſwer, ye ſhould in the mean time take reſolutions of your own heads. You may do well, becauſe there is no leiſure in this haſtie diſpatch for his Majeſtie to anſwer my Lord of *Briſtols* laſt Letter (which wil be done by the next duplicate of this ſame diſpatch) to acquaint him in the mean time with this Letter, which his Majeſtie himſelf hath dictated unto me. And ſo in haſte I bid you farewell.

Yours, &c.

*G. B.*

Sir

## *Sir* Walter Aſton *to the Duke of* Buckingham, Decemb. 22. 1623.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

I Have comitted to the truſt and ſecreſie of this bearer Mr. *Clark* (whom I find your Graces faithful ſervant) certain advertiſements to be delivered by him unto you; which as one that ſhall (God willing) in all things ſhew himſelf your paſſionate ſervant, I could no way conceale from you. And howſoever your Grace may have many advertiſements from hence (the relations that come from England giving occaſion to many diſcourſes cenſuring the Prince, and your Grace) yet I hope to be ſo vigilant, that there ſhall hardly be any reſolution taken by theſe Miniſters which may have any reflexion on your Perſon, that I ſhall not one way or other get notice of, and advertize unto you.

I have in all things with ſo much affection deſired to ſerve your Grace every way to your ſatisfaction, that it hath infinitely afflicted me, that I ſhould have done any thing, whereby I might leſſen your favourable opinions towards me, but I hope your Grace hath by this time ſet me ſtraight both with his Majeſtie, and his Highneſſe, and reſtored me to the ſame place in your affection, which I have formerly had. Which I am the rather confident of, ſince I cannot accuſe any action, or thought of mine, that hath not born towards your Grace all poſſible reſpect and love. I found by experience here, that the favour which by your Graces meanes I received from his Highneſſe, and that which you were pleaſed likewiſe to honour me withal, had raiſed me many enemies; And I have reaſon to feare upon this occaſion, there may be ſome, that well be buſie to do me ill offices with you; but I truſt ſo much upon my own ſinceritie, that as I never made any ſecond meanes unto your Grace, but have ever ſingly depended upon the conſtancie of your goodneſſe to me, finding my ſelf the ſame that I have ever been, I make no meanes to reſiſt ſuch injuries as others may offer to do me, but continue depending wholly upon that goodneſſe, and juſtneſſe, which I know in your Grace, and which I aſſure my ſelf will never fail me. I have not been ſo careleſſe a Servant of your Graces, as not to have debated over, and over with my ſelf, how far the proceedings or breaking of the preſent treaty here might concern your Grace, which I have diſcourſed largely to Mr. *Clark*, thinking them of too large a body to be contained in a Letter, but I ſhall in all things ſubmit my ſelf to your better wiſedome; And when you ſhall pleaſe to impart unto me,

me, wherein his Majestie, and his Highnesse shall be best served, your Grace shall find in all my actions, that my affections with all obedience shal run the same way, and that my proceedings, shall have those respects in them towards your Grace, as you may expect from your faithful Servant. And so, &c.

Your G. &c.

*W. A.*

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## *The Copy of a Memorial given to the King of* Spain, 19. Jan. 1623. *Stil. Vet.* Translated.

*SIR,*

SIR *Walter Aston* Embassadour of the King of great *Brittain* saith, That the King his Master hath commanded him to represent unto your Majestie, that having received so many promises from hence to procure the intire restitution of the *Palatinate*, and Electoral dignitie to the Prince his Son in Law, He commanded his Embassadour to presse your Majestie with all diligence, that the said promises might take effect, not as a condition of the marriage, but desiring infinitely to see settled together with the marriage, the peace and quiet of his Son in Law, his Daughter, and Grandchildren; and having understood that this his desire hath received an interpretation far differing from his intention, hath commanded him anew for the greater demonstration of the desire which he hath to preserve the good Correspondence with your Majestie, to declare unto you, that he hath not propounded the said restitutions as a condition of the marriage, but according to that which he understood was most Conformable with the intention of your Majestie, declared by the *Conde de Olivarez* for the surest, and most effectual means to make the amitie, which is betwixt your Majesties firm and indissoluble, and that there might not remain any doubt or matter hereafter, that should cause dispute, he hath required that every thing might be settled under your Majesties hand, desiring it likewise for the greater comfort of his onely Daughter, and for to make the coming of that most excellent Princesse of more esteem unto his Subjects, bringing with her (besides the glory of her own vertue, and worth) the securitie of a perpetual peace, and amitie, and an everlasting pawn to his Kingdomes of the constancie, and real performance of your Majesties promises, with

with ſuch ſatisfactio to his hopes grounded the ſaid promiſes, not as a Condition, but as the fruit and bleſſing of the alliance. Moreover he ſaith, That the King his Maſter hath commanded him to make this Declaration unto your Majeſtie, that you may know the truth and the ſound intentions of his proceedings, with the good end to which it aimes, having renewed the powers, and deferred the delivery of them onely to give time for the accompliſhing, and ſettling that which hath been promiſed for the ſatisfying his expectations, and aſſuring the amitie betwixt your Majeſties Perſons, and Crowns; the King his Maſter hoping that your Majeſtie will likewiſe lay hold of this occaſion, which you now have in your hand to give him full ſatisfaction in that, which with ſo much reaſon he deſires, and therewithal a reciprocal, and everlaſting bleſſing to both your Majeſties Crownes.

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## *Sir* Walter Aſton *to the* Duke, 22. *of Jan.* 1623. Stil. Vet.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

HOwſoever upon the arrival of Mr. *Greiſley*, I took the occaſion of the ordinary, the day following to acknowledge unto your Grace the Comfort which I had received by your Letters; underſtanding by them the favour which you had done me, in diverting from me his Majeſties, and his Highneſſe diſpleaſure: I ſhall notwithſtanding intreat here leave by the ſame means by which I received ſo much happineſſe to renue my humble, and moſt thankful acknowledgment unto your Grace. I moſt earneſtly intreat your Grace to look upon me here as a ſervant that loves you in his heart, and that ſhall faithfully in all things Comply with what you can expect from ſuch an one, and that therefore you will be pleaſed to preſerve me ſtill in the way, how I may ſerve his Majeſtie, and his Highneſſe to their Content, and perform towards your Grace thoſe offices of a ſervant, which may be moſt to your ſatisfaction. For I am now here in a dangerous time, in the greateſt buſineſſes, that have been treated of many years, and the bittereſt ſtorms threatening betwixt theſe Crowns, that have been theſe many ages. I have therefore no hope to ſave my ſelf without I be guided by his Highneſſe, and your Graces truſts and care of me.

The Marqueſſe of *Ynoiſa* hath lately advertiſed hither, That he hath

hath ſeveral times deſired to have private audience with his Majeſtie, and hath not been able to procure any but what your Grace aſſiſts at. It is likewiſe advertiſed unto this King and his Miniſters, that your Grace hath many meetings with the Sea Captains, and that your Counſels are how the War is to be made againſt *Spain*. For the avoiding of unneceſſarie repetitions, I do here incloſed ſend your Grace a Copie of my Letter to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, wherein you will find a relation of all things that are come to my hands at this preſent, that may any way have reflection unto his Majeſties ſervice. And this is the courſe which I intend, and conceive moſt convenient to hold hereafter with your Grace, without you command me the contrary. In the ſaid Copie your Grace will find a diſcourſe of what hath lately paſſed betwixt my Lord of *Briſtol*, and the *Conde* of *Olivarez* in the *Pardo*. Now that I may more fully diſcharge my dutie, I have thought fit here to acquaint your Grace, that ſince the putting off of the *Depoſorios* at a meeting that my Lord and my ſelf had with the *Conde*, he did make a ſolemn proteſtation, that if the Treatie of the Match did ever come on again with effect, it ſhould onely be by his Lordſhips hands, and no other. I then underſtood it, and ſtill do, but for a frothy proteſtation, yet have held it my dutie to advertize it, having paſſed in my hearing; the truth is, that my Lords anſwer was in Conformitie to his laſt in the *Pardo*, every way rejecting it, ſaying, That he had rather be confined to any Town in *Afrique*, then that his perſon ſhould be any hinderance to the Match. Thus forbearing to trouble your Grace any farther, with my hearty prayers unto God for the continuance of his bleſſings unto you. I reſt

*Your Graces, &c.*

W. A.

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*Sir* Walter Aſton *to Secretary* Conway, 22. Jan. 1623.

*Right Honourable,*

BY the return of this Bearer Mr. *Greiſley*, you will underſtand of the ſafe coming to my hands of your diſpatch of the 30th. of the laſt moneth, with his Majeſties Letters therein incloſed. I do now herewithal ſend an account unto his Majeſtie of my proceedings upon his Commands, which I do intreat your Honour to be pleaſed

to

to present unto him. As also farther to acquaint his Majestie, that I have already spoken with divers of these Ministers, and given them such a declaration of his Majesties good intentions in the pressing at this season for the restitutions of the *Palatinate*, and Electoral dignity unto the Prince his Son in Law, as I have order to do by the said Letter, but do find they are here so possessed with the ill relations they receive out of *England*, that I with much difficultie can scarce give them any kind of satisfaction. I have acquainted the *Conde Olivarez* with the answer, which your honour, and Mr. Secretarie *Calvert* had received from their Embassadours touching their audiences, the *Conde* himself having formerly acquainted me with their Complaint. His answer now was, That he understood they had acknowledged unto your Honours to have received from his Majestie in that point all kind of satisfaction, but that after you were gone the Marquesse of *Ynoisa* wrote a Letter to Secretarie *Calvert*, telling him, that he did not well remember himself, of what had passed at his being there, but had since called to mind, that he had procured some audiences with the Prince with much difficultie. To which I answered the *Conde*, That it seemed the Marquesse was very light of his advertisements, to give such informations as might breed ill understandings betwixt Princes, and esteem them of no more Consequence, then to forget what he had advertised with so much ease. Concerning that malitious report here raised of the Prince's treating a marriage in *France*. I desire your Honour to let his Majestie know, that it is advertised hither out of *England* as a thing so certain, that there is not a Minister of State (excepting the *Conde* of *Gondomar*) that hath not given some credit unto it. I have therefore according to his Majesties directions given such declarations touching the author and believers of it, as your Honour in his Majesties name hath commanded me. I have likewise received by Mr. *Greisly* your Letter of the 31. of the last: In answer of which, all that I shall need to say here unto your Honour is, that my Lord of *Bristol* hath received your former Letter, acquainting him with his Majesties pleasure concerning the same businesse, from whom his Majestie will receive an account thereof. This is all that I have to say to your Honour at this present touching those particulars mentioned in your Letter; I shall now here further acquaint you with such advertisements, as I conceive may any waies have reference unto his Majesties service. My Lord of *Bristol*, and my self repairing some few daies since unto the *Pardo*, having conference with the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, his Lordship acquainted the *Conde* with the Letters of revocation, which he had received

from his Majeſtie, and withal deſired that he would procure him licence to take his leave of the King. The *Conde* answered his Lordſhip, That he had much to ſay unto him by order from his Majeſtie, the ſubſtance of his ſpeech was; That they had received large advertiſements out of *England*, by which they underſtood the hard meaſure that he was there likely to ſuffer by the power of his enemies, and that the onely crime, which they could impute unto him, was for labouring to effect the marriage, which his Maſter could not but take much to heart, and held himſelf obliged to publiſh to the world the good ſervice that my Lord had done unto the King of great *Brittain*; and therefore for the better encouragement likewiſe of his own and all other Miniſters that ſhould truly ſerve their Maſters, he was to offer him a blank paper ſigned by the King, wherein his Lordſhip might ſet down his own Conditions, and demands; which he ſaid he did not propound to corrupt any ſervant of his Majeſties, but for a publique declaration of what was due unto his Lordſhips proceedings. He ſaid further, that in that offer, he laid before him the Lands, and Dignities, that were in his Maſters power to diſpoſe of; out of which he left it at his pleaſure to chooſe what eſtate, or honour, he ſhould think good, adding thereunto ſome other extravagant and diſproportionable offers. My Lords anſwer was, That he was very ſorry to hear this language uſed unto him, telling the *Conde*, that his Catholique Majeſtie did owe him nothing, but that what he had done was upon the King his Maſters Commands, and without any intention to ſerve *Spain*. And that howſoever he might have reaſon to fear the power of his enemies, yet he truſted much upon the innocency of his own Cauſe, and the Juſtice of the King, and that he could not underſtand himſelf in any danger: but were he ſure to loſe his head at his arrival there, he would go to throw down himſelf at his Majeſties feet and mercy, and rather there die upon a Scaffold, then be Duke of *Infantada* in *Spain*. On the 16th. of this moneth, there was declared here in Councel a reſolution of this King, to make a journey to his frontier Towns in *Andaluzia*, with an intention to begin his journey upon the 29. of this moneth *Stil. Vet.* And as I am informed his Majeſtie will there entertain himſelf the greateſt part of theſe three moneths following; ſo that his return hither will not be until the beginning of *May*. My Lord of *Briſtol* hath ſent divers to the *Conde* for leave to diſpeed himſelf of the King, but in reſpect of his Majeſties being at the *Pardo*, he hath been hitherto delayed, and hath yet no certain day appointed for it: But I conceive it will be ſometime this week. The Cauſe of the delaying of

his

his Lordſhip admittance to the King, as I underſtand is, that the ſame day that his Lordſhip ſhall declare his revocation to the King, they will here in Councel declare the revocation of the Marqueſſe of *Ynoiſa*. Howſoever in reſpect of the Kings departure, (at which time they uſe here to embarge all the mules, and means of carriage in this Town) I believe his Lordſhip will not begin his journey ſo ſoon as he intended.

All the relations which are lately come out of *England* do wiſh them to entertain themſelves here with no farther hopes, that there is any intention to proceed to the Match; and this advice comes accompanied with ſuch a report of the ſtate of all things there, that hath much irritated all theſe Miniſters, and let looſe the tongues of the people againſt the proceedings of his Majeſtie, and Highneſſe. I labour as much as I can, and as far as my directions will give me latitude, to give them better underſtandings of the real intentions of his Majeſtie and Highneſſe: but divers of them cleerly tell me, That I profeſſe one thing, and the actions of his Majeſtie and Highneſſe (upon the which they muſt ground their belief) are differing from it. I ſhall therefore here in diſcharge of my duty advertize your Honour, that they do here expect nothing but a War, about which they have already held divers Councels, and go ſeriouſly to work, preparing themſelves for what may happen. Which I deſire your Honour to advertize his Majeſtie, being high time, as far as I am able to judge, that am here upon the place, that his Majeſtie do either reſolve upon ſome courſe for the allaying of theſe ſtorms; or that he go in hand with equal preparations. Having obſerved in former times, the ſtrange rumours that have run in *England* upon ſmall foundations; I have thought it fit to prevent the credit which may be given to idle relations by advertizing your Honour that I cannot conceive how any great attempt can be made from hence this year; howſoever buſineſſes ſhould go. The Squadron of the Kings Fleet (under the Command of *Don Fadrique de Toledo*) is come into *Cadiz*, and joyned with that which *Don Juan Taxardo* is Captain of. And as I am credibly informed, this King will have by the end of *April* between 50. and 60. Gallions at Sea. It is true that other years the number commonly falls ſhort of what is expected, and their ſetting forth to Sea ſome moneths later then the time appointed, but there is extraordinary care taken this year, that there be no default in neither.

The chief end (that I can underſtand) of this Kings journey being to ſee the Fleet of Plate come in, to take view of his Armado, and ſee

them put to Sea. That which I underſtand is onely left alive of the Marriage here is, that the Jewels, which the Prince left with this King for the Infanta and her Ladies, are not yet returned, but it is intimated unto me, that if the Letters which they ſhall receive out of England upon the anſwer they have given to his Majeſtie about the buſineſſe of the *Palatinate* be no better, then ſuch as they have lately received, they will return the Jewels, and declare the buſineſſe of the Match for broken. I ſhall therefore intreat your Honour to know his Majeſties pleaſure how I ſhall carry my ſelf, if they be offered unto me, being reſolved in the mean time untill I ſhall know his Majeſties pleaſure, if any ſuch thing happen, abſolutely to refuſe them. The Princeſſe ſome few daies ſince fell ſick of a *Calentura*, of which ſhe remaineth ſtill in her bed, though it be ſaid ſhe is now ſomewhat better. I will conclude with many thanks for your friendly advertizements concerning my own particular, which (God willing) as far as I can, I will obſerve, and do earneſtly intreat you, that you will pleaſe to continue the like favours unto me, which I ſhall highly eſteem of. And ſo with a grateful acknowledgment of my obligations, I reſt

Your Honours, &c.

*Wa. Aſton.*

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## Sir Walter Aſton *to the Lord* Conway.

*Right Honourable,*

I Have advertized by former diſpatches, that the Parliament here had granted unto this King 60 millions of Duckats to be paid in 12 years, which with 12 millions which remain yet unpaid of what was given the King at the laſt Seſſion, this King was to receive 72 millions in the 12 years next following. I ſhall now acquaint your Honour, that there are only 19. Cities that have voice in this Parliament, and that each of them do ſend hither two *Provadores*, (as they call them here) but theſe have no power finally to conclude any thing, but what is agreed on by them is to be approved of by the ſaid Cities or the greateſt number of them before it have the force of an Act of Parliament, and that therefore there hath been all poſſible art uſed to procure the Cities to confirm what hath been granted by their *Procuradores* touching the 60. millions; and it is here thought

that

that one of the motives of this Kings journey was, hoping by the authority of his presence to procure the consent unto the said gift of the 4. Cities which he is to passe by in this journey, namely *Cordova*, *Sivel*, *Joen*, and *Granado*, it being here doubted, that the said Cities might make great opposition to the said grant, notwithstanding his Majestie hath not had such successe as was expected. But *Cordova* which was the first City with which his Majestie began, hath absolutely refused to give their Consent, letting his Majestie understand, though in as fair and respectful terms as they could expresse themselves, That it was a demand impossible for them to Comply withal. What the successe of this may be is doubtful, *Cordova* having given but an ill example to the other Cities, and yet it is rather believed here, that the greatest number of them being under the Command of such as are either this Kings servants, or absolutely under his dispose, that his Majestie will be able to overcome the businesse, and they are now busie how to settle the manner of the leavie of the said sum by yearly and equal portions.

They having found here divers inconveniences in their new Government of *Portugal* by way of Governours, are resolved to place Vice-Kings again there. And for to gratifie the Emperour have elected for that charge his third Brother *Don Carlos*, who is presently to make his repair thither. On the 27th. of the last moneth, my Lord of *Bristol* took his leave of the Queen and the Infanta, and on the Sunday following being the 29. of the said moneth, his Lordship delivered unto me the Powers which his Highnesse left with him, and those which have been since sent hither. His Lordship is preparing for his journey, and saith that he is already in such a forwardnesse, as upon the arrival here of Mr. *Greisley*, or any other from *England*, whereby he shall receive means for the taking up of moneys here, he will presently put himself upon the way. The Queen here some few daies since fell suddenly ill, and swooned two or three times, but her indispositon lasted not above two or three dayes; Her Majestie is now (thanks be to God) very well again. The King having received advice thereof intended (as it is said) to come presently post hither, but upon better news, his Majestie proceeds in his journey, and for any thing that I can understand, it will be *May* before his return to this Town.

There are lately thrown abroad in this Town divers Copies of a Proclamation pretended to be published in *Ireland* bearing date the 27. of January last. It hath made a great noise here, and divers of their Ministers have spoken with me about it, they conceiving it to be

be contrary to what hath been lately Capitulated. For my part, I have been able to give them no anſwer, not having yet underſtood from your Honour, nor any of his Majeſties Miniſters, of any ſuch Proclamation. I have ſeen the Proclamation as it came printed from thence, and do here incloſed ſend your Honour a Copy thereof, deſiring you that you will acquaint his Majeſtie therewithal, that he may be pleaſed to Command therein what to his wiſdom ſhall ſeem fit. To thoſe that have ſpoken with me about this Proclamation (having firſt diſclaimed the having had knowledge of any ſuch thing) I have uſed diſcourſes of mine own touching the abuſes of thoſe which are called titulary Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. letting them underſtand here, that if thoſe kind of people have been buſie there to plant ſecretly their Government, they have far exceeded the favour which was promiſed them, and given his Majeſtie juſt cauſe to give order for the reformation.

My laſt to your Honour was of the 7th. of February laſt by *Albert Rivas*, whom I diſpatched with all diligence to you, ſince when I have received nothing from your Honour. I ſhall therefore, &c.

Your Honours, &c.

*Wa. Aſton.*

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## *Sir* Walter Aſton *to the Lord* Conway,
## 5th. June. 1624.

*Right Honourable,*

IN a former Diſpatch which I lately made unto your Honour, I ſent unto you the Copy of a Letter, which I then had newly received from the Secretarie *Don Andreas de Prada*, by which he advertiſed me, That the King his Maſter (according to what I had requeſted by memorial) had commanded, that all Engliſh Commodities and Manufactures (which I have long ſince advertized were prohibited by *Prematica's* publiſhed here for the reformation of abuſes) ſhould enter into theſe Kingdoms. I have long ſince performed divers diligences my ſelf, both with the Secretary, and Preſident of *Caſtile*, for the procuring a declaration of the ſaid order, being careful to prevent ſuch inconveniences as the King our Maſters Subjects might fall into for want thereof. But having been toſſed up and down between the Secretarie,

Secretarie, and the President with ſeveral delayes, the one remitting me to the other. I repaired to the *Conde* of *Olivarez* (ſuſpecting ſome novelty in the buſineſſe) and acquainted him, that upon the receipt of a Letter ſent me from the Secretary *Don Andreas de Prada*, concerning the free entrance of Engliſh Commodities, I had given notice by a Copy of the ſaid Letter unto the King my Maſter of what was therein Commanded, and had likewiſe advertiſed the Merchants that reſide in theſe Kingdomes of the ſaid Order. I alſo gave him account of the ſeveral diligences which I had performed with the Preſident, and the Secretary, for the procuring a declaration thereof, and deſired that he would preſently command that there might be ſuch courſe taken, that there ſhould be no further delayes uſed therein, ſince I ſhould be loath toſee the King my Maſters Subjects encouraged by the ſaid Order to repair hither with their Merchandizes, and fall into inconveniencies for want of notice given thereof unto their Miniſters in the Ports. The *Conde* fell into diſcourſes far from my expectation, asking mewhether it was not free for any King, in his own Kingdom, to Command his own Subjects to wear what he pleaſed, ſaying further, that the Engliſh were not prohibited to bring in their Commodities, but that the King his Maſter might command his Subjects to ſpend the Bayes, and other Commodities of his own Kingdoms, and not to make uſe of thoſe that came from forraign parts, as to his wiſdom for the good of his Kingdoms ſhould ſeem beſt. That there ſhould be a ſuſpenſion of the execution of the ſaid *Pramatica's* until S^t. *James-tide*, and no longer. To which I anſwered, That I made no doubt of the power, that every King had over his own Subjects; notwithſtanding where it was articled betwixt two Kings, that there ſhould be a free admittance of each others Commodities unto their ſeveral Kingdomes, and after a Command ſhould be given prohibiting either of them unto their Subjects the making uſe thereof, it could not but be underſtood a defrauding and deluding of the Articles, and the true intention of them: but I told him I came not to diſpute this now, for the Secretaries Letter had deſired me to take notice of another reſolution, therefore I deſired, that there might be a ſpeedy and publique declaration made of what was therein ſignified unto me: or if there were any new reſolution, that I might underſtand it. To which he anſwered (pretending that he ſpake it as a freedom which he uſed with me) but came out with it in ſuch a manner, as I ſaw he was full of it) That the truth was, that they would proceed here, as they were proceeded withal in England. That the King my Maſter had lately gi-

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ven leave to the *Hollanders* to tranſport Artiller[illegible] out of England, and had denied the like to their Embaſſadours having required it; which was (as he ſaid) directly againſt the articles of peace, wherein it was Capitulated, That neither ſhould aſſiſt with any kind of armes the enemy of the other. He ſaid farther, That the Engliſh had taken *Ormuh*, and there was no ſatisfaction given concerning that buſineſſe, nor appearance of any intention to do it, and concluded, That when the Articles of Peace ſhould be obſerved to them, they would do the like. I told the *Conde* I had not underſtood any thing of thoſe particulars which he mentioned, and therefore could ſay nothing unto him; neither thought I fit to give him any further anſwer, being loath in a buſineſſe of this importance, where the Articles of Peace between theſe Kingdoms are in queſtion, to do any thing at gueſſe, but to advertiſe it to the King my Maſter, and to proceed according to ſuch order as he ſhall pleaſe to give me. I do therefore intreat your Honour, that you will be pleaſed to acquaint his Majeſtie with what hath paſſed, wherein I doubt not but his Majeſtie will obſerve the diſtraction, and inconſtancy of their proceedings here at preſent, in Commanding, what his Majeſtie will have found by this Secretaries Letter, and taking preſently after new reſolutions. After this language which the *Conde* hath uſed unto me, I cannot expect any reaſon or juſtice here, and the Merchants have many ſuites depending wherein they have received great injuries, whereof I have not hitherto complained, becauſe I was in continual hope of procuring redreſſe, and their ſuites proceeded on, I cannot ſay as I would have wiſhed, but according to the ſtile here, and in ſuch manner as they have done in former times. I doubt not but his Majeſtie will therefore likewiſe pleaſe to conſider what a ſtop there is likely to be here of all buſineſſes concerning the Commerce, and either proceed as occaſion ſhall there be offered, in the like manner, or take ſuch a Courſe for ſettling things in better order, as to his wiſdom ſhall ſeem beſt. I have ſince had ſome overtures made unto me, that the ſaid declaration ſhall preſently come out, in the mean time I would not wiſh that the Merchants ſhould adventure any thing truſting to their courteſie here. By my laſt unto your Honour which was of the 20th. of *May*, I advertized the advice which was given hither, That the Galeons, that bring the Plate, were upon the way for theſe parts; Since when there is newes of their arrival at St. *Lucar*, excepting two of them which periſhed in their journey hitherward, the one ſprung a leak in a calm day, and ſunk ſo faſt, that there were onely ſaved 52 men, the reſt, which were about 200. perſons, were all drowned, neither was any

of

of her freight ſaved. The other was their *Admirante*, which correſponds with our Vice-Admiral, which likewiſe ſprung a leak, but all the men aboard were ſaved, and a good part of her ſilver. There is loſt upon Regiſter in theſe two Ships three millions, and it is thought that there periſhed in them above a million in ſilver, and goods unregiſtred.

Upon order that was lately ſent unto the *Aſſiſtente* of *Sevil*, for the perfecting the Grant of the Millions to the King by the ſaid City, there being doubt made whether it was a lawful Conceſſion, or no; The *Aſſiſtente* called together thoſe, that had voices in the ſaid grant of the ſaid Millions, and made a ſpeech unto them, wiſhing a general Conformity to what his Majeſtie had deſired of them; but the propoſition was very diſtaſtful unto the greater number, who little expected to have heard that buſineſſe revived again. And the people having gotten notice upon the breaking up of that meeting of what had been there propounded, in a tumultuous manner ran after the *Aſſiſtente*, who was returning to his houſe, and hearing ſuch a clamour behind him, thought that the people had been diſquieted by ſome accident, and ſtayed to have appeaſed them, but by the curſes which he heard, and the blowes he received by the ſtones which were thrown at him, he quickly found againſt whom the fury of the people was bent, and ſo made all the haſte he could to his own houſe, which at length he recovered ſore wounded, and with much hazard of his life.

The *Iriſh* Prieſts, and others of that Kingdome which reſide in this Court, begin to grow very buſie here, and do promiſe great matters unto this King in the aſſiſtance which his Majeſtie ſhall find in *Ireland*, whenſoever he ſhall pleaſe to attempt any thing againſt that Kingdome; but for any thing I can learn, there hath been as yet ſo little ear given unto them, that they have not deſcended to make any particular offer. But they are treated here with much Courteſie, *Tyr-Connel* being made a Page to the Queen, and the reſt receiving good ſatisfaction. I will be as vigilant as I can to trace out their ſteps, and I hope I ſhall be able to give ſeaſonable advertizement of their proceedings. Howſoever ſince ſecret Councels may be held, and reſolutions taken, which I may miſſe of; I doubt not but the King our Maſter conſidering the preſent jealouſies, and diſtaſtes betwixt theſe Crowns, will be vigilant to ſecure that Kingdom, that there may be nothing neglected upon which they may here take any ſudden advantage. By the Engliſh Merchants that reſide in *Malaga* I have received advice, that 3 *Scottiſh* Maſters of Ships have lately had

a ſentence pronounced againſt them by the D. of *Medina Sidona*, wherein their Ships and all their goods are confiscated, for having brought *Holland* Commodities to that Port, and their perſons condemned to the Galleys; which notwithſtanding their apellation unto the Councel of War here, (which ought to have been admitted them) was preſently put into execution. The ſame day that I received the advice, I gave in a Memorial to the Councel of State, repreſenting the rigorous and unjuſt proceeding againſt the ſaid Scottiſh Maſters, and deſired that they would ſend their order, that the Apellation might be admitted, and that their perſons might be preſently returned off of the Gallies. I likewiſe repaired to the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, acquainting him with the proceedings of the Duke, and was able to give him ſome examples of divers *Hollanders* that had been treated in the like occaſion with far leſſe rigour. Whereupon there is Command given according to what I have deſired; and whatſoever ſhall become of their goods, I have a promiſe from the *Conde* of *Olivarez*, that their perſons ſhall be treated with all Courteſie. It is publiſhed by the Ladies of the Palace, that the Queen is with Child, which hath filled this Court with much joy, and her Majeſtie hath ſo much better health now upon her being new with Child, then ſhe hath had of the reſt, that they are already here full of hopes that ſhe will bring them a Prince, &c.

*Your Honours*, &c.

Wa. Aſton.

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## *The Abſtract of a Letter from* Sir Walter Aſton *to the Lord* Conway, 17. July, 1624.

HE acknowledgeth the receipt of his Majeſties Letters of the 27. of June by Mr. *Wych*, and is buſie in preparing to put thoſe Directions in execution, and that being done, will give a ſpeedy and full account. The Marqueſſe *Ynoiſa* diſpatched away a Poſt to *Spain* from Calice, and by him gave as malicious an account of his uſage at his departure from *England*, and alſo of all other late paſſages there, as malice it ſelf could have dictated. He omits no libels or infamous ſongs, nor ſpares his own inventions where they may ſerve to incenſe. The Credit they are like to give to their Embaſſadour,

the

the height of diſcontent they are now in, the aſſurance given them of the weak and mean eſtate of all things in England may tempt them to offer the giving us a blow, where we are weakeſt. And therefore no neceſſary preparations for defence to be neglected on our part. None of their Armado ſtirres yet, but only 4. Gallions appointed to accompany for ſome daies the *Nova Eſpagna* Fleet that put to Sea the fourth of this preſent.

Sir *Walter Aſton* doubts, that the light he hath received of the preſent ſtate of things in England, and the Arguments to anſwer their Objections will hardly be applyed to give any ſatisfaction. (things being in ſo much diſtemper there) And where the beſt anſwers on both ſides are recriminations, he conceives little is to be expected but a direct falling out. The cauſe of their retarding *Mendoza's* coming for England hath been their deſire to ſee the iſſue of the proceedings with their Embaſſadour. All the Grandees, and principal perſons of Spain are ſummoned to give their attendance with their armes, which is done by three Letters. 1. *Admonitoria.* 2. *Apercibitoria.* 3. *Executoria.* The two firſt are already ſet forth. And there is order likewiſe given for the *Battalon* to be in a readineſſe, which is the ſame as the Trained Bands in England. This is an ancient practiſe there upon ſuſpition of forraign invaſion, or domeſtique Commotion. There are leavies new making according to cuſtome, for ſupplying of Garriſons; and though theſe Leavies are greater then uſually, yet not much worthy of note. An Embaſſadour arrived there for *Denmark*; his coming being given out to be to negotiate the buſineſſe of the Palatinate, and to make overtures for a Peace with Holland: but if nothing be heard of this in England, it is not like to be true. A Requeſt preſented unto the King by a *Conſulta* from the Inquiſiter general, &c. to procure a *Jubile* from *Rome* for expiation of the late great Contempt done by a Frenchman to the Sacrament. The King promiſeth to do it, and he, the Queen, and the whole houſhold will endeavour to deſerve it by faſting, and other duties. In his anſwer to the *Conſulta* there is a paſſage, that intimates his intention of looking abroad with his armes. The Frenchman was condemned, burnt publiquely, and dyed a Roman Catholique. There have been divers proceſſions in expreſſion of the general grief for that action. The King, Queen, his Brothers and Siſter, with the Grandees, and the Councel went in proceſſion about the two ſquare Courts of the Palace, where there were 4. Altars built, one by the Kings care, the reſt by the Queen, the Infanta, Cardinal, *Don Carlos*, and *Dona Maria*, who joyned in the care of one of them. The

greateſt riches of Diamonds and Pearls that were in the Churches thereabouts, and in the Kings ſtore were preſented on thoſe Altars, and were at ten millions. They intend to diſpatch one *Jaqueſſe Brones* Secretary of the Councel of *Flanders*, by poſt into England to bring *Don Carlos* warrant to come away, and to ſtay Agent in England until the arrival of another Embaſſadour, which will not be long. They ſtay the giving out of the order for the free admittance of Engliſh Merchandizes, until they ſee what will be done with their Ships in the Downs, &c.

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## *Sir* Walter Aſton *to the* Duke, 20. *of* Octob. 1624.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

I Aſſure my ſelf that your Grace is very confident, that I have not only purſued the Complaint which I here made againſt the Marqueſſe of *Ynoiſa* with the duty of a Miniſter in obedience to the King my Maſters Command, but as paſſionately intereſted againſt his perſon, who maliciouſly attempted to ſtain (if it had been poſſible) the honour of the Prince his Highneſſe and your Graces my nobleſt friend. And certainly my Lord, I ſhould be infinitely afflicted in not having brought this buſineſſe to that iſſue which I thirſted after, could I accuſe my ſelf of having omitted any thing, that might have ſharpned them here againſt him: But the *Conde* of *Olivarez* with a ſtrong and violent hand hath delivered the Marqueſſe from any exemplary puniſhment, which would certainly have been inflicted upon him, had he been left to the Councel of State, and without care either of the King his Maſters honour or engagement, hath ſaved the Marqueſſe, and left the envy of it upon his Majeſtie, if the King our Maſter will ſo pleaſe to underſtand it.

In my laſt unto your Grace which was of the 24th. of the laſt moneth, I humbly intreated you to procure me his Majeſties leave to return into England for ſome few moneths, which ſuit I do here again renew unto your Grace. Howſoever in reſpect of this novelty in the Marqueſſe his buſineſſe, I will forbear putting my ſelf upon the way until I hear of the receipt of this diſpatch: ſince if his Majeſtie ſhall pleaſe to give any demonſtrations here of his ſence of their unworthy proceedings, I would be loath that thoſe Commands

ſhould

ſhould find me out of the way: with the remembrance of my duty, I reſt

Your Graces, &c.

*Wa. Aſton.*

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## *Sir* Walter Aſton *to the Duke the* 10th. *of* Decemb. 1625.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

THe Portugal Armado put to Sea on the 12th. of the laſt moneth *Stil. Vet.* It conſiſts of 22. Ships of War, 4. Victuallers, and two ſmall Pinnaces of Advice: There goeth in it neer upon 4000. Land Souldiers. From Cadiz I have now freſh advice, That *Don Frederique* is ſtill in the Port, with the Fleet which he Commands, but himſelf and his men all embarqued. That Armado conſiſteth of ſome 35. Ships of War, and about 8000. Souldiers, and both the Fleets are victualled for 8. moneths. That of Portugal had firſt order to expect *Don Frederique* at the *Cape St. Vincent*, but hath ſince received command to proceed on the journey. It being now 27. dayes ſince the Fleet departed, and this remaining ſtill in the Harbour, doth give me much cauſe of jealouſie: eſpecially underſtanding, that they have here advice, (which they give credit to) that the Troops lately delivered to Count *Mansfelt* are ſent to ſuccour *Breda*, fearing (if it be ſo) that they laying hold of it as a breach of the Peace (which interpretation I meet with in every diſcourſe) ſhould preſently fall with this Armado upon ſome part of Ireland. I have no farther ground for this diſtruſt, then what I have here repreſented, which your Grace weighing with the importancy of their enterpriſe in hand for the recovering the *Baya*, and the occaſions that will be given them from England, do beſt know what rigid judgment to make. Sithence I wrote my other Letter unto your Grace, (which accompanies this) I underſtand the *French* Embaſſadour by order from the King his Maſter, hath given account unto this King of the Concluſion of the Match betwixt the Prince his Highneſſe, and Madam *Chriſtiene* his Maſters Siſter. Whereupon this King, and the whole Court put on *Galas*: I conceive (howſoever I have not heard any thing thereof by any Letter unto me) that this is ground enough to Congratulate with your Grace this good beginning which I ſhall affectionately wiſh

wiſh may in the ſucceſſe in all times prove a happineſs to his Highnes and a particular bleſſing to your Grace. The *Conde* of *Gondomar* hath newly received a Command from the King his Maſter (ſignified unto him by the Secretary *Don Andreas de Prada*) to put himſelf preſently upon the way for England, which he hath anſwered he will obey, howſoever I believe he will keep his *Chriſtmaſſe* here. Mr. *Butler* whom your Grace left here placed with this King meets often with ſuch diſcourſes in the Palace, that as a faithful ſervant to your Grace, he hath no patience to bear, which he hath reaſon to believe will in a ſhort time throw him out of this Court, which he would be glad to prevent, if he might have your Graces command to return, being infinitely deſirous that your Grace would diſpoſe otherwiſe of him. I will conclude with the ſame ſuit for my ſelf, there being none that hath more need of comfort from your Grace. I beſt know, that I have no way deſerved any change or decay in your Graces favour towards me, having not been ſlow in upbraiding this Nation with their obligations to your Grace, and their ſhameful ungratefulneſſe, nor without a conſtant, and paſſionate deſire to ſerve your Grace every way to your content, if your Graces Commands would but direct me what to do, I do therefore reſt confident of your care and goodneſſe towards me. And ſo with my prayers to God to continue his bleſſings upon you, I reſt

Your Graces, &c.

*W. Aſton.*

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## *Dr.* Williams *to the Duke.*

*My moſt noble Lord,*

IT hath pleaſed God to call for the Biſhop of *London*. I am ſo conſcious of mine own weakneſſe and undeſervings, that, as I never was, ſo now I dare not be a ſuiter for ſo great a charge. But if his Majeſtie by your Honours mediation, ſhall reſolve to call me to perform him the beſt ſervice I can in that place, I humbly beſeech your Honour to admit me a ſuiter in theſe three circumſtances.

Firſt, that whereas my Lord of *London* hath ſurvived our Lady day, and received all the profits, that ſhould maintain a Biſhop until *Michaelmaſſe*, I may by his Majeſties favour retain all my own means until the next day after Michaelmas day; this is a Petition which I ſhall

ſhall be neceſſitated to make unto his Majeſtie (if his Majeſtie by your favour ſhall advance me to this place) and injureth no man elſe in the world.

Secondly, that whereas the Commiſſioners challenge from the Biſhops revenues a matter of 200. l. *per annum*, (this Biſhoprick being already very meanly endowed in regard of the continual charge, and exhauſtments of the place) it would pleaſe his Majeſtie to leave in my hands (by way of *Commendam*) one Benefice of mine, which falls into his Majeſties diſpoſe upon my remove, until it be determined by the ſaid Commiſſioners, whether any part of the Biſhops means be due unto the Fabrique. My humble ſuit is for *Walgrave*, a Benefice with Cure in *North-hamptonſhire*, where I have laid out all my eſtate in temporal Lands.

Laſtly, that if it be found, that the Biſhop is to joyn with the Reſidentiaries of *Pauls* in the repair of the Church, his Majeſtie would qualifie me by a *commendam* to hold one of my own Prebends, when it ſhall fall to be a Reſidentiarie alſo; that if I be charged with the burthen of Reſidentiarie, I might enjoy the profits of a Reſidentiarie.

Theſe three requeſts do (I confeſſe) adde unto me, but do not prejudice any one elſe whatſoever. I ſubmit them and my ſelf to your Honours wiſdom, &c.

The names of ſuch Eccleſiaſtical promotions as I now retain, and will fall to be diſpoſed of by the King, if I ſhould be removed.

1. Deanery of *Weſtminſter*.
2. Rectorie of *Dinam*.
3. Rectorie of *Walgrave*.
4. Rectorie of *Grafton*.
5. Prebendary of *Peterborough*.
6. Chaunter of *Lincoln*.
7. Prebendary of *Asgarbie*.
8. Prebendary of *Nonnington*.
9. Reſidentiaries place of *Lincoln*.

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*Lord Keeper to the Duke*, 27. July, 1621.

*My moſt noble Lord,*

AN unfortunate occaſion of my Lords Grace his killing of a man caſually (as it is here conſtantly reported) is the cauſe of my ſeconding of my yeſterdayes Letter unto your Lordſhip. His Grace (upon this accident) is by the Common Law of England to forfeit all his eſtate unto his Majeſtie, and by the Canon Law (which is in force

force with us) irregular, *ipso facto*, and so suspended from all Ecclesiastical function, until he be again restored by his Superiour, which (I take it) is the Kings Majestie in this rank, and order of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction. If you send for Dr. *Lamb* he will acquaint your Lordship with the distinct penalties in this kind. I wish with all my heart, his Majestie would be as merciful, as ever he was in all his life; but yet I held it my duty to let his Majestie know by your Lordship, that his Majestie is fallen upon a matter of great advice, and deliberation. To adde affliction to the afflicted (as no doubt he is in mind) is against the Kings nature; to leave *virum Sanguinum*, or a man of bloud, Primate and Patriarch of all his Churches, is a thing that sounds very harsh in the old Councels, and Canons of the Church. The Papists will not spare to descant upon the one and the other. I leave the knot to his Majesties deep wisdom to advise and resolve upon. A rheume falne into mine eye (together with the rumour I last wrote unto your Lordship about) hath fastened me unto my bed. which makes this Letter the more unhandsome. But I will take nothing to heart, that proceeds from his Majestie, or from that King, who hath raised me from the dust, to all that I am. If the truth were set down, 1. That my self was the first mover for a temporary Keeper. 2. That his Majestie hath promised me upon the relinquishing of the Seal (or before) one of the best places in this Church, as most graciously he did. 3. The year and a halfs probation left out, which is to no purpose, but to scare away my men, and to put a disgrace upon me. 4. That my assisting Judges were desired, and named by my self, which your Lordship knowes to be most true: Such a declaration would neither shame me, nor blemish his Majesties service in my person. And it were fitter a great deal, the penning thereof were referred to my self, then to Mr. Secretarie, or the Lord Treasurer, who (if he had his demerit) deserves not to hold his staffe half a year. I do verily believe, they will hasten to finish this act, before I shall hear from your Lordship, which if they do, God send me patience and as much care to serve him, as I have, and ever had to serve my Master; And then all must needs be well. I send your Lordship a Copy of that speech I have thought upon, to deliver at *London* upon Munday next at the Commission of the Subsidies: If his Majestie have leisure to cast his eye thereupon, and to give direction to have any thing else delivered, or any point of this suppressed, I would be directed by your Lordship whom I recommend in prayers to Gods good guiding and protection. And do rest, &c.

*The*

*My Lord,*

I Have found your Lordship already so favourable, and affectionate unto me, that I shall be still hereafter desirous to acquaint you with what concerns me, and bold to ask your advice, and councel; which makes me to send this bearer to give your Lordship an account of my answer from Court, which I cannot better do, then by sending unto you the answer it self, which you shall receive here enclosed. Wherein you may see what is expected from me, that I may not onely magnifie his Majesties Gracious dealing with me, but cause all my friends to do the like, and restrain them from making any extenuation of my errours, which if they be disposed to do, or not to do is impossible for me to alter, that am not likely for a good time to see any other then mine own family. For my self, I shall ever be ready (as is fit) to acknowledg his Majesties favour to me, but can hardly perswade my self, that any errour by me committed, deserved more punishment then I have had, and hope that his Majestie will not expect, that I should not confesse my self to have been subject to a Star-chamber sentence, which God forbid I should ever do. I have, and shall do according to that Part of my Lord of *Buckinghams* advice to speak of it as little as I can, and so shall I do in other things to meddle as little as I can. I purpose (God willing) to go to morrow to *Tychfield* (the place of mine confinement) there to stay as long as the King shall please.

*Sir William Parkhurst* must go with me, who hoped to have been discharged at the return of my Messenger from Court, and seemes much troubled, that he is not, pretending that it is extream inconvenient for him, in regard of his own occasions. He is fearful he should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lordship writes to the Court, you would but put my Lord of *Buckingham* in remembrance of it, you shall (I think) do him a favour. For my part it is so little trouble to me, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returns, I beseech you return by him this inclosed Letter, and beleive that whatsoever I am I will ever be,

Your Lordships most assured friend to do you service.

*H. Southampton*, &c.

*My Lord,*

I Have peruſed your Lordſhips Letter, and that encloſed I return back again. And doubt nothing of my Lord Admirals remembring of you upon the firſt opportunity. Great works (as I hope this will be a perfect reconciling of his Majeſties affections to you, of your beſt ſtudies, and endeavours to the ſervice of his Majeſtie) do require ſome time: They are but poore actions, and of no continuance that are Slubbered up in an inſtance. I know (my Lord) mens tongues are their own, nor lieth it in your power to preſcribe what ſhall be ſpoken for you, or againſt you. But to avoid that *Complacentia* (as the Divines call it) that itching, and inviting of any interpretation, which ſhall ſo add to your innocencie, as it ſhall derogate from the Kings mercie, which (I ſpeak as I would do before God) had a great cloud of jealouſies, and ſuſpitions to break through, before it came to ſhine upon you. This (I take it) is the effect of my Lords exhortation, and I know it ever hath been your Lordſhips reſolution. How far you could be queſtioned in the Star-Chamber, is an unſeaſonable time to reſolve. The King hath waved off all judgment, and left nothing for your meditation, but love and favour, and the increaſing of both theſe. Yet I know (upon my late occaſions to peruſe Preſidents in that Court) that ſmall offences have been in that Court (in former times) deeply cenſured. In the ſixteenth of *Edward* the ſecond (for the Court is of great antiquity) Henry Lord *Beaumont*, running a way of his own about the invading of *Scotland*, and diſſenting from the reſt of the Kings Councel, becauſe of his abſenting himſelf from the Councel Table was fined and impriſoned: though otherwies a moſt worthy and deſerving Noble man. But God be thanked your Lordſhip hath no cauſe to trouble your head about theſe meditations. For (if I have any judgment) you are in a way to demean your ſelf as you may expect rather more new additions, then ſuſpect the leaſt diminution from his Gracious Majeſtie. For mine own part, aſſure your ſelf, I am your true and faithful ſervant, and ſhall never ceaſe ſo to continue, as long as you make good your profeſſions to this Noble Lord. Of whoſe extraordinary goodneſſe, your Lordſhip, and my ſelf are remarkable reflections. The one of his ſweetneſſe in forgetting of wrongs, the other of his forwardneſſe in conferring of courteſies.

With my beſt reſpect to your Lordſhip and my Noble Lady, and my

my Commendations to Sir *William Parkhurſt*, I recommend your Lordſhip, &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the E. of* South-hampton. 2. Aug. 1621.

*My moſt noble Lord,*

I Humbly crave your pardon for often troubling your Honour with my idle Lines, and beſeech you to remember, that amongſt many miſeries my ſudden greatneſſe comes accompanied with, this is not the leaſt, that I can no otherwaies enjoy the happineſſe of your preſence. God is my witneſſe, the Lord Keeper hath often (not without grief of heart) envied the fortunes of a poor Scholar, one Dr. *Williams*, late Dean of *Weſtminſter*, who was ſo much bleſſed in the free acceſſes in that kind, as his Lordſhip (without a great quantity of goodneſſe in your ſelf) may ſcarſe hope for. This incloſed will let your Lordſhip underſtand, that ſomewhat is to be finiſhed in that excellent piece of mercy, which his Majeſtie (your hand guiding the Pencil) is about to expreſſe in the E. of *Southhampton*. It is full time his Attendant were revoked in my poor opinion, and himſelf left to the Cuſtody of his own good Angel. There is no readier way to ſtop the mouthes of idle men, nor to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of Juſtice, to behold nothing but goodneſſe and mercy. And the more breathing time you ſhall carve out between this total enlargement and the next acceſſe of the Parliament, the better it will be for his Majeſties ſervice. Onely remember this, that now you are left to be your own Remembrancer. Of all actions forget not thoſe of mercy, and Goodneſſe, wherein men draw nigheſt to God himſelf: Nor of all Perſons, priſoners and afflicted *Joſephs*: Celerity doth redouble an act of mercy. But why do I turn a Preacher of goodneſſe unto him, who (in my own particular) hath ſhewed himſelf to be compoſed of nothing elſe? Remember your Noble Self, and forget the aggravations of malice, and envy, and then forget if you can the E. of *Southhampton*. God bleſſe you, and your royal Gueſt, and bring you both, after many years yet moſt happily run over here upon earth, to be his bleſſed gueſts in the Kingdom of Heaven.

*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning the Lord of St. Albons,* October 27th. 1621.

*My most noble Lord,*

I Have received your Lorſhips expreſſion concerning the Pauſe I made upon the two Patents. The Proclamation of writing to the Kings hand, and my Lord of St. *Albons* pardon. The former I have ſealed this morning in duty, and obedience to your Lordſhips intimation. The latter I have not yet ſealed, but do repreſent (in all lowlineſſe and humility) theſe few Conſiderations by your Lordſhip to his ſacred Majeſtie, wherein let your Lordſhip make no queſtion, but I have adviſed with the beſt Lawyers in the Kingdom. And after this repreſentation, I will perform whatſoever your Lordſhip ſhall direct.

1. His Majeſtie and your Lordſhip do conceive, that my Lord of St. Albons pardon and grant of his fine came both together to my hands, and ſo your Lordſhip directs me to paſſe the one and the other. But his Lordſhip was too cunning for me. He paſſed his fine (whereby he hath deceived his Creditors) ten dayes before he preſented his pardon to the Seal. So as now in his pardon, I find his Parliament fine excepted, which he hath before the ſealing of the ſame obtained and procured. And whether the houſe of Parliament will not hold themſelves mocked and derided with ſuch an exception, I leave to your Lordſhips wiſdom. Theſe two Grants are oppoſite and contradictory (in this point) the one to the other.

2. The King pardons in particular words, All ſums of money and rewards taken for falſe judgments or decrees. And therefore the exception of the Parliamentary Cenſure (being inflicted but for the ſame taking of moneys and rewards) coming a good way after falleth too late in Law, and is of no force to ſatisfie the Lords (as I am informed) and I believe this clauſe was never ſeen in any other pardon.

3. The King pardoneth in my Lord of St. *Albon*, the ſtealing away, altering, raſing, and interlining of his Majeſties Rowles, Records, Briefs, &c. which are more in a Lord Chancellors pardon, then the imbezeling of his Majeſties jewels in a Lord Chamberlains. And yet the Lord Chancellour *Elsmore* could not indure that clauſe in my Lord of *Sommerſets* Pardon, unleſſe he would name the jewels in particular.

4. I will not meddle or touch upon thoſe miſtakings which may fall between the Parliament and his Majeſtie, or the mis-interpretation that enemies may make hereof to your Lordſhips prejudice, becauſe

I

I see (in his Majesties great wisdom) these are not regarded. Onely I could have wished, the Pardon had been referred to the Councel board, and so passed. I have now discharged my self of those poor scruples, which (in respect onely to his Majesties service, and your Lordships honour) have wrought this short stay of my Lord of St. *Albons* Pardon. Whatsoever your Lordship shall now direct, I will most readily (craving pardon for this not undutiful boldnesse) put in execution. Because some speech may fall of this dayes speech, which I had occasion to make in the Common Pleas, where a Bishop was never seen sitting there these 70. years, I have presumed to inclose a Copy thereof, because it was a very short one.

Your Lordship shall not need to take that great pains (which your Lordship to my unexpressible comfort hath so often done) in writing. What Command soever your Lordship shall impose upon me as touching this pardon, your Lordships expression to Mr. *Packer* or the bearer shall deliver it sufficiently. God from heaven continue the showring and heaping of his blessings upon your Lordship, &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke*, 22. July, 1621.

*My noble Lord,*

WIth my truest affections, and thankfulnesse premised. I do not doubt but his Majestie and your Lordship do now enjoy the general applause of your goodnesse to the Earl of *Southampton*. Saturday last he came, and dined with me, and I find him more cordially affected to the service of the King, and your Lordships love and friendship, then ever he was, when he lay a prisoner in my house. Yet the Sunshine of his Majesties favour, though most bright upon others (more open offenders) is noted to be somewhat eclipsed towards him. What directions soever his Majestie gave, the order is somewhat tart upon the Earl. The word of Confinement, spread about the City (though I observed not one syllable so quick to fall from his Majestie) his Keeper much wondred at. The act of the Councel published in our names, who were neither present thereat, or heard one word of the same: yet upon my credit the Earl takes all things patiently, and thankfully, though others wonder at the same.

Mr. Secretary signed a Petition of one *Rookwood* a Papist, and prisoner in the Fleet upon five several executions, that I should grant him

him his liberty. The Kings name is used, and the mediation of the Spanish Embassadour. If I breaking rules so fouly in favour of a Papist, (which I am resolved to keep straight against all men whatsoever) I shall infame my self in the very beginning. If his Majestie will have any special indulgence in this kind, I expect intimation immediately from the King, or your Lordship, and no third Person. Your Lordship will not expect from me any account of Councel businesse, nor the setting at liberty of the late prisoners. Mr. Secretary is secret enough for imparting any thing unto me, so as I must remain in a necessary ignorance.

There is a Country man of mine one *Griffith*, a suiter unto the Court for the reversion of an Auditors place, recommended thereunto by his Master the Lord Treasurer. The place is of great Consequence for the disposing of his Majesties revenewes. The man is unfit for this, as presumptuous and daring for any place. Sir *Robert Pye* saith, he hath already written to your Lordship, and I doubt not of your care thereof. Doctour *Lamb* (the bearer) is a very sufficient, and (for ought I ever heard of him) an honest man. The King hath imployed him in discovery of counterfeit Witchcrafts, in reforming of no counterfeit, but hearty Puritanes, and he hath done good service therein. If his Majestie (now in our pure ayr of *Northamptonshire*) do not shew him some favor, or grace, either by Knighting, or by using him courteously, The Brethren (having gotten out their *Yelverton* again) will neglect and molest him too unsufferably. God from Heaven blesse you. Remember your Deanerie, and Dean of *Westminster*, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the Earl Marshals place*, 1. Septemb. 1621.

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Beseech your Lordship to interpret this Letter well, and fairly, which no malice (though never so provoked) but my duty to his Majestie, and love to your Lordship hath drawn from me: both which respects as long as I keep inviolably, I will not omit for the fear of any man, or the losse of any thing in this world, to do any act, which my Conscience shall inform me to belong unto that place, wherein the King by your favour hath intrusted me. I received this morning two Commands from his Majestie, the one about a Pension of 2000 l. yearly, and the other concerning the office of the Earle *Marshal*, both

both conferred on the Right Honourable the Earle of *Arundel*. For the former, although this is a very unseasonable time to receive such large Pensions from so bountiful a King, and that the Parliament so soon approaching is very like to take notice thereof, and that this pension might (under the correction of your better judgment) have been conveniently deferred until that Assembly had been over. Yet who am I that should question the wisedom, and bounty of my Master? I have therefore sealed the same, praying secretly unto God to make his Majestie as abounding in wealth as he is in goodnesse. But the latter I dare not seale (my good Lord) until I heare your Lordships resolution to these few Questions.

1. Whether his Majestie by expressing himself in the delivery of the staffe to my Lord of *Arundel*, that he was moved thereunto for the easing of the rest of the Comissioners, who had, before, the execution of that office, did not imply, that his Majestie intended to impart unto my Lord no greater power, then was formerly granted to the Lords Comissioners. If it were so, this Pattent should not have exceeded their Pattent, whereas it doth inlarge it self beyond that by many dimensions.

2. Whether it is his Majesties meaning, that the Pattent leaping over the powers of the three last Earles, *Essex*, *Shrewsbery*, and *Sommerset*, should refer onely to my Lords own Ancestors, *Howards*, and *Mowbrayes* Dukes of Norfolk, who clamed this place by a way of inheritance. The usual reference of Pattents being unto the last, and immediate predecessour, and not unto the remote, whose powers (in those unsettled and troublesome times are vage, uncertain, and unpossible to be limited.

3. Whether it is his Majesties meaning, that this great Lord should bestow those offices, settled of a long time in the Crown, Sir *Edward Zouch* his in the Court, Sir *George Reinel's* in the Kings Bench, and divers others. All which this new Pattent doth sweep away, being places of great worth and dignity.

4. Whether that his Majesties meaning, and your Lordships, that my Lord *Stewards* place shall be (for all his power of Judicature in the *Verge*,) either altogether extinguished, or at leastwise subordinated unto this new Office? A point considerable, because of the greatnesse of that person, and his neerenesse in bloud to his Majestie, and the Prince his Highnesse.

5. Lastly, Whether it be intended, that the offices of the Earl Marshal of England, and the Marshal of the Kings house, which seem in former times to have been distinct offices, shall be now united in this great

great Lord? A power limited by no Law, or Record, but to be searcht out from Chronicles, Antiquaries, Heralds, and such obsolete Monuments, and thereupon held these 60 years, (for my Lord of *Essex* his power was clearly bounded, and limited) unfit to be revived by the policy of this State.

These Questions, if his Majestie intended onely the renewing of this Commission of the Earl Marshals in my Lord of *Arundel* are material and to the purpose. But if his Majestie aymed withal, at the reviving of this old office, *A la ventura*, whose face is unknown to the people of this age; upon the least intimation from your Lordship, I will seal the Patent. And I beseech your Lordship to pardon my discretion in this doubt, and irresolution. It is my place to be wary what innovation passeth the Seal. I may offend that great Lord in this small stay, but your Lordship cannot but know, how little I lose, when I lose but him, whom without the least cause in the world, I have irreconcileably lost already. All that I desire is, that you may know what is done, and I will ever do what your Lordship (being once informed) shall direct as becometh, &c.

That there is a difference betwixt the Earl Marshal, and the Marshall of the Kings house; See *Lamberts Archiron*: or of the High Courts of Justice in England

*Circa Medium.*

The Marshal of England, and the Constable are united in a Court, which handleth onely Duels out of the Realm, matters within the Realm, as Combats, Blazon, Armorie, &c. but it may meddle with nothing tryable by the Lawes of the Land.

The Marshal of the Kings Houshold is united in a Court with the Seneschal or Steward, which holds plea of Trespasses, Contracts, and Covenants made within the Verge, and that according to the Lawes of the Land, *Vid. Artic. Super Cart.* C. 3.4.5.

We do all of us conceive the King intended the first place only for this great Lord, and the second to remain in the Lord Stewards managing. But this new Patent hath comprehended them both. This was fit to be presented to your Lordship.

*The*

*Most Noble Lord,*

I Have seen many expressions of your love in other mens Letters (where it doth most naturally and purely declare it self) since I received any of mine own. It is much your Lordship should spare me those thoughts, which pour out themselves in my occasions: But to have me and my affaires in a kind of affectionate remembrance, when your Lordship is saluting of other Noble men, is more then ever I shall be able otherwaies to requite then with true prayers and best wishes. I received this afternoon (by Sir *John Brook*) a most loving Letter from your Lordship, but dated the 26th. of *Novemb.* imparting your care over me for the committing of one *Beeston* for breach of a Decree. My Noble Lord, Decrees once made must be put in execution, or else, I will confesse this Court to be the greatest imposture, and Grievance in this Kingdom. The damned in Hell do never cease repining at the Justice of God, nor the prisoners in the Fleet, at the Decrees in Chancery; of the which hell of prisoners this one, for antiquity and obstinacy may passe for a Lucifer. I neither know him, nor his cause, but as long as he stands in Contempt, he is not like to have any more liberty.

His Majesties last Letter, though never so full of honey (as I find by passages reported out of the same, being as yet, not so happy as to have a sight thereof) hath notwithstanding afforded those Spiders which infest that noble House of Commons, some poyson, and ill constructions to feed upon, and to induce a new diversion, or plain Cessation of weightier businesses. His Majestie infers, (and that most truly, for where were the Commons before *Henry* the first gave them authority to meet in Parliaments?) that their priviledges are but Graces and favours of former Kings, which they claim to be their inheritance, and natural birthrights. Both these assertions (if men were peaceably disposed, and affected the dispatch of the common businesses) might be easily reconciled.

These priviledges were originally the favours of Princes, and are now inherent in their persons: Nor doth his Majestie go about to impair or diminish them. If his Majestie will be pleased to qualifie that passage with some mild and noble exposition, and require them strictly to prepare things for a Session, and to leave this needlesse dispute, his Majestie shall thereby make it appear to all wise and just men, that these persons are opposite to those common ends, whereof

they vaunt themselves the onely Patrons. But do his Maiestie what he please, I am afraid (although herein the Lord Treasurer and others do differ from me) they do not affect a Sessions, nor intend to give at this time any Subsidie at all.

Will the King be pleased therefore to add in this Letter (which must be here necessarily upon Munday morning) that if they will not prepare bills for a Session, his Majesty will break up this Parliament without any longer Prorogation, and acquainting the Kingdom with their undutifulnesse and obstinacy, supply the present wants by some other meanes. Or will his Majesty (upon their refusal) presently rejourn the the Assembly until the appointed 8th. of Feburary. This course is fittest for further advice, but the other to expresse a just indignation. I dare advise nothing in so high a point, but humbly beseech almighty God to illuminate his Majesties understanding to insist upon that course, which shall be most behoveful for the advancement of his service. In our house his Majesties servants are very strong, and increase every day, nor is there the least fear of any Malignant opposition. God reward all your Lordships goodnesse and affection towards. &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke about Mr.* Thomas Murrayes *Dispensation, &c.* 23. *Febr.* 1621.

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Should fail very much of my duty to his Majestie, if before the sealing of Mr. *Thomas Murrayes* Dispensation, I should not acquaint his Majestie explicitely, and freely, with the nature of this act, far differing from any dispensation in this kind, ever granted by his Majestie, since his happie coming to the Crown of England. For (to say nothing of the right of the election of this Provost, which being originally not in the King, but in the fellowes, and now by their neglect devolved unto me, shall be fully and absolutely at his Majesties command) the place is a living with cure of souls, and I am to institute and admit him to the cure of souls of the Parish of Eaton by the expresse Letter of the Statute; without admission, it is impossible he should receive any real or rightful possession of the same. Now that his Majestie or any of his Predecessors, did ever dispence with a Lay-man to hold cure of souls, I think will be hard for any man to shew by any warrantable president, or record whatsoever. And I know his Majestie to be as much averse from giving any such pre-

sident,

ſident, as any *Prince* in Chriſtendome living this day. This is altogether differing a Deanery, or an Hoſpital, which being livings without cure, have been, and may be juſtly conferred by his Majeſtie upon Lay-men with diſpenſations *de non promovendo*. If Sir Henry *Savil's* example be objected, I anſwer, (beſides that the Queen made Clayme to the guift of the place by *lapſe*, occaſioned through the promotion of the Provoſt to the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter*, whereas his Majeſtie hath no ſuch Clayme thereunto at this time) That *Savil* never durſt take true poſſeſſion of the place, but was onely ſlipt in by the Biſhop, (who for fear of the Earl of *Eſſex* made bold with the conſcience) *Ad Curam et regimen Collegii*, that is, to the care and government of the Colledge. Whereas by the expreſſe words of the foundation, he is to be admitted, *Ad Curam animarum Parochianorũ Eccleſiæ Ætoniana*, to the Cure of the ſouls of all the people of the Pariſh of Eaton. Secondly, I hold it no Diſparagement to Mr. *Murray* (nor do find him all together averſe from the ſame) to enter into orders in the raign of a King ſo favourable to our Coat, as (Gods name be praiſed for it) raigns now over us. This will give ſatisfaction to all the Church, bring him into this place according to ſtatute, and the foundation of that dead King, prevent ſuch a dangerons preſident for a Lay-man to poſſeſſe cure of ſouls in the Eye, and Center of all the Realm, and by an everlaſting teſtimony of his Majeſties Piety to the Church of England. Thirdly, what opinion this Gentleman hath of our Church government is better known to his Majeſtie, then to me. If he ſhould be averſe thereunto, it were ſuch a blow unto the Church (the number of the Fellowes and Students there conſidered) as the like were never given by publique authority theſe 50. Years. Fourthly, howſoever his Majeſtie, and the Prince his Highneſſe ſhall reſolve thereof (at whoſe feet I lie to be wholly diſpoſed) I hope it is neither of their royal intendments to transfer the Biſhopprick of *Lincolne* upon the Fellowes of that houſe, who have raſhly uſurped a Power of admitting their Provoſt by any example ſeen before. Whereas all Provoſts as well the Churchmen, who come in by Election, as the Lay-men recommended by the late *Queen*, were (as the foundation exactly requires it) admitted by the Biſhop of *Lincolne* their Diocæſand and Viſitor. I hope it was Mr. *Murraies* inexperience rather then neglect (never deſerved by me) that directed them to this ſtrange courſe; ſubſcription, and other conformities, to be acted in the preſence of the Viſitor, are eſſentially to be required before he can be admitted Provoſt of Eaton. Laſtly, Mr. *Murraie* hath hitherto miſtaken all his courſe. He muſt be firſt

diſpenſed withal (If his Majeſtie in his wiſedom ſhall hold it fit) and then Elected firſt Fellow, and then Provoſt of the Colledg (if he will come in regularly, and ſafely) whereas now contrary to *Savils* preſident, he is firſt Elected, and then goes on with his diſpenſation.

All this I moſt humbly intreat your Lordſhip to make known to the Prince his Highneſſe, and as much as your Lordſhip thinks fit thereof, to his Majeſtie. I will only adde one note, and ſo end. It will be no more diſparagement for Mr. *Murray* his Highneſſe Schoolmaſter to enter into orders, then it was for *Coxe* King *Edwards* Schoolmaſter, a Maſter of Requeſts, and Privie Counſellour, to do the like, who afterwards became a worthy Prelate of this Church. I have diſcharged my duty to the King, Prince, and the Church of England. It remains now, that I ſhould (as I will) religiouſly obey whatſoever I ſhall be directed in the ſequel of this buſineſſe. And ſo I reſt, &c.

*Poſtſcript.*

MY Lord, Mr. *Murray* ſince came unto me, to whom I ſhewed this Letter, and told him I would ſend it unto you to be ſhewed unto the King, and the Prince. I find him willing to run all courſes, Prieſthood onely excepted. If the King will diſpence with him, my Letter notwithſtanding, I humbly beſeech his Majeſtie, to write a Letter unto me, as a warrant to admit him only *Ad Curam et Regimen Collegii*, inſtead of the other words, *Ad Curam animarum.* I ſchooled him ſoundly againſt Puritaniſme, which he diſavowes, though ſomewhat faintly; I hope his Highneſſe and the King will ſecond it.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about the Liberties of* Weſtminſter, 6. *May.* 1621.

*My moſt Noble Lord,*

I Humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to be a little ſenſible of thoſe injurious affronts, offered without any ſhew of equity unto this poor Liberty of *Weſtminſter.* And for Gods ſake let me not want that protection, which not your Lordſhip only, but the two *Cicils*, and

the

the Earl of *Sommerſet*, who neither regarded the Church, Learning, nor Honour in any meaſure as you do, have ever afforded every Dean of this Church. When I had (to my thinking) given the Knight Marſhal full, and too much ſatisfaction, this day a Letter was offered to the Table (in my preſence) violently purſued by the Lord Steward, and the Earl Marſhal, to command this liberty, (which had ſtood unqueſtioned theſe 700 years) to ſhew reaſon to Mr. Attourney, and Mr. Solliciter, why they preſcribe againſt the Knight Marſhal. A Courſe (as my Lord Preſident ſaid openly) not to be offered to any ſubject of England. It is our Charter, and freehold of inheritance, to be ſhewed only in a Court of Juſtice, and at the Kings Bench, which we are very ready to do. And we may as well be queſtioned by a Letter from the Councel, for all the Land we have, as for this. My Lord, the juriſdiction of this place brings not a penny to my purſe, but it hath brought much ſorrow to my heart, and now teares to my eyes, that I ſhould be that unfortunate Contemptible man, who for all the King, and your Lordſhips favour, and the true pains I take in anſwer thereunto, muſt be trampled down above all the Deans that lived in this place. Nor would it ever grieve me, if I had deſerved it from theſe Lords by the leaſt diſreſpect in all the world. I beſeech you for the Churches ſake, and your Honours ſake to be ſenſible hereof, and to know of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Dureſme*, Mr. *Packer*, or Sir *Robert Pye*, whether ever any queſtion hath been made to this liberty in this kind. If a Letter had been recorded to queſtion the ſame, when the Lord Admiral was Steward, and the Lord Keeper Dean thereof, judge you in your Wiſdom what would become thereof in future poſterity, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke.* Aug. 23. 1622.

*My moſt noble Lord,*

YEſterday upon the receipt of your Lordſhips Letters of the 19th. of this inſtant concerning the haſtning of the buſineſſe of the original Writs, I ſent preſently for Mr. Attourney, and Mr. Solliciter, who were altogether unprovided for their parts of the diſpatch, and are caſually forced ſo to be, becauſe three ſeveral Officers, in whoſe records they are to ſearch, are now out of Town, and do not return yet theſe 7. daies. But your Lordſhip ſhall not fail to have

have all things concluded 3. weeks before the Term, and I will (of purpose) put off all general sealing until it be effected.

In the mean time (your Lordships Letter notwithstanding) it will be nothing for your Lordships ease to have Sir *George Chaworth* any way interested in this office of the originals; but I hold it fitter to leave it (as it is in Law and Equity) forfeited for non-payment of rent in his Majesties hands; for upon that issue I do not doubt but my Lord of St. *Albons*, and Sir *George* will be content to hear reason.

I have received extraordinary respects, and expressions from my Noble Lord the Lord Marquesse *Hamilton*, which doth exceedingly comfort and encourage me to go on, with some more alacrity through the difficulties of this restlesse place. I beseech your Lordship (who is *Causa Causarum*, the first Cause, that sets all these other Causes of my Comforts in Going) to take notice of the same, and to undertake this favour to be placed upon a poor honest hearted man, who would (if he were any way able) requite it. Gods blessings, and the prayers of a poor Bishop ever attend your Lordship, &c.

*Postscript.*

THe *Spanish* Embassadour took the alarum very speedily of the titulary Romish Bishop, and before my departure from his house at *Islington*, (whither I went privately to him) did write both to *Rome* and *Spain* to prevent it. But I am afraid, that *Tobie* will prove but an Apocryphal, and no Canonical intelligencer, acquainting the State with this project, for the Jesuites rather then for Jesus sake.

Sir *Tobie Mathews.*

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke about the Lord Treasurer,*
Septemb. 9th. 1622.

*My most Noble Lord,*

THat I neither wrote unto your Lordship, nor waited upon your Lordship hithence my intolerable scandalizing by the Lord Treasurer, this is the true and only cause: I was so moved to have all my diligent service, pains, and unspotted justice thus rewarded by a Lord, who is reputed wise, that I have neither slept, read, written, or eaten any thing since that time; until the last night, that the Ladies sent

for

for me (I believe of purpose) to *Wallingford* house, and put me out of my humour. I have lost the love, and affection of my men, by seizing upon their Papers, perusing all their answers to Petitions, casting up their moneys, received by way of fees, (even to half Crowns, and two shillings) and finding them all to be poor honest Gentlemen, that have maintained themselves in my service by the greatness of my pains, and not the greatness of their fees. They are most of them landed men, that do not serve me for gain, but for experience, and reputation. And desire to be brought to the Test to shew their several books, and to be confronted by any one man with whom they contracted, or from whom they demanded any Fee at all; The greatest summe in their books is five pounds, and those very few, and sent unto them from Earls, and Barons. All the rest are some 20 s. 10 s. 5 s. 2 s. 6 d. and 2 s. And this is the oppression in my house, that the Kingdom (of the Common Lawyers peradventure, who have lost I confesse hereby 20000 l. at the least, saved in the purses of the Subjects) doth now groan under.

Now I humbly beseech your Lordship to peruse this paper here inclosed, and the issue I do joyn with the Lord Treasurer, and to acquaint (at the least) the King, and the Prince, how unworthily I am used by this Lord; who (in my soul and conscience I believe it) either invents these things out of his own head, and ignorance of this Court, or hath taken them up from base, unworthy, and most unexperienced people. Lastly, because no act of mine (who am so much indebted for all my frugality) could in the thoughts of a devil incarnate breed any suspition, that I gained by this office, excepting the purchase of my Grandfathers Lands, whereunto my Lord Chamberlains nobleness, and your Lordships encouragement, gave the invitation. I do make your Lordship (as your Lordship hath been often pleased to honour me) my faithful Confessor in that business, and do send your Lordship a note enclosed what money I paid, what I borrowed, and what is still owing for the purchase.

I beseech your Lordship to cast your eye upon the paper, and lay it aside that it be not lost. And having now poured out my soul, and sorrow unto your Lordships breast, I find my heart much eased, and humbly beseech your Lordship to compassionate the wrongs of

Your most humble and honest
servant,

*J. L. C. S.*

The

## *The Fair and Familiar Conference which the Lord Treasurer had with the Lord Keeper after some Expostulations of his own, and the issue joyned thereupon, at* White-Hall, Septemb. 7. 1622.

*Object.* 1. There is taken 40000 l. for Petitions in your house this year.

*Sol.* Not much above the fortieth part of the money for all the dispatches of the Chancery, Star-Chamber, Councel-Table, Parliament, the great Dioceſſe of *Lincoln*, the jurisdiction of *Westminster* and S^t. *Martins le Graund*; All which have resort to my house by Petitions.

*Ob.* 2. You have your self a share in the money.

*Sol.* Then let me have no share in Gods Kingdom; it is such a baseneſſe as never came within the compaſſe of my thoughts.

*Ob.* 3. It is commonly reported you pay to my Lord Admiral 1000 l. *per mensem.*

*Sol.* As true as the other. The means of my place will reach to no more then two moneths.

*Ob.* 4. You never receive any Petitions with your own hands, but turn them to your Secretaries, who take double Fees, one for receiving, and the other for delivering.

*Sol.* Let the Cloyſters at *Westminster* answer for me. I never to this day received any Petition from my Secretaries, which I had formerly delivered unto them with my own hands. This is a new fashion which my Lord hath found in some other Courts.

*Ob.* 5. You sell dayes of hearing at higher rates then ever they were at.

*Sol.* I never disposed of any since I came to this place, but leave them wholly to the Six Clarks, and Regiſters, to be set down in their Antiquity. Unleſſe his Lordship means hearing of motions in the paper of Peremptories, which I seldom deny upon any Petition, and which are worth no money at all.

*Ob.* 6. You usually reverse Decrees upon Petitions.

*Sol.* I have never reversed, altered, explained, or endured a motion, or Petition, that touched upon a decree once pronounced: but have sometimes made orders in pursuance of the same.

*Ob.* 7. You have 3. Door-keepers, and are so locked up, that no man can have acceſſe unto you.

*Sol.* I have no such officer in all my house, unleſſe his Lordship meanes the Colledge Porters; nor no locks at all, but his Majesties buſineſſe, which

which I muſt reſpect above Ceremonies and Complements.

You are cryed out againſt over all the Kingdom for an unſufferable oppreſſion and grievance. *Object. 8.*

His Lordſhip (if he have any friends) may hear of ſuch a Cry, and yet be pleaſed to miſtake the perſon cryed out againſt. *Sol.*

All the Lords of the Councel cry out upon you, and you are a wretched and a friendleſſe man, if no man acquaints you with it. *Ob. 9.*

I am a wretched man indeed if it be ſo. And your Lordſhip (at the leaſt) a very bold man if it be otherwiſe. *Sol.*

I will produce particular witneſſes, and make all theſe Charges good. *Ob. 10.*

I know your Lordſhip cannot, and I do call upon you to do it, as ſuſpecting all to be but your Lordſhips envie and malice to that ſervice of the Kings, and eaſe of his Subjects, which God hath enabled me to accompliſh, and perform in this troubleſome Office. *Sol.*

*J. L. C. S.*

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke,* 21. of September. 1622.

*My moſt noble Lord,*

MY Lord *Brook* diſwarning me (from his Majeſtie) from coming to *Theobalds* this day, I was enforced to trouble your Lordſhip with theſe few lines. My moſt humble thanks for your Lordſhips moſt free, and moſt loving Letter, I do willingly confeſſe my errour, yet ſtill of the mind, that your Lordſhip only, who juſtly taxed it, hath made it to be an errour. If your love to me had not exceeded all reaſon, and deſert of mine, my complaints were not effects of melancholy, but of a real ſuffering, and miſery. I do confeſſe (and reſt ſatisfied withal) that his Majeſties Juſtice, and your Lordſhips love are anchors ſtrong enough, for a mind more toſſed then mine is, to ride at. Yet pardon me, my Noble Lord, upon this Conſideration, if I exceeded a little in paſſion, the natural effect of honeſty, and innocency. A Church-man, and a woman, have no greater Idol under heaven, then their good name. And yet they cannot fight at all. Nor with credit, ſcold, and leaſt of all recriminate, to protect and defend the ſame. Their onely revenge left them, is to grieve, and complain.

My misery I took to be this. I am one of those that labour in his Majesties Cole-mines under the earth, and out of sight. My pains from five a clock in the morning to 10. or 12. at night are restlesse, and endlesse, but under earth, and out of his Majesties sight. What other men do (or but seem to do,) it is ever before the Kings face, and if his Majestie will not look on it, if he hath eares about him, he shall be told of it so often by the parties themselves, that he must hear of it whether he will or no.

And as my service (by this remotenesse is hidden from the King, so is it liable to be traduced to the King, and my relief (as in dispatching the motions of poor men by Petitions allowable to my orders,) made to be a Grievance to the Common Wealth. But in all these fourteen dayes (wherein by the voice of the City, I have remained a prisoner in my house,) where is that one party grieved, that hath troubled his Majestie with Complaints against me? Onely my Lord Marshal hath dealt with my noble Lord Marquesse *Hamilton*, my Lord of *Carlile*, my Lord Treasurer (as your Lordship may soon know by asking the question) to make a faction to disgrace the poor Lord Keeper, who never dreamt thereof.

Sir *Gilbert Haughton* hath complained to my Lord Treasurer of my men for taking, (*Hugh Holland* was by and heard him;) If your Lordship do but ask him his reason, I think it will appear how well grounded their complaints be. Upon those two former Anchors I will therefore rest, and that so far from Cowardlinesse, that I will either challenge them before his Majestie to make good their suggestions, or else (which I hold the greater valour of all, and which I confesse I wanted before this check of your Lordships) go on in my Course, and scorn all these base, and unworthy scandals as your Lordship shall direct me.

I have sent a Copy of a Letter of mine to my Lord *Anan*, which his Majestie hath seen, and given his assent it should not be kept private; yet I would humbly crave your Lordships opinion thereof (by Mr. *Packer*) before any Copy goeth from me.

I am ever, &c.

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Will speak with the Jesuit to morrow, and deliver him his admonition from the King, but do send your Lordship here inclosed a Copie of the Conference which I procured from him without his privity, onely to make his Majestie, and your Lordship merrie. I have also received a Letter concerning the French Embassador which I will be ready to put in execution as your Lordships servant, and Deputy but not otherwise. Yet your Lordship will give me out of that freedom (which was wont to be well interpreted by your Lordship) to let your Lordship understand, that I find all businesses of restitution of ships, and goods thus taken, to have been handled before the Councel in Star-chamber all the reigns of Henry 7th. and H. 8th. without any contradiction of the Lord Admiral for the time being. But this to your Lordship in secret. I will be very careful of the Earl of *Desmond*, that neither his cause, nor your Lordships reputation shall suffer thereby. And this is the account I can yet give of your Lordships Letter, save that I humbly expect that answer, which your Lordships own Luckie hand hath promised in the postscript of one of them. I would ease your Lordship in this place, but to prevent complaint that (peradventure) may be first invented, and then presented. Your Lordship shall heare of a long narrative of our Councel Table dispatches. That passage of our letter, which (as it now goeth) doth hope that his Majestie will spare to confer any suites of moment in Ireland until the return of the Irish Committee, was a blunt request to the King, to grant no suites there without our advice. Against this (concluded in my absence the first day of the Tearm) I spake first to the Prince privately (who allowed of my reasons) then (when the President would not mend it) at the Table openly, that I did utterly dislike we should tutour his Majesty, how to grant suits especially in Letters, that are to remain upon record. My Lord of Cantuar. and the, Earle Marshal said, they had many Presidents in that kind. I answered, I knew they had none but in the Kings time, and that I wished them (as I do) all torn out of the book and cast into the fire. I concealed my reasons, which now I will reveal unto your Lordship, because this is the third time, I have expressed unto your Lordship under my hand, my dislike of this kind of Limiting his Majestie otherwise then by word of mouth. First if his Majestie (which we see so often done) shall dispose of these suites otherwise, here are so many records remaining to ma-

litious men to observe his Majesties averseneſſe from following the advice of the Councel board.

Secondly, if your Lordſhip ſhall procure any ſuit in this kind here are records alſo in time to come, that you croſſe and thwart the government of the Kingdom. And I pray God this be but mine own jealouſie. The paſſage in the Letter with my Prating, and his Highneſſe help was altered, and for fear of miſreporting, I make bold to relate the truth hereof to your Lordſhip.

My Lords proceeded very reſolutely in thoſe reformations, which concerned other men. The Commiſſion of fees enables the Committees to call before them all the Judges, as well as their under Officers (which was more then the King expreſt at Hampton Court) amongſt whom, the Lord Keeper is one, who from the Conqueſt to this day, was never ſubjected to the call of any power in the Kingdom, but the King and the Parliament. And although I have not one Pennie of Fee, which hath not continued above one hundred years, yet for the honour of the Prime place in the ſtate (though now diſgraced by the contemptibleneſſe of the Officer) I am an humble ſuiter unto your Lordſhip, that my Perſon may be exempted from the command of Sr. *Edwin Sandys*, or indeed any man els, beſides the King my Maſter. Otherwiſe I ſhall very patiently endure it, but the King hereafter may diſlike it. The Juſtices of the Peace are alſo appointed, but (if the Judges and my ſelf be not utterly deceived) to no purpoſe in the world, nor ſervice to his Majeſtie. But when their Lordſhips came to ſurrender the under Leivtenantſhips to his Majeſties hands, whom the Lord Preſident, and I held fit to be created henceforward by ſeveral Commiſſions under the Great Seal, it was ſtiffly oppoſed, and ſtood upon, that the King ſhould name them in their Lordſhips Commiſſions onely (according to a Preſident in the late Queens time) that is, the King ſhall have the naming, but they ſtill the appointing of them. And now it was preſſed, that his Majeſtie intended not to diſgrace his Lords &c: and your Lordſhip is to have a Letter from Mr. Secretarie to know his Majeſties mind herein. If his Majeſtie ſhall not ordain them to be created by ſeveral Pattents, it were better a great deal they ſhould continue as they do. I am very tedious in the manner and (peradventure) in the matter of this Letter I humbly crave pardon &c.

## *Passages between the Lord Keeper and* Don Franciſco.

HE was very inquiſitive if I had already, or intended to impart, what he had told me the night before in ſecret, to any man, to the which he did adde a deſire of ſecreſie. 1.

Becauſe
1. The King had charged him and the Frier to be very ſecret.
2. The Embaſſadours did not know that he had imparted theſe things unto me.
3. The Popes were ſecret inſtructions which they gave to the Fryer to urge and preſſe the ſame points, which himſelf had done to the King.

He confeſſed, that the greateſt part of the Friers inſtructions were to do all the worſt offices he could againſt the Duke, and to lay the breach of the marriage, and diſturbance of the peace upon him. 2.

He excuſed the bringing the Copy of that paper unto me, becauſe the Marqueſſe had it yet in his cuſtody, but ſaid he would procure it with all ſpeed. I deſired him to do it, the rather becauſe, beſides my approbation of the form, and manner of the writing; I might be, by it, inſtructed how to apply my ſelf, to do his Majeſtie ſervice therein, as I found by that Conference, his Majeſties bent, and inclination. 3.

He having underſtood, that there was, though a cloſe, yet an indiſſoluble friendſhip betwixt the Duke and my ſelf, deſired me to ſhew ſome way, how the Duke might be won unto them, and to continue the peace. I anſwered I would purſue any fair courſe, that ſhould be propoſed that way; but for my ſelf, that I never meddled with matters of State, or of this nature, but was onely imployed (before this journey of the Prince's) in matters of mine own Court, and in the Pulpit. 4.

He deſired to know if they might rely upon the King, whom onely they found peaceably addicted; otherwiſe they would ceaſe all mediation, and prepare for War. I anſwered, That he was a King that never broke his word, and he knew what he had ſaid unto them. 5.

He commended much the courage and reſolution of the Lord Treaſurer, which I told him we all did, as a probable ſign of his innocency. 6.

He ſaid that the Marqueſſe had diſpatched three *Currers*, and expected large Propoſitions from Spain to be made unto his Majeſtie, concerning the preſent reſtitution of the Palatinate. And that 7.

if

if this failed, they were at an end of Treaty, and the Embassadours would forthwith return home.

11th. *April*, 1622.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Received your Graces Letter by Mr. *Killegrew*, so full of that sweetnesse, as could never issue from any other Fountain, then that one breast so fraught with all goodnesse, and virtue; *Dick Winne* may write freely, (as he talks) but alas! what can my wretched self perform, that should deserve the least acknowledgment from him, to whom I owe so infinitely much more then the sacrificing of my life amounts to? onely my love makes me sometimes write, and many times fear, fondly and foolishly, for the which I hope your Grace will pardon me. I have been frighted more about three weeks since (about quarrels and jarres, which now *Dick Greyhams* hath related in part unto the King) then at this present, I am. For Gods sake be not offended with me, if I exhort you to do that, which I know you do, to observe his Highnesse with all lowlinesse, humility, and dutiful obedience, and to piece up any the least seam-rent, that heat, and earnestnesse might, peradventure, seem to produce. I know (by looking into my self) these are the symptomes of good natures. And for Gods sake I beg it, as you regard the prayers of a poor friend, if the great negotiation be well concluded, let all private disagreements be wrapped up in the same, and never accompany your Lordships into England, to the joy and exultation of your enemies, if any such ingrateful Divels are here to be found: I am in good earnest, and your Lordship would believe it, if your Grace saw but the tears, that accompany these lines.

I beseech you, in your Letter to the Marquesse *Hamilton*, intimate unto him your confidence, and reliance upon his watchfulnesse, and fidelity in all turns, which may concern your Grace. I have often lied unto his Lordship, that your Grace hath in many of my Letters expressed as much, and so have pacified him for the time. If we did know, but upon whom to keep a watchful eye for disaffected reports concerning your service, it is all the intelligence he and I do expect. His Majestie (as we conceive) is resolved to take certain oaths, which you

you have sent hither, and I pray God afterward no farther difficulties be objected. I have had an hours discourse with his Majestie yesterday morning, and do find him so disposed towards your Lordship as my heart desireth; yet hath been informed of the discontentments both with the *Conde de Olivarez*, and the Earl of *Bristol*. Here is a strange Creation passed of late, of a Vice-Countesship of *Maidenhead*, passed to the Heires Males, who must be called hereafter Vice-Countesse *Fynch*. But my Lady Dutchesse hath the Land, and (as they say) hath already sold it to my Lord Treasurer, or shared it with him. I stayed the Patent until I was assured your Lordship gave way thereunto.

My good Lord, because I have heard, that they have in those parts a conceipt of our church, as that they will not believe we have any Liturgie, or Book of common prayer at all, I have (at mine own cost) caused the Liturgy to be translated into Spanish, and fairely Printed, and do send you by this bearer a Couple of the Books, one for his Highnesse, the other for your Grace. Not sending any more unlesse your Grace will give directions. His Majestie was acquainted therewith, and alloweth of the businesse exceedingly. The Translator is a Dominican, a zealous Protestant, and a good Scholer, and I have secured him to our Church, with a Benefice, and a good Prebend. Because we expect every day the dispatching of Sr. Francis Cottington thitherward, I will not trouble your Grace farther at this time, but do earnestly pray unto God to blesse your Grace both now and ever hereafter with all his favours and blessings spiritual and temporal. And rest &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke*, 30. Aug. 1623.

*My it please your Grace*,

I Have no businesse of the least Consideration to trouble your Grace withal at this time, but that I would not suffer Mr. *Greyham* to return without an expression of my respect and obligation. I would advertize your Grace at large of the course held with our Recusants, but that I know Mr. Secretary is injoyned to do so, who best can. His Majestie at Salisbury having referred the suit of these Embassadors to the Earl of Carlile, and Mr. Secretary Conway, sent (by their resolutions) some articles unto us (the Lord Treasurer, Secretary *Calvert*, Sir *Richard Weston* and my self) to this effect.

1. To

1. To grant a pardon of all offences past, with a dispensation for those to come to all the Roman Catholiques, obnoxious to any laws made against the Recusants.

2. And then to issue forth two general Commands under the Great Seal, the first to all the Judges, and Justices of the Peace, anp the other to all Bishops, Chancellours and Commissaries not to execute any Statute made against them.

Their general pardon we have passed, and sent unto his Majestie (from whence it is not returned) in as full and ample manner as they could desire, and pen it. The other general and vast prohibition, I prevailed with the rest of the Lords to stop as yet, and gave (in three dayes conference) such reasons to the 2. Embassadors, that (although it is no easie matter to satifie the Caprichiousnesse of the Latter of them) yet they were both content it should rest until the Infanta had been six Months in England. My reason, if it may please your Grace, was this. Although this general favour, and connivence, whereof there are 20. of the Prime Councel know nothing as yet, must at last be known to all the Land: yet is there a great difference between the publishing thereof *A Golpe*, at one push, as it were, and that instilling of it into their knowledg by little, and little by reason of favours done to particular Catholiques. The former course might breed a general impression, if not a mutinie. This Letter will but loosen the tongues but of some few particulars, who understand of their neighbours pardon, and having vented their dislikes, when they have not many to Sympathise with them, they grow coole again, so as his majestie afterwards may enlarge these favours without any danger at all.

Secondly, to forbid Iudges (against their oaths) and Justices of the Peace (sworn likewise) to execute the law of the Land, is a thing (unpresidented in this Kingdom *et Durus Sermo* a very harsh and bitter pill to be digested upon a suddain, and without some preparation. But to grant a pardon, even for a thing that is *Malum in se*, and a dispensation with Penal Lawes (in the profit whereof the King onely is interested) is usual and full of presidents, and examples. And yet is this Letter onely tending to the safety, the former but to the glory and insolencie of the Papists, and the magnifying the service of the Embassadors ends too dearly purchased, with the indangering of a tumult in three Kingdomes.

Thirdly and Lastly, his Maiestie useth to speak to his Bishops, Judges and Justices of the peace, by his Chancelour, or Keeper (as your Grace well knoweth) and by his Great Seal; and I can signify his Majesties pleasure unto them, with lesse noise and danger, which

I mean to do hereafter, (if the Embaſſadors ſhall preſſe it,) to this effect, unleſſe your Grace ſhall (from his Highneſſe, or your own judgment) direct otherwiſe.

That whereas his Majeſtie being at this time to mediate for favour to many Proteſtants in forraign parts, with Princes of another religion, and to ſweeten the entertainment of the Princeſs into this Kingdom, who is as yet a Roman Catholique, doth hold a mitigation of the rigour of thoſe lawes made againſt Recuſants, to be a neceſſary inducement to both thoſe purpoſes, and hath therefore iſſued forth ſome pardons of Grace, and favour to ſuch Roman Catholiques, of whoſe faithfulneſſe and fidelity to the ſtate he reſts aſſured. That therefore you the Lords, Biſhops, Judges, and Juſtices, (each of thoſe to be written unto by themſelves) do take notice of this his Majeſties pardon, and diſpenſation, with all ſuch penal Lawes, and demean your ſelves accordingly, &c.

Thus have I been too tedious and troubleſome unto your Grace, and Crave your pardon therefore, and ſome directions (which you may cauſe Sir Francis Cottington or ſome other to write, without your Graces trouble) if there ſhall apeare any cauſe of alteration. Doctor Biſhop, the new Biſhop of Calcedon is come to London privately, and I am much troubled thereabouts, not knowing what to adviſe his Majeſtie in this poſture, as things ſtand at this preſent. If you were ſhipped (with the Infanta) the onely Councel were to let the Judges proceed with them preſently, hang him out of the way, and the King to Blame my Lord of Cantuar : or my ſelf for it. But before you be ſhipped in ſuch form and manner I dare not aſſent or Connive at ſuch a courſe. It is (my gracious Lord) a moſt inſolent Part, and an offence (as I take it) Againſt our common Law (and not the ſtatutes onely which are diſpenſed withall,) for an Engliſh man to take ſuch a conſecration without the Kings conſent, and eſpecially to uſe any Epiſcopal Jurisdiction in this Kingdom without the royal aſſent, and Biſhops, have been in this State put to their fine, and ranſom for doing ſo three hundred years ago.

I will ceaſe to to be further troubleſome and pray to Almighty God to bleſſe your Grace, and in all humbleneſſe take my leave, and reſt &c.

## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke*, 14th. *of* October, 1621.

*My most Noble Lord,*

I Humbly thank your Lordship for your most sweet and loving Letter, which (as Sir *George Goring* could not but observe) hath much revived me drooping under the unusual weight of so many businesses. Let God suffer me no longer to be, then I shall be true, plain, faithful and affectionately respectful of your Lordship, as being most bound unto your Lordship for these so many fruits, but far more for the tree that bore them, your love and affection.

If your Lordship shall not think it inconvenient, I do beseech your Lordship to present this Petition inclosed, either by word or writing unto his Majestie, and to procure a speedy dispatch thereof, because we are to meet on Thursday next. Also to acquaint his Majestie, that I stumble at the Proclamation (now coming to the Seal) against any, that shall draw, or present any bill for his Majesties signature, besides those Clarks which usually draw them up, by virtue of their places. It is most prejudicial to my place, the Lord Treasurer, and the Judges *itinerant* who are often occasioned to draw up, and present to his Majestie divers matters, and especially pardons of Course. It is also too strong a tie upon your Lordships hands; being intended by his Majestie against Projectors and Scriveners only. If it shall please his Majestie therefore to make an exception of the Lords of his Councel, and Judges of Assize, it may passe to the contentment of all men. Mr. Attourney saith he meant this exception, but I find it not sufficiently expressed in the Proclamation.

Also I humbly beseech your Lordship to meddle with no pardon for the Lord of St. *Albons*, until I shall have the happinesse to confer with your Lordship; the pardoning of his fine is much spoken against, not for the matter, (for no man objects to that) but for the manner, which is full of knavery, and a wicked president. For by this assignation of his fine, he is protected from all his Creditors, which I dare say was neither his Majesties, nor your Lordships meaning.

I have presumed to send your Lordship a true Copy of that speech, which I made at *VVestminster* Hall at my entrance upon this office; because somewhat was to be spoken at so great a change, and alteration in so high a Court; And I was never so much troubled in my life, not how, but what to speak. I humbly crave pardon, if I have failed

failed in points of discretion, which a wiser man (in such a case) might easily do.

With my heartiest prayers unto God to continue all his blessings upon your Lordship, I rest deservedly, &c.

*Postscript.*

MY Lord, I find my Lord Treasurer affectionately touched with removing from the Court of Wards; and do wish with all my heart, he may have contentment in that, or any thing else, but orderly, and in a right method. Let him hold it but by your Lordships favour, not his own power, or wilfulnesse. And this must be apparent, and visible: Let all our greatnesse depend (as it ought) upon yours, the true original. Let the King be *Pharaoh*, your self *Joseph*, and let us come after as your half-brethren. God blesse you, &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning Sir* John Michel, 8. Aug. 1622.

*My most noble Lord,*

IN the cause of Sir *John Michel*, which hath so often wearied this Court, vexed my Lady your Mother, and now flieth (as it seemeth) unto your Lordship, I have made an order the last day of the Tearm, assisted by the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. *Baron Bromley* in the presence, and with the full consent of Sir *John Michel*, who then objected nothing against the same; but now in a dead vacation, when both the adverse party, and his Councel are out of Town, and that I cannot possible hear otherwise then with one ear, he clamours against me, (most uncivilly,) and would have me contrary to all conscience and honesty reverse the same. The substance of the order is not so difficult and intricate, but your Lordship will easily find out the equity or harshnesse thereof.

Sir *Lawrence Hide* makes a motion in behalf of one *Strelley* (a party whose face I never saw,) that whereas Sir *John Michel* had put a bill into this Court against him, and one *Sayers*, five years ago for certain Lands and Woods, (determinable properly at the Common Law) and having upon a certificate betwixt himself, and *Sayers*, without the knowledge of the said *Strelley*, procured an injunction from the last Lord Chancellour for the possession of the same, locks up the said

*Strelley* with the said injunction, and never proceeds to bring his cause to hearing within five years.

It was moved therefore, that either Sir *Johns* bill might be dismissed to a tryal at the Common Law, or else that he might be ordered to bring it to hearing in this Court, with a direction to save all wastes of Timber trees (in favour of either party, that should prove the true owner) until the cause should receive hearing.

Sir *John* being present in Court, made choice of this last offer, and so it was ordered accordingly. And this is that order, that this strange man hath so often, of late, complained of to your Mother, and now, as it seemeth, to your Lordship. God is my witnesse, I have never denyed either justice, or favour (which was to be justified,) to this man, or any other, that had the least relation to your good and most noble Mother. And I hope your Lordship is perswaded thereof. If your Lordship will give me leave (without your Lordships trouble) to wait upon you, at any time this day, your Lordship shall appoint, I would impart two or three words unto your Lordship, concerning your Lordships own businesse. Remaining ever, &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

NOw that I understand by Sir *John Hipsley* how things stand between your Grace and the Earl of *Bristol*; I have done with that Lord, and will never think of him otherwise, then as your Grace shall direct. Nor did I ever write one syllable to that effect, but in contemplation of performing true service to your Grace.

I was much abused in the Lady *Hennage* her Vice-Countesship, being made to believe, it was your Grace's act, or else I had stayed it finally, (until the Princes return) as I did for a time. If your Grace will give any directions in matters of that nature, I can pursue them. My Lord Treasurers sons Wardship is a thing of no moment at all, and not worthy your Graces thinking of. And in good faith as far as getting, and Covetousnesse will give him leave, I do not see, but that Lord is (since your absence) very respective of your Grace, especially in your own person, and affairs. I never received any answer from your Grace concerning the Provostship of *Eton*, nor was it good manners for me to presse for the same, because in my Letters I did presume to name my self. The place is mine to bestow for this time,

time, and not his Majesties, nor the Colledges. But I do very willingly reserve the Collation of the same, to be disposed as your Grace shall please. Yet this will be a sufficient answer to any former promise, or any reasonable Competitor.

His Majestie (as your Grace best knoweth) promised me at the delivery of the Seal a better Bishoprick, and intended it certainly, if any such had fallen. My Charge is exceeding great, my Bribes are very little, my Bishoprick, Deanery, and other *Commendams* do not clear unto me above one thousand pounds a year at the uppermost. It hath pleased God, that the casualties of my office, (which is all the benefit of the same, and enriched my Lord *Elsmor.*) hath not been worth to me these two years past one shilling. It may mend when it pleaseth God.

I leave all these, and my self, who am your Vassal, at your Lordships feet, and do rest, &c.

Your Graces, &c.

*J. L. C. S.*

*Postscript.*

MAy it please your Grace, I troubled his Highnesse with a long relation of the *Consulto* we had about his Majesties taking of the Oath. Which I had written to your Grace, and not to his Highnesse, but that I was frighted by great men, that I had done his Highnesse a displeasure in pressing his Majesties assent unto the same. And I protest I was so poorly accompanied in my opinion, that I was truly afraid I had not done well. And therefore I took occasion to write my reasons at large unto the Prince. Which I heard by Sir *John Hipsley* from your Grace was well taken. I humbly thank your Grace, who I know forwarded the same. And so I perceive by a Letter from his Highnesse so full of sweetnesse, as I am overwhelmed.

*J. L. C. S.*

The

## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke.* 6. January. 1623.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

*Don Franciſco* being with me this night, about a pardon for a poor *Iriſh* man, whom I reprieved from execution, at the ſuit of thoſe Gentlemen of *Navarra*, which are here with the Marqueſſe, let fall by a kind of ſuppoſition (affirming the matter to be as yet in the womb, and not fully ſhaped, and digeſted) words to this effect.

That if the King of Spain ſhould make a double marriage with the ſecond Brother of *France*, and his Siſter, and beſtow the Palatinate as a Dower upon his ſiſter, in what caſe were we then?

I anſwered, That we ſhould be then, in no worſe caſe (for ought I knew) then we are now: but that *Germany* might be in a far better caſe. Peradventure it was but a word let fall to terrifie me withal.

But your Grace may make that uſe of it, as to underſtand the language, if your Grace ſhall hear any mention thereof hereafter. I am very glad, and do give God thanks *par le mejora de ſu hijucla hermoſiſſima.* And do reſt, &c.

Surely the French Embaſſadour is ſecret and more ſuſpected then formerly by the People.

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## Mr. John Packer *to the Lord Keeper*, 21. January, 1623.

*May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

SInce my coming hither, finding my Lord at good opportunity, I have acquainted him in what perplexity I found your Lordſhip at my coming from *Weſtminſter*, and upon what reaſon. And though I am ſorrie I can make no comfortable relation of his anſwer, yet becauſe it ſo much importeth your Lordſhip to know in what terms you ſtand, I could not conceal it from you, being agreeable to thoſe reports your Lordſhip hath already heard, ſaving that his Grace told me, he doth not ſeek your ruine (as ſome others had related) but onely will hereafter ceaſe to ſtudy your fortune, as formerly he hath done; and withal added the reaſon, that your Lordſhip hath run a courſe oppoſite to him, which though he had cauſe to take ill at your hands,

hands, yet he could have passed it over, if it had been out of conscience, or affection to his Majesties service, or the Publique good, but being both dangerous to your countrie, and prejudicial to the cause of religion (which your Lordship above all other men should have laboured to uphold) he thought, he could not with reason continue that strictnesse of friendship, where your Lordship had made such a separation, especially having divers times out of his love to you, assayd to bring you into the right way, which once you promised to follow; but the two last times you met in Councel, he found, that you took your kue just as other men did, and joyned with them in their opinions, whose aim was to tax his proceedings in the managing of the Princes businesse. But instead of laying it upon him, they did no lesse, then throw dirt in the Princes teeth. For either they would make him a *minor*, or put the refusal of the Ladie upon his Highnesse, and to lay an aspersion upon his carriage there. His Lordships Conclusion with me was, that for any carriage of his, he desireth no other favour, but that the greatest Councel in England may be judge of it, and the like he wisheth for other mens actions. Yet I did what I could to perswade his Grace to expostulate the matter with your Lordship, which he told me, he would no more do, having done it already, but found no other satisfaction, but that by your practise you rejected what he had said, and besides, divulged what had passed between you, as he evidently perceived meeting with it among others. Whereby you gained onely thus much, that they esteemed of you, as of a man fit, by reason of your passion, to set all on fire, but held you not worthy of trust, because you, that would not be true to him, would never be so to them.

My Lord, this is a part I would never have chosen, but being imposed by your Lordship, I could do you no better service then faithfully, and plainely to discharge it, leaving the use to your Lordships wisedom, and ever resting

Your Lordships most humbly at
command,

*J. P.*

*The*

*May it please your Grace,*

NOt presuming to write unto your Grace being so offended at me, but resolved with sorrow, and Patience, to try what I was able to suffer, without the least thought of opposition against your absolute pleasure; his Higness hath encouraged, and commanded the contrary, assuring me (which I cannot repeat again without teares) that upon his credit, your Grace neither did, nor doth conceive any such real distast against me, but did onely suspect I had conceived his Highnesses mind in that full manner, which his Highnesse himself, is now fully satisfied. I did not. In the which errour, and mistake of the Prince his resolution, for want of conference with your Grace, or some other, I did (as I freely confessed) offend his Highnesse, but not your Grace at all. Being ever resolved to stand, or fall (though diversified in opinion) Your Graces most faithful and constant servant. I humbly therefore beseech your Grace first to receive back this enclosed Letter of Mr. *Packers*, and to burn the same, then to receive my soule in gage and pawn.

1. That I never harboured in this breast one thought of opposition to hurt your Grace from the first hour I saw your face.

2. I never consulted (much lesse practised) with any Lord of that Commitee to vote on the one or the other side.

3. I do not know that Lord in England, that hath any design against your Grace, and when I shall know any such, whosoever it be, I shall be his enemy as long as he continueth so unto your Grace.

4. I do not know (nor do I believe,) but that your Grace stands as firm in his Majesties favour, and in his Highnesse as ever you did in all your life.

5. I never made the least shew of siding with any opposite Lord unto your Grace, and I defie any man, that shall avow it.

6. I never divulged your Graces, or the secrets of any man.

In the next place, I do most humbly and heartily crave your Graces pardon, for suspecting (that is the utmost of my offence), so true, real, and Noble a friend. Yet that I may not appear a very beast, give me leave once to remember and ever after to forget, the motives, which drew me so to do. And I will do it in the same order they came into my head.

1. Your Graces charge upon me at York house, that I was a man odious to all the world.

2. *Michels*

2. *Michels Voluntary* Confeſſion, that my Lord *Mandevil* ſhewed him a Letter from Spain, avowing, that the firſt action your Grace would imbarque your ſelf in, ſhould be to remove me out of this place, which the leaſt word of your mouth unto me, is able to do.

3. A report of the *Venetian* Embaſſador, that amongſt others, your Grace intended to ſacrifice me this Parliament to appeaſe the diſlike of immunities exerciſed towards the Catholiques.

4. Your Graces motion unto my ſelf concerning my place (which now I abſolutely know proceeded out of love) at White-hall.

5. A moſt wicked lie, that one told, he heard your Grace move his Highneſſe to ſpeake unto me to quit my place, after your Graces profeſſions of friendſhip to me.

6. Mr. Secretarie *Conwaies* and my Lord *Carlile's* eſtrangedneſſe from me, which I ſuſpected could not be (for I ever loved them both) but true copies of your Graces diſpleaſure.

I have opened to my trueſt friend all my former thoughts, and being fully ſatisfyed by his Highneſſe how falſe they are in every particular, do humbly crave your Graces pardon, that I gave a nights lodging to any of them all.

Although they never transported me a jott further, then to look about how to defend my ſelf, being reſolved (as God ſhall be my protector) to ſuffer all the obloquie of the world, before I would be drawn to the leaſt ingratitude againſt your Grace. All that I beg is an aſſurance of your Graces former Love, and I will plainely profeſſe what I do not in the leaſt beg or deſire from your Grace.

1. No Patronage of any corrupt or unjuſt act which ſhall be objected againſt me this Parliament.

2. No defence of me, if it ſhall appear I betrayed my King, or my Religion in favour of the Papiſt, or did them any real reſpect at all, beſides ordinary complements.

3. No refuge in any of my cauſes, or clamours againſt me (which upon a falſe ſuppoſal of your Graces diſpleaſure may be many) otherwiſe then according to juſtice, and fair proceeding.

And let this paper bear record againſt me at the great Parliament of all, if I be not in my heart, and ſoul, your Graces moſt faithful and conſtant poor friend and Servant.

His Highneſſe deſires your Grace to move his Majeſtie to accept of my Lord *Sayes* commiſſion, and to procure me leave to ſend for him. Alſo to move his Majeſtie that my Lord of *Hartford* may be in the houſe, accepting his fathers place, and making his proteſtation

to sue for his Grandfathers, according to his Majesties Lawes, when the King shall give him leave. His Highnesse, and my Lords do hold this a modest and submissive Petition.

His Highnesse upon very deep reasons, doubts whether it be safe to put all upon the Parliament, for fear they should fall to examine particular Dispatches, wherein they cannot but find many Contradictions. And would have the proposition onely to ayd for the recovery of the Palatinate. To draw on an engagement I propound it might be, to advise his Majestie how this recovery shall be effected, by reconquering the same, or by a War of diversion. This will draw on a breach with Spain, without ripping up of private dispatches. His Highnesse seemed to like well hereof, and commanded me to acquaint your Grace therewith, and to receive your opinion. I humbly, crave again two lines of assurance, that I am in your Grace's opinion as I will ever be indeed, &c.

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*The Heads of that Discourse which fell from* Don Francisco, 7. Die Aprilis, 1624. *at* 11. *of the clock at night.*

*This Relation was sent by the Lord Keeper to the Duke.*

1. HOw he came to procure his accesses to the King. The Marquesse putting *Don Carlos* upon the Prince and Duke in a discourse, thrust a Letter into the Kings hand, which he desired the King to read in private; The King said he would, thrust it into his pocket, and went on with his discourse, as if he had received none. The effect was, to procure private accesse for *Don Francisco* to come and speak with the King, which his Majestie appointed by my Lord of *Kelley*; and he by his secretie, who designed for *Don Francisco* time and place.

2. At his first accesse, he told the King, That his Majestie was a prisoner, or at leastwise besieged, so as no man could be admitted to come at him. And then made a complaint against the Duke, that he aggravated, and pretended accusations against Spain; whereas its onely offence was, that they refused to give unto him equal honour, and observance, as they did unto his Highnesse. And that this was the only cause of his hatred against them.

At

At the last accesse, which was some 4. dayes ago, he made a long invective, and remonstrance unto the King, which he had put into writing in Spanish, which he read unto me, corrected with the hand of *Don Carlos*, which I do know. It was somewhat general, and very rhetorical, if not tragical for the stile. The heads of what I read were these, *viz.* 3.

1. That the King was no more a freeman at this time, then King *John* of *France* when he was prisoner in England, or King *Francis* when he was at *Madrid*. Being besieged and closed up with the servants and vassals of *Buckingham*.

2. That the Embassadours knew very well, and were informed 4. moneths ago, that his Majestie was to be restrained, and confined to his Country house, and pastimes, and the Government of the State to be assumed and disposed of by others, and that this was not concealed by *Buckinghams* followers.

3. That the Duke had reconciled himself to all the popular men of the State, and drawn them forth out of prisons, restraints, and confinements to alter the Government of the State at this Parliament, as *Oxford*, *South-hampton*, *Say*, and others, whom he met at Suppers and Ordinaries to strengthen his popularity.

4. That the Duke to breed an opinion of his own greatnesse, and to make the King grow lesse, hath oftentimes brag'd openly in Parliament, that he had made the King yield to this and that, which was pleasure unto them. And that he mentioned openly before the Houses his Majesties private oath, which the Embassadors have never spoken of to any creature to this hour.

5. That these Kingdomes are not now governed by a Monarch, but by a *Triumviri*, whereof *Buckingham* was the first and chiefest, the Prince the second, and the King the last; and that all look towards *Solem Orientem*.

6. That his Majestie should shew himself to be, as he was reputed, the oldest and wisest King in *Europe*, by freeing himself from this Captivity, and eminent danger wherein he was, by cutting off so dangerous and ungrateful an affecter of greatnesse and popularity, as the Duke was.

7. That he desired his Majestie to conceal this his free dealing with him, because it might breed him much peril and danger. And yet if it were any way available for his service, to reveal it to whom he pleased, because he was ready to sacrifice his life to do him acceptable service.

And this was the effect of so much of the penned speech as I remember was read unto me out of the Spanish Copy.
His Majestie was much troubled in the time of this speech.

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## *His Offer to the King for the restitution of the* Palatinate.

TO have a Treaty for three moneths for the restitution, and that money was now given in Spain to satisfie *Bavaria*. That in the mean time because the people were so distrustful of the Spaniard, the King might fortifie himself at home, and assist the Hollanders with men or money at his pleasure. And the King of Spain should not be offended therewith.

## *His opinion of our preparing of this Navie.*

IT was a design of the Duke, to go to the Ports of *Sevil*, and there to burn all the Ships in the Harbour, which he laught at.

## *Speeches which he said fell from his Majestie concerning the Prince.*

1. THat when he told the King, that his greatnesse with the Duke was such, as might hinder his Majestie from taking a course to represse him. His Majestie replyed; He doubted nothing of the Prince, or his own power to sever them two, when he pleased.

2. His Majestie said, That when his Highnesse went to Spain, he was as well affected to that Nation as heart could desire, and as well disposed as any son in Europe; but now he was strangely carried away with rash, and youthful Councels, and followed the humour of *Buckingham*, who had he knew not how many Devils within him since that journey.

### *Concerning the Duke.*

1. THat he could not believe yet, that he affected popularity to his disadvantage. Because he had tryed him of purpose, and commanded him to make disaffecting motions to the houses, which he performed, whereby his Majestie concluded, he was not popular.

2. That

2. That he desired *Don Francisco*, and the Embassadours (and renewed this request unto them by *Padre Maestro* two dayes ago,) to get him any ground to charge him with popular courses, or to increase a suspition of it, and he would quickly take a course with him.

3. That he had good cause to suspect the Duke of late, but he had no servant of his own, that would charge him with any particular; nor knew he any himself.

*The end (as was conceived) of* Don Francisco's *desiring this Conference.*

HE had heard that the Duke had pusht at me in Parliament, and intended to do so again, when he had done with the Treasurer, and therefore shewed, that if I would joyn to set upon him with the King, there was a fit occasion.

I answered, that the Prince and the Duke had preferred me into my place, and kept me in it, and if I found them pursuing I would not keep it an hour. That what favour soever I shewed the Embassadour, or Catholiques, I did it for their sakes, and had thanks of them for it. And that I would deal by way of counsel with the Duke to be temperate, and moderate; but to be in opposition to my friend, and Patron, I knew he (being one that professed so much love unto me) would never expect from an honest man. Upon the which answer he seemed satisfied, and never replyed word in that kind.

I made an end of writing these notes about two of the clock in the morning.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning Sir* Richard Weston, 24. May. 1624.

*May it please your Grace*,

I Hold it my duty to give your Grace a present account of this Patent made for Sir *Richard Weston*. Having put off the sealing of the same as fairly as I could (though not without the clamour of one *Lake*, a servant of Mr. *Chancelours*, who very saucily prest for a dispatch,) this morning, Mr. *Chancelour* spake with me himself, to whom I made answer, That I would seal his Patent, according to his Majesties Warrant, but would retain it in my hands (as I was directed) Mr. *William Lake*.

rected,) until I either spake with the King, or received his farther Command in that behalf. He told me he would write unto your Grace concerning the stay thereof, and the stand of the Kings businesse, until it were delivered, which course (I told him) was very fair. After I acquainted his Highnesse with my sealing and retaining of the Patent, and asked him, if he knew thereof. His Highnesse answered, he did know thereof, but gave no approbation of the course, and (although he durst not speak to crosse it) he hoped I should have directions from the King to pull off the Seals again. Three houres after I went to his Highnesse the second time, and asked him, if he meant really as he spake, or intended onely to make me believe so. I desired to know his mind, lest I might steer my course contrary to his intendment. His Highnesse answered, He meant really, and would endeavour to effectuate all that he spake. Which I thought very fitting for your Grace to know with all speed.

But for the man himself, I must deliver unto your Grace my conscience. For ought I ever saw in him he is a very honest, and a very sufficient man, and such a one, as I never in all my life could observe to be any way false, or unfaithful unto your Grace. He was brought in by your Grace sore against my will, (as your Grace may call to mind, what I said to your Grace at Woodstock to that effect) not that I disliked the Gentleman, but because I was afraid he would be wholly the Treasurers, who began then to out-top me, and appeared to my thoughts, likely enough by his daring and boldnesse, (two virtues very powerful and active upon our Royal Master,) in time to do as much to your Grace. From that time to this, I never observed in *Weston* any unworthinesse, or ingratitude to your Grace. Nay, craving pardon, I will proceed one step farther, I know no fitter man in England for the office, if he come in as a creature of the Prince, and your Grace's; nor unfitter, if he should offer to take it, without your likings. I think your Grace will remember, that this fortnight, this hath been my constant opinion.

Upon the death of one Mr. *Read*, the Secretaries place for the Latine tongue is void. The Dean of Winchester, and I moved the King for *Patrick Young*, the fittest man in England for that place. And the Prince did, and will second the motion. I Beseech your Grace to assist us, or els the immodesty of his Competitor (that *Lake* I spake of in the beginning of this Letter) will bear down this most honest, and bashful creature.

God be thanked for your Graces recovery and still preserve it. And so &c.

*The*

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

I Humbly thank your Grace for your favourable and Gratious remembrance, ſent by my Neighbour Sir *George Goring*. Though I deſpaire to be able to make any other requital, yet will I never fail to ſerve your Grace moſt faithfully, and when I grow unuſeful in that kind, to pray for you.

I beſeech your Grace, that I may receive from the Prince's Highneſſe, and your Grace, ſome directions how to demean my ſelf to the French Embaſſador, in matters concerning Recuſants, and that Mr. Secretary may either addreſſe himſelf to Mr. Atturny General in theſe cauſes, or elſe write unto me plainely what I am to do.

His laſt letter required of me, and the Judges (who neither are, nor will be in town theſe ſix weeks yet,) an account of this their ſuppoſed perſecution, neither ſo much as intimating unto me what, or when I ſhould return an anſwer, and ſuppoſeth ſome directions his Majeſtie ſhould give me therein, the which (particularly, or dividedly from the Judges) I never received.

I adventured out of mine own head to write that anſwer, I imagine your Grace hath ſeen, whether I did well, or ill therein I know not, but conceived his Majeſtie expected ſome anſwer. Yeſterday the Embaſſador ſent unto me, to know if I had received any order from his Majeſtie to ſtay this (as he tearmed it) perſecution. I aſſured him, there was no ſuch matter in this ſtate, and that as yet, I had received no order from his Majeſtie of late, but was in expectation to hear from the Court very ſhortly. I humbly crave your Graces directions, what I am to ſay, or do in the premiſes, being otherwiſe a meer ſtranger in all theſe proceedings. I write to no bodie herein beſides your Grace, ſo as if I receive no direction, (which upon my head, and livelihood I ſhall burie in all ſecreſie) I ſhall be in a pitiful perplexity, if his Majeſtie ſhall turn the Embaſſador upon me, altogether unprovided how to anſwer. And ſo with my hartieſt prayers for your Graces health, I reſt

yours, &c.

*The*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Could not suffer Sir *George Goring* to depart without these few lines, although the greatest matter of their contents must be this, to expresse unto your Grace my sorrow, and affliction, that I have no matter or occasion at all, wherein to shew actuallie my affections and earnest desires to comply with my bounden duty in serving your Grace, and humbly to desire your Grace to believe, that there is no soul living shall do it more sincerely, and faithfully to the utmost of my understanding, then my self will do. I add this Caution the rather, because if ever I have offended your Grace, I take Almighty God to witnesse, it was onely for want of a perfect understanding of those high matters, and the persons bent, whom they concerned, not out of any corruption of affections towards your Grace, or the least staggering in a continued resolution to live, and die, your Graces most constant, and most faithful servant.

This, God in heaven (who seeth what I now write,) and the King, and Prince upon earth, do perfectly know, and I (nothing doubt it) will acknowledg unto your Grace. And thus with my most humble thanks unto your Grace for that assurance I received, that I remain (though unimployed and unprofitablely) yet in your Graces good affection, I beseech Almighty God to preserve your health, and to increase your favourday, by day with God, with the King, with the Prince, and with all good men. The daily vowes of &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke concerning the Countesse of* South hampton 17. Novemb. 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

I Know how few arguments I need to use to perswade your Grace to works of Nobleness, and charity. Your fashion hath been ever since my happiness of dependance upon you, to outrun, and prevent all petitions in this kind. Yet pardon my boldness to be an humble suitor unto your Grace to go on, as I know you have already begun, in extending your Grace, and goodness towards the most distressed widdow, and children of my Lord of *South-hampton*. Your Grace cannot do any work of charity more approved of by God, more acceptable unto men, and that shall more recommend the memory

memory of your Nobleneſſe to future poſterity. Sir *William Spencer* (the onely Sollicitor this ſorrowful Lady hath now to imploy,) will preſent ſome particulars unto your Grace, whom God ever preſerve in all health, and happineſſe. And ſo, &c.

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*The Lord Keeper to the Duke*, 11. Octob. 1624.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

WIth my moſt humble and hearty thanks for all your favours extended, and multiplyed daily towards me in ſickneſſe and health, which are ſuch, and ſo many, that (although I truſt in God I ſhall never prove ſo inhumane as to fail in any ſervice, or faithfulneſſe to your Grace,) I muſt for all that ever live, and die ungrateful. I thought fit to return unto your Grace this account of the meſſage received by your Grace's Steward.

I ſpake with that Lord, and although he ſeemed to be quite off from the buſineſſe, and had (to my knowledg) diſpoſed of his money for a great, and a fair purchaſe here in *London*, and was reſolved never to touch any more upon *Watt Steward*, (who had touched ſomewhat of his,) and with whom he had agreed for 4000 l. yet hearing the propoſition to come ſo intirely from me, as proceeding immediately from your Grace, whoſe good favours this Lord (I proteſt unto your Grace) hath earneſtly deſired, and if at any time he hath ſtraggled aſide from the Prince's deſires, and yours, it was merely and ſolely becauſe he thought he was not ſo much relied upon as others of his rank. He promiſeth me ſometime to morrow a reaſonable anſwer.

*His material Objections were theſe.*

1. QUantity of the money; ſo as firſt and laſt he is out 16000 l. whereas *Cavendiſh* his Countryman and neighbour got up from a Gentleman, for 14000 l. I anſwered, That I obſerved your Grace never got by any of theſe bargains, but that in this compaſſe of a year or two, your favours exceed any gratuity preſented.

2. Precedencie before *Wallingford*, and eſpecially *Vane*. I did promiſe (for your ſervice) to diſpute the latter, but could ſay nothing to the former, becauſe he was a Viſcount, and his far ancienter Baron.

3. Your Grace's favour, and reflection upon himſelf, (bred up in

the experience of war and peace,) and upon his ſons, all of them well bred, but moſt towards the War. I did anſwer generally, that upon his application of himſelf towards your Grace, I made little doubt, but he ſhould receive good ſatisfaction in thoſe expectances.

4. Times of payment. I told him I knew he would demand but a convenient time therein, and that I knew your Grace would never ſtand upon.

If I have erred in any of theſe addreſſes, I pray let your Steward come, and reform me therein; as alſo to tell me, whether if I find him coming forward, I may not ſay unto him, That your Lordſhip upon a former motion of mine, was willing upon the next change of the Commiſſion for the Councel of the War, to adde him unto the number.

I propoſe this,

1. Becauſe 'tis a new thing.

2. Becauſe he deſires ſome excuſe unto the World, by reaſon of ſome future ſervices, why his Majeſtie ſhould receive him unto this honour. I have wearied my ſelf, and by this time (which doth leſſe become me) your Grace too. I beſeech your Grace to pardon the blottings and extravagancies, my head being yet but meanly ſettled. I beſeech God to bleſſe your Grace. And ſo, &c.

*Poſtſcript.*

MAy it pleaſe your Grace, this Lord hath returned his anſwer, which in good faith ſeemeth to be with due reſpect unto your Grace.

1. That although the place was offered him for 4000 l. yet becauſe the Offer proceeds from your Grace, (which he voweth to eſteem as an eſpecial favour as long as he liveth) he will pay to whom you ſhall aſſign 5000 l. and account it a real obligation of ſervice to your Grace for ever, if you ſhall remit him the other thouſand pound.

2. That for the time, with humble thanks for your noble favour (which becometh not him to take in appointing the time) he returns it to your Grace to nominate two daies of payment, as your Steward, or the perſon aſſigned ſhall think meet and fit for your Graces occaſions, deſiring ſome ſmall reſpite for the former, but as little as the party pleaſe afterwards for the ſecond payment: for his Lordſhip will ſend in for his moneys forthwith. And he will give his bonds, or (which I hold ſuperfluous from ſo ſure a Card) his Morgage in preſent for both payments.

3. If

3. If your Grace shall make him your servant with this favour so nobly condition'd, he hopes your Grace may proceed on with his Patent thus forward, without any stay for any other Corrival, which notwithstanding he humbly refers.

4. But desires, if his presentment be accepted, he may have leave by me to render his thanks unto your Grace personally sometime to morrow.

And so I leave your Grace for this time in Gods protection. And rest

*Yours*, &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke.* 24. December, 1624.

*My most Gratious Lord,*

I Most humbly beseech your Grace for Gods sake, and his Churches, to consider of this motion, which I do make unto your Grace, concerning the Deanerie of *York* now vacant, the Dean being struck dead suddenly, by a Letter, which one Dr. *Scot* procured from his Majestie, to be his Coadjutour.

It is not for any man in particular; but against Doctor *Scot*, that he may not by the importunity of any one upon your Grace be promoted to this place, being the sixth, or seventh place of preferment Ecclesiastical within this Kingdom, but that your Grace would be pleased to remove Doctor *White*, or Doctor *Hall*, or whom your Grace shall please, unto this great Deanery, and bestow the lesser Deanerie (far above his merit) upon him.

For these Reasons.

1. I know that he hath sold away all his Livings which he hath had in this Church, and hath at this day never an one.

2. I am credibly informed, he oweth 5000 l. at the least. A vast summe for a poor Scholar, and too much to be got up in a poor Church. And most of this money in York.

3. I know he is a great Gamester, and of no fitting conversation for a Church-man; but of very mean parts, either of Learning, or government.

4. I am certified at this time, that he is a man often overseen in drink; but this I do not know.

If therefore your Grace shall be pleased, upon my Lord *Mordant's* importunity to procure him any Deanerie, I do not doubt but his Lordship will be satisfied, and that Church eternally obliged unto you for that Commutation. And I beseech your Grace to believe him, that is no way interested herein, that it concerns your Grace very much in credit, and reputation, that so mean a man (amongst such a choice as the Church of England doth afford,) be not by your favour preferred to so high a dignity. God be merciful to my sins, as I have no end herein but your Honour, and the good of that Church, and therefore I recommend no particular man unto your Grace, but do rest

Yours, &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke, concerning* Dr. Scott, 4. January, 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

I Humbly beseech you to interpret favourably, what I said unto his Majestie or his Highnesse, as intending to put off Dr. *Scott* from this place. And no way (God be my witnesse) to crosse your Grace, nor to hurt *Scot*, who might have been otherwaies sufficiently provided for.

But I should have written or spoken unto your Grace? so I did in this Letter enclosed, upon *Christmasse* Eve. But I confesse I durst not send it, for fear of offending your Grace, which I do take all possible diligence to avoid.

But, I spake unto the King, and Prince? I did so; but with this caution, (which I know they do remember,) that if your Grace would not upon the motion exchange *Scot* to some other preferment, I did not hold it fit to presse these charges against him, but would do my endeavour to still and quiet those of the Church of *York*, who (I confesse unto your Grace) are the men that have written against him.

But I recommended Dr. *VVhite*, and another to the Prince, and Dr. *VVarner* to your Grace: I confesse it, but must distinguish the times, and the manner. I commended Dr. *VVarner*, when I was informed Dr. *White* had his answer, and denial, and that your Grace was off from Dr. *Scot*, and did desire to hear from me, what Doctor *Warner* was, whom I recommended onely in general terms upon the

suit

suit of another. What I said of him, I believe, and know to be true, but he is so far from being any creature of mine, that I protest before the Almighty God, I never spake one word with the man to this very hour in all my life. I did conceive so meanly of Doctor *Scot*, that no worthy man in the Kingdom should have failed of my recommendations in this particular.

Now I know your Grace's resolution, I do alter my opinion, and humbly crave your Grace's pardon for my meddling therein, although I know his Highnesse will bear me witnesse, it was with all dutiful respect unto your Grace. I shall be very careful of giving your Grace the least cause of jealousie in this kind again. And whereas I had put a poor suit in your Grace's hands about the helping of my poor fortunes, I will let that, and all others fall, and desire onely to be accounted

Yours, &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke*, 2. March, 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

THis heavy, and unexpected accident of my Lord Stewards death, makes me to be troublesome unto your Grace at this time. In safety and discretion, I might very easily spare this labour: but my obligation to your Grace is such, as if that I conceal any thing, which but my self apprehends fit to be represented to your Grace, whilest I affect the title of a reserved, close, and wise, I may lose the other of an honest man, which I more esteem.

Thus much by way of preface.

I represent this office of a Lord Steward, as a place to be either accepted of by your self, or else to be discontinued (as for many years towards the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the beginning of our Masters raign it was) and in any case, not to be placed upon another, without the deliberation of some few years at the least. Being an office, that none but the Kings Kinsmen, or Favorites, or Counterfavourites (raised up of purpose to ballance the great one) have anciently possessed: I could desire your Grace had it in your own person; for these Reasons.

1. It is an office of fair, and very competent gettings, but that is scarce considerable.

2. It keeps you in all changes and alterations of years neer the King,

King, and gives unto you all the opportunities, and acceſſes, without the envie of a favorite. I beſeech your Grace pauſe well upon this, and call to mind, if the *Duke* of *Richmond* was not in this caſe.

3. It Gives you opportunities to gratifie all the Court, great and ſmall, *Virtute Officii* in right of your place. Which is a thing better accepted of, and interpreted, then a courteſie from a favorite. Becauſe in this you are a diſpenſer of your own; but in the other (ſay many envious men,) of the Kings goodneſſe, which would flow faſt enough of it ſelf, but that it is reſtrained to this Pipe and channel onely.

4. There muſt be one day an end of this attendance as a Bed-chamber man, but I hope never of being next unto the King, as a great Counceller, and officer, and above all others, which you cannot be, but by this office. The Maſter of the horſe is but a Knights place at the moſt, and the Admirals (in time of action) either to be imployed abroad Perſonallie, or to live at home in that ignominie, and ſhame, as your Grace will never endure to do ſo.

I will trouble your Grace with a tale of *Dante* the firſt Italian Poet of note. Who being a great, and wealthie man in *Florence*, and his opinion demanded, who ſhould be ſent Embaſſador to the Pope, made this anſwer, that he knew not who *Si jo vo chiſta, Si jo ſto chi va.* If I go, I know not who ſhall ſtay at home; if I ſtay, I know not who can perform this imployment. Yet your Grace ſtaying at home in favour, and greatneſſe with his Majeſtie, may by your deſigns and directions ſo diſpoſe of the Admiral, as to injoy the glory, without running the hazard of his perſonal imployment. My Gracious Lord, if any man ſhall put you in hope, that the Admiralty will fill your Coffers, and make you rich, call upon them to name one Admiral that ever was ſo. As in time of hoſtility there is ſome getting, ſo are there hungry and inſatiable people preſently to devoure the ſame. God made man to live upon the land, and neceſſity onely drives him to Sea. Yet is not my advice abſolutely for your relinquiſhing of this, but in any caſe for the retaining of the other place though with the loſſe of the Admiraltie.

5. I beſeech your Grace obſerve the Earl of *Leiceſter*, (who being the onely favorite in *Queen Elizabeths* time, that was of any continuance) made choice of this place onely, and refuſed the Admiralty two ſeveral times, as being an occaſion, either to withdraw him from the Court, or to leave him there, laden with ignominie. And yet being Lord Steward, wiſe, and in favour, he wholly commanded the Admiralty, and made it miniſterial, and ſubordinary to his directions.

6. Remember,

6. Remember, that this office is fit for a young, a middle, and an old man to injoy, and so is not any other that I know about his Majesty. Now God almighty having given you favour at the first, and since a great quantity (I never flattered your Grace, nor do now) of wit, and wise experience, I would humbly recommend unto your Grace this opportunity to be neerest unto the King in your young, your middle, and your decreasing age, that is to be on earth, as your piety will one day make you in heaven, an everlasting favorite. There are many objections, which your Grace may make, but if I find any inclination in your Grace to lay hold upon this propositi-on, I dare undertake to answer them all. Your Grace may leave any office you please (if your Grace be more in love with the Admiraltie, then I think you have cause,) to avoid envie. But my final conclusion is this, to desire your Grace most humbly to put no other Lord into this office, without just, and mature deliberation. And to pardon this boldnesse, and haste, which makes me to write so weakly in a theame, that I perswade my self I could maintaine very valiantly; I have no other copie of this Letter, and I pray God your Grace be able to read this. I send your Grace a Letter delivered unto me from *Conde Gondomar*, and dated either at *Madrid*, or (as I observe it was written first,) at London. There is no great matter at whither of the places it was invented. I humbly beseech your Grace to send by this bearer the resolution for the Parliament. And do rest

Yours &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke about Sr.* Robert Howard.
## 11 March 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

SIr *Robert Howard* appeared yesterdy, and continues obstinate in his refusal to swear. When we came to examin the commission for our power to fine him for this obstinacie, we found that Sir *Edward Cook*, (foreseeing out of a prophetical, how near it might concern a Grandchild of his own day) hath expunged this clause (by the help of the *Earle* of *Salisburie*,) out of the commission, and left us nothing but the rustie sword of the church, excommunication, to vindicate the authority of this Court. We have given him day until Saturdy next, either to conform, or to be excommunicated. She hath answered

answered wittilie, and cunningly, but yet sufficient for the Conisance of the Court. Confesseth a fame of incontinencie against her, and *Howard*, but sayeth it was raised by her Husbands kindred. I do not doubt but the businesse will go on well, but (peradventure) more slowly, if *Howard* continue refractory, for want of this power to fine, and amerce him. I beseech your Grace, either to procure me the favour to come, or to excuse my not seeing his Majestie in this time of his indisposition, which I hear still continueth. I beseech Almighty God (as in eternal duty I am bound) presently to ease him, and restore him to his perfect health Mr. *Packers* being away makes me unmannerly. I am humbly to desire your Grace to be pleased to move his Majestie (at your first opportunity) to sign this Commission, for the proroguing of the Parliament, and to read unto his Majestie this paper of names here inclosed, (which his Majestie is not to sign,) knowing his pleasure, whether he alloweth of them for Commissioners for the last subside of the Lords. I have added to the former the Earl of *Montgomerie* according to your Graces direction, whom God almighty ever preserve. It is the prayer of &c.

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Duke* 13. March. 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

FOr your Brothers businesse, this is all I have to acquaint your Grace with. Sir *Robert Howard* appeared yesterday at Lambeth, pretended want of Councel, (the Doctors being out of town) desired respite until to morrow, and had it granted by my Lords Grace. Most men think he will not take his oath at all; I do incline to the contrary opinion, because (to my knowledge) he hath sent far, and near for the most able Doctors in the Kingdom to be feed for him, which were great follie if he intended not to answer. He is extreamly commended for his closeneſse and secresie by the major part of our auditors, (the Hee and Shee good fellowes of the town,) and though he refuseth to be a Confessor, yet is sure to die a Martyr, and most of the Ladies in town will offer at his shryne. The Lady *Hatton* some nine dayes since, was at Stoke, with the good Knight her Husband for some counsel in this particular. But he refused to meddle therewithal, and dismist her Ladiship, when she had stayed with him very lovingly half a quarter of an hour.

The cause of my troubling your Grace is this. The French Embassador

baſſadour is fired with ſome complaints of our Recuſants, who (I verily believe) work upon him purpoſely, finding him to be of a combuſtible diſpoſition. To morrow he is reſolved to come upon you, and our Maſter with Complaints, for lack of performances to the Papiſts. And becauſe I would furniſh your Grace with as much anſwer, as I am acquainted with, (nothing doubting but your Grace is otherwaies better provided,) I make bold to preſent your Grace with theſe particulars.

1. With a Letter from my Lord Archbiſhop of York in anſwer to another of mine; which ſhews how really his Majeſties promiſe hath been in that kind performed. I beſeech your Grace to keep it ſafe in your pocket, until I ſhall have the honour to wait upon your Grace, when you have made uſe of the ſame.

2. If your Grace ſhall hear him complain of the Judges in their charges, and of their receiving of Indictments; your Grace may anſwer, That thoſe charges are but orations of Courſe, opening all the penal Lawes, and the Indictments being preſented by the Country, cannot be refuſed by the Judges. But the Judges are ordered to execute nothing actually againſt the Recuſants, nor will they do it, during the negotiation.

3. Your Grace may put him in mind, that my Lord Keeper doth every day, when his, (the Lord Embaſſadours) Secretary calls upon him, grant forth Writs to remove all the perſons indicted in the Country into the Kings Bench, out of the power and reaches of the Juſtices of the Peace. And that being there, the King may, and doth releaſe them at his pleaſure.

4. That the Spaniſh Embaſſadour never had, nor deſired more then theſe favours.

5. That you are informed, that Copies of Letters written from the King to both the Archbiſhops are ſpread abroad in *Staffordſhire*, to his Majeſties diſadvantage (for ſo it is) and that thereby my Lord Embaſſadour may perceive the bent of the Engliſh Catholiques, which is not to procure eaſe and quietneſſe to themſelves, but Scandals to their neighbouring Proteſtants, and diſcontentments againſt the King and State.

I humbly crave your Graces pardon for this boldneſſe, and tediouſneſſe, and with my hearty prayers for your health, do reſt

yours, &c.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

I Send your Grace here incloſed, the Kings Commiſſion, and the Prince's Proxie, not fairly written, (which the Embaſſadours upon the place may procure in a frech hand,) but yet legibly, and paſſably. The Prince's Proxie refers the manner unto the articles, and particularly to the ſecond, third, and fourth Section of thoſe Articles; which gives me occaſion to begg of your Grace pardon, to deſire your Grace to think ſeriouſly upon the third Section, to adviſe with the Prince, and to give Mr. *Packer* charge to inform your Grace punctually what he knoweth, and may inform himſelf concerning thoſe particulars. That is, How the Queen *Margaret* of France was married to *Henry* the fourth, and how Madam his ſiſter was married to the Prince of *Lorrain*. For although they are both made alike in the article, yet ſurely they were not married after the ſame faſhion. For the Dutcheſſe of *Barr* was married in a cloſet, without a Maſſe, by words onely of the Preſent tenſe, as I believe, I have read in the Hiſtorie of *Thuanus*. A favour, which will hardly be granted to your Grace. And how Queen *Margaret* was married, my Lords the Embaſſadours will ſoon learn, if your Grace will be pleaſed to write unto them.

I hold it (in a manner) neceſſary, that your Grace do carrie over with you in your company one Civilian to put your Grace in mind of the formalities required; and if your Grace be of that mind, your own Doctor, Dr. *Reeves* is as fit as any man elſe, who is a good Scholar, and ſpeaks that language. Your Grace hath revived my Lord of *Clare*, ſithence I ſpake with your Grace. And I beſeech your Grace to follow that reſolution, and to let Mr. *Packer* draw up a warrant of 3. or 4. lines ſigned by the King to me to place him with the reſt of the Councel of War. It will be an occaſion to take up more of that time, which he now ſpends with the Lady *Hatton*. For now I am reſolved, that I was of the right in my conjecture to your Grace, that his Lordſhip had utterly refuſed my Lady *Purbecks* cauſe (of the which the very common peopple begin to be aſhamed) but is deeply ingaged againſt my Lady of *Richmond*, in the buſineſſe of that famous (or rather notorious) fœminine Contract, and bargain, of ſixteen hundred pounds by the year for a houſe to ſleep in.

Dutcheſſe of *Richmond*.

When your Grace ſhall draw up your Inſtructions, you will be pleaſed to uſe the words, To Contract, Eſpouſe and marrie Our Welbeloved Son, &c. becauſe they do in thoſe parts contract alwaies before

before marriage. And your Grace will be pleased to expresse his Majesties pleasure, that this is to be done by your self, and no other: Because although the two Earls upon the place, have some such general words in their Commission, yet your Grace only is named in the Prince's Proxie, and now solely imployed by the King to that purpose. Although I conceived this restraint to be fitter a great deal for the instructions, then the Commission.

I am extream sorry to hear what a grievous fit his Majestie had this last night. But I hope it is a farewel of the Agues, and I pray God it be the last fit. And now am an humble suitor again, that I may come and look upon his Majestie, resolved to say nothing, but that which I will never cease to say, God blesse him. If your Grace holds it inconvenient, I beseech your Grace to excuse me, and to account me as I will ever be found,

Yours, &c.

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*The Bishop of* Lincoln *to the Duke, 7th. of* January, 1625.

*Most Gratious Lord,*

BEing come hither, according unto the dutie of my place, to do my best service for the preparation to the Coronation, and to wait upon his Majestie for his Royal pleasure and direction therein; I do most humbly beseech your Grace, to crown so many of your Grace's former favours, and to revive a Creature of your own, struck dead onely with your displeasure, (but no other discontentment in the universal world,) by bringing of me to kisse his Majesties hand, with whom I took leave, in no disfavour at all. I was never hitherto brought into the presence of a King, by any Saint, besides your self: Turn me not over (most noble Lord) to offer my prayers at new Altars. If I were guiltie of any unworthy unfaithfulnesse for the time past, or not guiltie of a resolution to do your Grace all service for the time to come, all considerations under Heaven could not force me to beg it so earnestly, or to professe my self, as I do before God, and you,

Your Grace's most humble, affectionate, and devoted servant,

*Jo. Lincoln.*

*Most Mighty, and dread Soveraign,*

I Have now these four moneths, by the strength of those gracious speeches your Majestie used, (when I took my leave of your Majestie at *Salisbury*,) and the conscience of mine own innocencie from having ever wilfully or malitiously offended your Majestie, comforted my self in these great afflictions; to be thus injoyned from your Majesties presence (the onely heaven wherein my soul delighted,) having submitted my self (I hope dutifully, and patiently) to the discharge from that great Office (for the execution whereof I was altogether unworthy;) My required absence from the Councel Table; my sequestration from attending your Majesties Coronation: And your Majesties favourable pleasure (for so I do esteem that,) to spare my presence at this next Parliament. And I trust in God I shall most readily obey any other Command, that bears the image and superscription of your Majestie, without any desire of searching after the hand that helps to presse and ingrave it. Yet because I suffer in some more particulars then peradventure is explicitely known to your Majestie: And that I have no friend left about your Majestie, that dares for fear of displeasure relate unto your Majestie my griefs, and necessities, I humbly crave your gratious Pardon to make some two representations, and some few Petitions unto your most excellent Majestie.

First, I humbly shew unto your Majestie, that besides my former Calamities, I am not paid that part of my Pension, which should pay the Creditors, who lent me money to buy the same; notwithstanding your Majestie hath been gratiously pleased to order otherwise.

Secondly, I have not yet received my Writ of Summons unto the Parliament (denied to no Prisoners, or condemned Peers in the late raign of your blessed Father,) that I might accordingly make my Proxie, the which I cannot do, the Writ not received; nor can I my self go into the Countrie, as I had done long ere this, had not the expectation of this Writ, together with the special service of my Lord Duke, and no other occasion whatsoever detained me.

These two particulars I present with all submission unto your Majestie, and shall rest satisfied with what royal resolution your Majestie shall make therein.

These petitions that follow I must earnestly beg at your Majesties hands,

Hands, and for Gods sake, and your blessed Fathers sake, whose Creature, and most painful servant I was.

First, that your Majestie would be pleased to mitigate, and allay the causeless displeasure of my Lord Duke against me; who is so little satisfied with any thing I can do, or suffer, that I have no means left to appease his anger, but my prayers to God, and your Sacred Majestie.

Secondly, I beseech your Majestie for Christ Jesus sake not to believe newes, or accusations against me concerning my carriage past, present, or to come, whilest I stand thus injoyned from your Royal presence, before you shall have heard my answer, and defence unto the particulars. Those that inform your Majestie may (God he knoweth) be oftentimes mis-informed.

My last supplication unto your Majestie is, That in my absence this Parliament, no use may be made of your sacred name to wound the reputation of a poor Bishop, who besides his Religion and Dutie to that Divine Character you now bear, hath ever affectionately honoured your very Person above all the objects in this world, as he desires the salvation of the world to come. But I crave no protection against any other accuser, or accusation whatsoever. So shall I never cease to pray to the Almighty God to make your Majestie the Happiest and Greatest King, that ever was Crowned, and Anointed: which shall be the continual orisons of

Your Majesties most dutiful and
most humble Vassal,

*Jo. Lincoln.*

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## *The Lord Keeper to the Lord* Viscount Anan.

17. Septemb. 1622.

*Right Honourable,*

I Owe more service to that true love, and former acquaintance, which your Lordship hath been pleased to afford me, now these full ten yeares, then to be sparing, or reserved in satisfying your Lordship about any doubt whatsoever, the resolution whereof shall lie in my power. Concerning that offence, taken by many people, both on this side the borders and in Scotland, from that Clemencie which

which his Majestie was pleased to extend to the imprisoned Lay-Recusants of this Kingdom, and my Letter written unto the Justices for the reigling of the same, which your Lordship did intimate unto me yesterday at Mr. *Henry Gibbs* his house, out of some newes received from a Peer of Scotland. This is the plainest return I can make unto your Lordship. In the general, as the Sun in the firmament appears unto us no bigger then a Platter, and the Stars but as so many nails in the pummel of a saddle, because of the Elongement and disproportion between our eyes, and the object; so is there such an unmeasurable distance betwixt the deep resolution of a Prince, and the shallow apprehension of common and ordinary people, that as they will be ever judging and censuring, so must they be obnoxious to errour and mistaking.

Particularly, for as much as concerns my self, I must leave my former life, my profession, my continuall preaching, my writing, (which is instant in the hands of many,) my private indeavours about some great persons, and the whole bent of my actions, (which in the place I live in cannot be concealed, to testifie unto the world, what favour I am likely to importune for the Papists in their religion. For the King my Master, I will tell you a storie out of *Velleius Paterculus*. A Surveyor bragging to M. *Livius Drusus*, that he would so contrive his house *Ut Libera à conspectu immunis ab omnibus arbitris esset*, that it should stand removed out of sight, and be past all danger of peeping, or Eves-dropping; was answered again by *Drusus*, *Tu vero, si quid in te artis est ita compone domum mean, ut quicquid agam ab omnibus Conspici possit*, Nay my good friend, if you have any devices in your head, contrive my house after such a manner, that all the world may see what I do therein. So if I should indeavour to flourish up some artificial Vault, to hide and conceal the intentions of his Majestie, I know I should receive the same thanks, that the Surveyor did from *Drusus*. I was not called to Councel by his royal Majestie, when the resolution of this Clemencie to the Lay-Recusants was first concluded: But if I had been asked my opinion, I should have advised it without the least hæsitation. His Majestie was so Popishly addicted at this time, that (to the incredible exhaustments of this Treasurie) he was a most zealous interceder for some ease and refreshment to all the Protestants in Europe, his own Dominions, and Denmarks onely excepted.

Those of *Swithland* (having lately provoked the *Pole*) had no other hope of peace; those of France of the exercise of their Religion; those of the Palatinate, and adjoyning Countries of the least

connivencie

connivencie to say their prayers, then by the earnest mediation of our gracious Master. And advised by the late Assembly of Parliament to insist a while longer in this milkie way of intercession, and Treatie. What a prepostorous argument would this have been to desire those mighty Princes (armed, and victorious) to grant some liberty, and clemencie to the Protestants, because himself did now imprison, and execute the rigour of his lawes against the Roman Catholiques. I must deal plainely with your Lordship. Our viperous countrymen the English Jesuits in France to frustrate these Pious endeavours of his Majesties, had many months before this favour granted, retorted that argument upon us, by writing a most malitious book (which I have seen, and read over) to the French King, inciting him, and the three Estates, to put all those statutes in execution against the Protestants in those parts, which are here enacted, and (as they falsely informed) severally executed upon the Papists. I would therefore see the most subtile State-monger in the world chalk out a way for his Majestie to mediate for Grace, and favour for the Protestants, by executing at this time the severity of the Lawes upon the Papists. And that this favour should mount to a Toleration, is a most dull, (and yet a most divelish) misconstruction.

A Toleration looks forward, to the time to come: This favour backward onely, to the offences past. If any Papist now set at liberty shall offend the lawes again, the Justices may, (nay must) recommit him, and leave favour and mercy to the King, to whom onely it properly belongeth. Nay let those 2. writs directed to the Judges, be as diligently perused by those rash Censures as they were by those grave, and learned, to whom his Majestie referred the penning of the, same and they shall find, that these Papists are no other-otherwise out of prison, then with their shackles about their heels, sufficient sureties, and good recognisances to present themselves again at the next assises. As therefore that Lacedemonian posed the Oracle of *Apollo*, by asking his opinion of the bird which he grasped in his hand, whether he were alive, or dead, so it is a matter yet controversed, and undecided, whether those Papists (closed up, and grasped in the hands of the law) be still in prison, or at libertie. Their own demeanours, and the successe of his Majesties negotiations, are Oracles that must deside the same. If the Lay-papists do wax insolent with this mercy, insulting upon the Protestants, and translating this favour from the person to the cause, I am verily of opinion his Majestie will remand them to their former state, and condition, and renew his writ no more. But if they shall use these

graces

graces modestly, by admitting Conference with learned Preachers, demeaning themselves neighbourly and peaceably, praying for his Majestie, and the prosperous successe of his pious endeavours, and relieving him bountifully (which they are as well able to do as any of his Subjects,) if he shall be forced and constrained to take his sword in hand, then it cannot be denied, but our Master is a Prince, that hath (as one said) *plus humanitatis penè quam hominis*, and will at that time leave to be merciful, when he leaves to be himself. In the mean while, this argument fetcht from the Devils topicks, which concludes a *Concreto ad abstractum* from a favour done to the English Papists, that the King favoureth the Romish Religion is such a composition of follie, and malice, as is little deserved by that gracious Prince, who by word, writing, exercise of Religion, acts of Parliament, late directions for catechizing, and preaching, and all professions, and endeavours in the world hath demonstrated himself so resolved a Protestant. God by his holy Spirit open the eyes of the people, that these aierie representations of ungrounded fancies set aside, they may clearly discern, and see how by the goodnesse of God, and the wisdom of their King, this Island of all the Countries in Europe is the sole nest of peace and true Religion, and the inhabitants thereof unhappie onely in this one thing, that they never look up to heaven to give God thanks for so great a happinesse.

Lastly, for mine own Letter to the Judges, (which did onely declare, not operate the favour,) it was either much mis-penned, or much misconstrued. It recited four kinds of recusancies onely capable of his Majesties clemencie not so much to include these, as to exclude many other crimes bearing amongst the Papists the name of Recusancies, as using the function of a Romish Priest, seducing the Kings liege people from the Religion established, scandalizing and aspersing our King, Church, State, or present Government. All which offences (being outward practises, and no secret motions of the conscience,) are adjudged by the Lawes of England to be merely civil, and political, and excluded by my Letter from the benefit of those Writs, which the bearer was imployed to deliver unto the Judges.

And thus I have given your Lordship a plain account of the carriage of this businesse, and that the more suddenly, that your Lordship might perceive it is not *Aurea Fabula*, or prepared tale, but a bare Narration, which I have sent unto your Lordship. I beseech your Lordship to let his Majestie know, that the Letters to the Justices of Peace concerning those four heads recommended by his Majestie,

shall

shall be sent away as fast as they can be exscribed. I will trouble your Lordship no more at this time, but shall rest ever

Your Lordships servant and
true friend,

*Jo. Lincoln. C. S.*

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*The Bishop of* Menevensis *to the Duke*: Dr. Laud.

*My most Gratious Lord,*

I May not be absent, and not write. And since your Grace is pleased with the trouble, I must professe my self much content with the performance of the dutie. I am not unmindful of the last businesse your Grace committed to me, but I have as yet done the lesse in it, because I fell into a relaps of my infirmitie, but I thank God I am once more free, if I can look better to my self, as I hope I shall.

My Lord, I must become an humble suitor to your Grace. I hear by good hand that my Lord of *Canterbury* intends shortly to renew the High Commission. Now I am to acquaint your Grace, that there is never a Bishop that lives about *London* left out of the Commission but my self, and many that live quite absent are in, and many inferiours to Bishops. The Commission is a place of great experience for any man, that is a Governour in the Church. And since by his Majesties gratious goodnesse, and your Grace's sole procurement, I am made a Governour, I would be loath to be excluded from that which might give me experience, and so enable me to perform my dutie. I am sure my Lord of *Canterbury* will leave me out, as hitherto he hath done, if his Majestie be not pleased to Command that I shall be in. This I submit to your Grace, but humbly desire even against my own ease and quiet, that I may not be deprived of that experience which is necessary for my place. I most humbly beseech your Grace to pardon this boldnesse, and to know, that in my daily prayers for your Grace's happinesse, I shall ever rest

Your Grace's most devoted and
*Novemb.* 18. 1624. affectionate servant,

*Guil. Menevensis.*

## *The Bishop of* Menevensis *to the Duke:* Dr. Laud.

*My most Gracious Lord,*

I Am heartily glad to hear your Lordship is so well returned, and so happily as to meet so great joy. God hath among many others his great blessings (and I know your Grace so esteems them) sent you now this extraordinarie one, a son to inherit his fathers honours, and the rest of Gods blessings upon both. So soon as I came to any end of my journey, I met the happie news of Gods blessing upon your Grace, and it seasoned all the hard journey I have had out of *Wales* through the Snow. When I had rested my self a little at my friend's house in the Forrest (Mr. *Windebank* a servant of your Grace's, whom I made bold to make known to your Honour) I came to *Windsor* in hope to have been so happie, as to meet your Grace at the great solemnitie: but when I came, I found that which I suspected, that your Grace's greater joy would carrie you farther. Which journey, and the cause, and the end of it, I heartily wish, and pray may be full of joy, and all contentment to your Grace. I made bold to trouble your Grace with a Letter or two out of *VVales*, which I hope Mr. *VVindebank* took the best care he could to see delivered. I have no means to do your Grace any service, but by my prayers, and they do daily attend, and shall ever, while I breathe to utter them. I hope though I have missed this opportunitie, yet I shall be so happie as to see, and wait upon your Grace at *London*. In the mean time, and ever, I leave your Grace, and all your home-blessings to the protection of the Almightie, and shall ever be found

*VVindsor*, 13. Decemb. 1625.

Your Graces most devoted and affectionate servant,

*Guil. Meneven.*

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## *Doctor* Mountague *Bishop of* Chichester *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

YOur Highnesse vouchsafed at *VVindsor* to let me understand, that his Majestie my gracious Master and Soveraign, had taken me off from that trouble and vexation, which by some mens procurement, I

was

was put unto in the House of Commons. They as I understand, think not so, but intend to proceed against me so far as they can, as having returned his Majestie no other answer, but that I was freed from imprisonment. It is true, that besides 20 l. which the Serjeant had of me by exaction for fees, they bound me unto him in a bond of 2000 l. to appear before them, the first day of the next Sessions. I beseech your Grace, that as you have been pleased to tie me unto your excellent not onely self, but also most honourable Sister in that bond of obligation, as never was poor Scholar to such Worthies; so you would be pleased to let his Majestie understand the case, that by your means I may be absolutely discharged, with the redeliverie of my bond from them, whom I never offended, who (under correction) have nothing to do with me; and as his Majesties servant be left unto himself, especially for that which was authorised by himself, and commanded by his Father, my late Master of ever blessed memorie. If his Majestie will be pleased to call for their accusations against me, if I do not really and thoroughly answer whatsoever is, or can be imputed to me out of my books, I will no further desire favour and protection of his Majestie, and your Gracious self, but be willingly left unto my enemies. I must crave pardon for presuming thus to trouble your Grace, the rather because through a grievous affliction of the Collick and Stone, I am not able personally to attend your Grace, whom according unto my most bounden dutie, I daily recommend unto the Almightie, being more obliged unto your noble self, then ever to any one. So remaining

Most humbly at your Graces
*Petworth*, 29. *July*. service ever,

*Ri. Mountague.*

1. IF any or all the Papists living can prove, that the Roman Church, as it now stands in opposition to the Church of England, is either the Catholique Church of Christ, or a sound member of the Catholique Church,

I will subscribe.

2. If any or all the Papists living can prove unto me, that the Church of England as it standeth at this day, is not a true member of the Catholique Church,

I will subscribe.

3. If any or all the Papiſts living can prove unto me, that any one point at this day maintained by the Church of *Rome* againſt the Church of *England*, was the received Doctrine of the Catholique Church, or concluded by any general Councel, or particular approved Councel, or reſolved of by any one Father of Credit to be ſuch, for 500. years at leaſt after Chriſt,

I will ſubſcribe

*Ri. Mountague.*

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## *The Biſhops of* Rocheſter, Oxford, *and* St. Davids, *to the Duke, concerning Mr.* Mountague.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

WEE are bold to be ſuitors to you in the behalf of the Church of England, and a poor member of it Mr. *Mountague*, at this time not a little diſtreſſed. We are not ſtrangers to his perſon, but it is the Cauſe which we are bound to be tender of.

The cauſe we conceive (under correction of better judgment) concerns the Church of England merely; for that Church when it was reformed from the ſuperſtitious opinions broached, or maintained by the Church of *Rome*, refuſed the apparant and dangerous errours, and would not be too buſie with every particular School point. The cauſe why ſhe held this moderation was, becauſe ſhe could not be able to preſerve any unitie amongſt Chriſtians, if men were forced to ſubſcribe to curious particulars diſputed in Schooles.

Now may it pleaſe your Grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late Book of Mr. *Mountague*, are ſome of them ſuch, as are expreſly, the reſolved doctrine of the Church of England, and thoſe he is bound to maintain. Some of them ſuch as are fit onely for Schooles, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own ſenſe, ſo they keep themſelves peaceable, and diſtract not the Church. And therefore to make any man ſubſcribe to Schoole opinions, may juſtly ſeeme hard in the Church of Chriſt, and was one great fault of the Councel of *Trent*. And to affright them from thoſe opinions in which they have (as they are bound) ſubſcribed to the Church, as it is worſe in it ſelf, ſo it may be the Mother of greater danger.

May

May it please your Grace farther to consider, that when the Clergie submited themselves in the time of Henry the 8th. the submission was so, that if any difference doctrinal, or other fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be Judges of it in a national Synode, or Convocation, The King first giving leave under his broad Seale, to handle the points in difference.

But the Church never submitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can Shee, though Shee would. And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, and then to move his most Gracious Majestie (if you shall think fit) what dangerous Consequences may follow upon it. For first, if any other Judge be allowed in matter of Doctrine, we shall depart from the ordinance of Christ, and the continual course and practise of the Church.

2. Secondly, if the Church be once brought down beneath her self, we cannot but fear what may be next Strook at.

3. Thirdly, it will some way touch the honour of his majesties dear Father, and our most dread Soveraign of Glorious, and ever blessed memorie, King *James*, who saw and approved all the opinions in this Book, and he in his rare wisdom and judgment would never have allowed them, if they had Crossed with truth and the Church of England.

4. Fourthly, we must be bold to say, that we cannot conceive what use there can be of Civil Government in the common Wealth, or of preaching, and external ministrie in the Church, if such fatall opinions as some which are opposite, and contrarie to these delivered by Mr. *Mountague* are, shall be Publiquely taught and maintained.

5. Fiftly, we are certain, that all or most of the contrarie opinions were treated of at *Lambeth*, and ready to be published, but then Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memorie, upon notice given, how little they agreed with the Practice of pietie, and obedience to all Government, caused them to be suppressed, and so they have continued ever since, till of late some of them have received countenance at the Synod of *Dort*. Now this was a Synod of that nation, and can be of no authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by Publique authority. And our hope is that the Church of England will be well advised, and more then once over, before Shee admit a forraign Synod, especiallie of such a Church as condemneth her discipline and manner of Government, to say no more.

And further we are bold to commend to your Graces wisdom this one particular. His Majestie (as we have been informed) hath already taken this businesse into his own care, and most worthily referred

ferred it in a right course to Church-consideration. And we well hoped, that without further trouble to the state, or breach of unity in the Church it might so have been well, and orderly composed, as we still pray it may. These things considered we have little to say for Mr. *Mountagues* person: onely thus much we know. He is a very good Scholler and a right honest man. A man every way able to do God, his Majestie, and the Church of England great service. We fear he may receive great discouragement, and which is far worse, we have some cause to doubt this may bred a great backwardnesse in able men to write in the defence of the Church of England against either home, or forraign adversaries, if they shall see him sink in fortunes reputation, or health upon his book occasion.

And this we most humbly submit to your Graces judgment, and care of the Churches peace, and welfare. So recommending your Grace to the protection of Almighty God,

We shall ever rest At your Graces service

*Jo. Roffens.*
2. August 1625. *Jo. Oxon.*
*Guil Meneven.*

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## *Doctor* Field *Bishop of* Landaffe *to the Duke.*

*My Gracious Good Lord,*

IN the great Library of men, that I have studied these many yeares, your Grace is the best Book, and most Classick authour that I have read, in whom I find so much goodnesse, sweetnesse, and nobleness of nature, such an Heroick spirit, for boundlesse bounty as I never did in any. I could instance in many, some of whom you have made Deanes, some Bishops, some Lords, and Privy Councellours. None that ever looked toward your Grace did ever go empty away I, need go no farther then my self (a gum of the Earth) whom some 8. years ago you raised out of the dust, for raysing but a thought so high as to serve your Highnesse. Since that, I have not played the Truant, but more diligently studied you then ever before. And yet (Dunce that I am) I stand at a stay, and am a *Non-proficient*, the book being the same that ever it was, as may appear by the great proficiencie of others. This wonderfully poseth me, and sure there is some guile,

guile, some wile in some of my fellow Students, who hide my book from me, or some part of it. All the fault is not in mine own blockishnesse, that I thrive no better. I once feared this before, that some did me ill offices. Your Grace was pleased to protest no man had, and to assure me no man could. My heart tels me, it hath been alwaies upright, and is still most faithful unto you. I have examined my actions, my words, and my very thoughts, and found all of them ever since most sound unto your Grace. Give me leave after so long Patience (for which vertue you were once pleased to commend me to my old Master King *James*, and I have not yet lost it) now that for these 12 Months almost, I have been not onely upon the Stage, but upon the rack of expectations, even distracted between hope and fear, to comfort my self with recordation of your Loving kindnesses of old, when on that great feast day of your being inaugured our Chancellour, my look was your booke, wherein you read sadnesse, to which I was bold to answer, I trusted your Grace would give me no cause. You replyed with (losse of blood rather,) that was your noble expression. But God forbid so precious an effusion. (I would emptie all my veins rather then you should bleed one drop) when as one blast of your breath is able to bring me to the haven where I would be. My Lord I am grown an old man and am like old Househouldstuffe, apt to be broke upon often removing. I desire it therefore but once for all, be it Eli, or Bathe and Wells, and I will spend the remainder of my dayes in writing an History of your good deeds to me and others, whereby I may vindicate you from the envie, and obloquy of this present wicked age wherein we live, and whilest I live in praying for your Grace,

Whose I am totallie and finallie,

*Theophilus Landaven.*

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## *The Bishop of* Landaffe *to the Duke.*

*My most honourable good Lord,*

IT is meet before I beg a new, that I should first acknowledge those benefits, and more specially give thanks for the last noble favour your Lordship did me in standing up the last day of Parliament, and pleading my cause. Never was poor man more bound to a gracious

Lord

Lord for protecting his innocencie: and it came seasonable, like a showr of rain in the time of drouth. My very heart was parched with grief till it came, and it had ere this been broken, had not your Lordships speech then dropt comfort, in strength whereof it yet lives. For an abortive thought, which never came into act, some 2. or 3. years ago conceived, and that tending to a work of mercy, and charitie, a deed of justice, and due thankfulnesse, how far? how foulie have I been traduced? your Honour cannot imagine how deeply I have been wounded in my good name, as if I had deserved deprivation, degradation, yea to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. This can none cure but God, or the King, *Deus in monte*, God hath done his part in providing an occasion. Besides *London* (which is too high for me to look after) and the removes which may be thereby, *Hereford* the next Seat to mine, (whither my Predecessors have oft been removed) is said to be now void. Now good my Lord, speak once more seasonably. It is a doubled, and redoubled, an infinitely multiplied benefit, which is so given. Never had I more need of the Cordial his Majestie gave me at my going into *Wales*, which was that I should not stay long there. It would be a restorative too, not onely of my Credit, so cruelly crackt with the sharp teeth of the wide mouth of vulgar lying fame, but of my estate also, alwaies poor, but lately much more impoverished, and made crazie by occasions of the Church, which drew me to *London* (a place of great expences, as the busie times were) to little purpose: And the Parliament overtaking me, which have held me long, and longer yet are like to hold me here, even to the undoing of my self, my wife and six children, from whom I have now lived 6. or 7. moneths. And what shall I carry home with me but disgrace and infamie? Yet my good Lord, at least procure me of my Lord the King a *Nunc dimittis*, leave to depart. I shall be further out of the reach of pursuing malice, there in the Countrie, do his Majestie better service in gathering up his Subsidies, praying, and teaching my children (whilest I read a Lecture to them, my self was never yet able to get by heart) of parcimony, which must be to them instead of a patrimonie, to pray for his Majesties long life, health, and happinesse. In which prayer shall your Lordship ever be duly remembred by

Your Lordships daily devote
Beadsman,

*Theophilus Landavensis.*

Dr.

## *Dr.* Corbet *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

TO consider my two great losses this week; one in respect of his Majestie to whom I was to preach; the other in respect of my Patron, whom I was to visit. If this be not the way to repair the latter of my losses, I fear I am in danger to be utterly undone. To presse too near a great man, is a means to be put by; and to stand too far off, is the way to be forgotten: so *Ecclesiasticus*. In which mediocrity could I hit it, would I live and die. My Lord, I would neither presse near, nor stand far off, choosing rather the name of an ill Courtier, then a saucie Scholar,

From your Graces most humble servant,

*Rich. Corbet.*

*Postscript.*

HEre is news, my noble Lord about us, that in the point of Allegiance now in hand, all the Papists are exceeding Orthodox, the onely Recusants are the Puritanes.

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## *The E. of* Worcester, Arundel *and* Surrey, Montgomery *to the King.*

*May it please your most excellent Majestie,*

ACcording to the Orders and Constitutions made and established by your Majestie, and all the Companions of the Order at the last general Chapter held at *White-Hall* the 21. of *May* last past, we are bold to inform your Majestie, that we having diligently viewed divers of the Records of the said Order, do in the black book find, that the keeping of the little Park at *Windsor*, next adjoyning unto the Castle, is in direct words annexed for ever to the Office of the Usher for the said Order. So humbly kissing your Royal hands, We rest

Your Majesties most humble and faithful Subjects, and servants,

*White-Hall*, 1. July, 1622.

E. *Worcester*, *Arundel* and *Surrey*, *Montgomery*.

*My very good Lord,*

MY Lord of *Suffolk's* cause is this day sentenced. My Lord, and his Lady fined at 30000 l. with imprisonment in the Tower at their own charges. *Bingley* at 2000 l. and committed to the Fleet. Sir *Edward Cook* did his part, I have not heard him do better, and began with a fine of an 100000 l. But the Judges first, and most of the rest reduced it as before. I do not dislike that things passe moderately, and all things considered it is not amisse, and might easily have been worse. There was much speaking of interceding for the Kings mercie, which (in my opinion) was not so proper for a sentence: I said in conclusion, that mercy was to come *ex mero motu*, and so left it. I took some other occasion pertinent to do the King honour, by shewing how happy he was in all other parts of his Government, save only in the manage of his treasure by these Officers.

I have sent the King a new Bill for *Sussex*: for my Lord of *Nottingham's* Certificate was true, and I told the Judges of it before, but they neglected it. I conceive the first man (which is newly set down) is the fittest. God ever preserve and keep you, &c.

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## *The Earl of* Suffolk *to his Majestie.*

*Gratious Soveraign,*

IN this grievous time of my being barred from your presence, which to me is the greatest affliction that can lie upon me; and knowing by my former service to you, the sweet and Princely disposition that is in you naturally, together with that unmatchable judgement which the world knoweth you have, is the occasion, that I presume at this time to lay before your Majestie my most humble suit; which is, that you would be pleased to look upon the Case of your poor servant, who after so many faithfull desires of mine to do you service, I do not say that successe hath fallen out as I wished, should now not only have suffered for my weaknesse, and errours, but must be further questioned to my disgrace. I would to God your Majestie did truly understand the thoughts of my heart, and if there you could find one the least of ill affections to you, I wish it pulled out of my body.

Now to adde to my miseries, give me leave to let your Majestie know the hard estate I am in; for I do owe at this present (I dare avow upon

upon my fidelitie to you) little leſſe then 40000 l. which I well know will make me and mine poor and miſerable for ever.

All this I do not lay down to your Majeſties beſt judging eyes, that I mean this by way of complaint; For I do acknowledge the reaſon that your Majeſtie had to do what you did: neither do I go about to excuſe errours to have eſcaped me, but will now and ever acknowledge your Gracious favourable dealing with me, if you will be pleaſed now to receive me again to your favour after this juſt correction, without which I deſire not to enjoy fortune of Goods, or life in this world, which in the humbleſt manner that I can I beg at your Princely feet, as

Your, &c.

*T. Suffolk.*

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## *The E. of* Suffolk *to the Duke.*

*My Honourable good Lord,*

AT the firſt minute of mine, and my wives delivery out of the Tower, I had returned ſuch acknowledgment due for ſo great a favour, but that Sir *George Goring* only deſired to be the Meſſenger, as well as he was of the other, Let not (my Lord) my late misfortunes make me or mine more unable to ſerve, and thank you, then any hee, that thus takes advantage thereby to wrong me in your belief: for what I have both received in abatement of my fine, and ſpeedy libertie, I muſt confeſſe to come from your Noble mediation to his Majeſtie, whoſe diſpleaſure hath been more grievous to my ſoul, then all the reſt this world can inflict upon me.

As your Lordſhips kindneſſe hath begun to eaſe me, ſo now let the ſame hand cure, and preſerve me from a worſe relapſe wherein I am like to fall, if your power prevent it not. The motion of his Majeſties for my perſwading my ſons out of their places, was the grievouſeſt ſound that ever entred me, for thereby I ſtill breathed under the heavy weight of all my afflictions, not deſpairing but their Care (charged upon them with my bleſſing) might ſomewhat redeem my errours, and aſſure his Majeſtie, that my will was never tainted with offending him.

I know my Lord, there is little benefit in ſerving againſt Maſters minds, but they are unworthy ſervants that will leave ſuch Maſters

upon any conditions. Such as make suit to chop or change for their own advantage, are better lost then kept: But as for mine, my curse should follow them, if ever I could think, they followed his Majestie with such indifferencie. My obedience to his Majestie was ever of more force with me, then mine own ends any way layed, nor ever joyed I more then in running to his Commands. But this (my Lord) rends my heart to think, that, unfortunate I, should bury my sons alive, and pronounce that sentence, which would make me and them Scorns to posteritie. Whileſt I have knee to bend, eye to lift up, or tongue to begg, I must implore his Majesties pardon, and mercy in this kind. As for that more drossie part of my estate, it still lies at his Majesties feet, and if he now please to recal, what he remitted, without further condition, I must obey, and let his Majestie see, no change of time or place can change me, my love, my dutie, or my zeal to him.

My Lord, here you may read me in my greatest griefs that ever did fall to me: weigh them well, and think that one day you may be a father, and be as neerly touched, as now I am. The favour you shall do me herein shall prove no hidden talent, for the increase shall not onely be the happinesse of a good work well done, but the hearty acknowledgment of a whole family, and all theirs, that shall as faithfully serve and honour you, as the best of those, that would succeed them, which I hope your Lordship will believe from me, who will ever be

Yours, &c.

*T. Suffolk.*

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## *The Earl of* Suffolk *to his Majestie.*

*Most Gracious Soveraign,*

Your Princely favour in dilivering me, and my wife out of the tower, must, and shall ever be acknowledged of us with all humble thanks. And now be pleased to give me leave to be an humble suitor to your Majestie, that out of the tender compassion of your Princely heart, you will be pleased to cast your eye upon the miserable estate of your distressed, afflicted, and old Servant, now brought into fear of never recovering of your Majesties favour, and so wretched my case is, as the little hope, that remained in me to live in your memory,

memorie, was by my two sons service to your Gracious self, and the Prince. It is now required of me to impose upon them the resignation of their places, which with all humility I beseech you to give me leave to say, I would sooner use my power over them to will them to burie themselves quick, then by any other way then enforcement to give up their places of service, which onely remaines to me to be either my dying comfort, or my living torment.

Besides, they are now past my government, being both married, and have children, onely I have a Paternal Care of them, which I humbly beseech your best judging Majestie to weigh respectively, how unhappie I must of necessity think my self, if I should be the perswader of that misfortune to my children, that their children within a few years would curse me for, either living, or dead. Upon all these just considerations (most Gracious Master) give me leave to turn my cruel, & unnatural part of perswading them to yield to that, for which I should detest my self, to my humblest desire upon the Knees of my heart to beg humbly of your Majestie, that whatsoever favour you have ever had to me for any service done, that your Majestie will be pleased to spare the ruine of these two young men, whom I find so honestlie disposed in their desire of spending their fortunes, and lives in your Majesties, and your Princely son's service, as if your displeasure be not fullie satisfyed with what I have suffered already, that you lay more upon me, and spare them. I have written to my Lord of *Buckingham* to be my mediator to your Majestie in this behalf, which I assure my self he will noblie perform, as well as he hath formerly done, in being my means to your Majestie in obtaining this great begun favour. To conclude with my prayer to God, that your Majestie may ever find the same zeal, and Love to your person in whomsoever you shall imploy, that my hearts Sole-affection did, and ever shall carrie unto you, which God knowes was, and is more to your Majestie then to my wife, and children, and all other worldy things which God measure unto me according to the truth, as

Yours, &c.

*T. Suffolk*

The

## *The Lady* Elizabeth Howard *to the King.*

WHen I waited upon you at *Theobalds* to beſeech your Majeſty that my Lord of *Suffolk* might not come into the Star-chamber, you proteſted that you loved the man, but that you muſt ſhew cauſe to the world why you took the Staffe from him, but for his fortune, that your Majeſtie would not meddle with it; the ſame my Lord of *Buckingham* told me, with this aſſurance of your promiſe I went away ſecure in that poynt. Sithence his cauſe was heard, he moved all that heard it with much compaſſion to him, and the people did think, that when you ſent him to the Tower, you would have ſent for him to have kiſſed your hand. But your Majeſtie is abuſed, for they do not let you know, what is thought of the proceeding againſt this good man, knowing how truely he loveth you, with the truth of his cauſe, that you would not follow him, and his children with crueltie. My Lord hath ſpent in running a Tylt, in Maſques, and following the Court above 20000. And Sir ſhall his reward now be to be turned out of his place without any offence committed. Sir I am the child of your old Servant, and am now great with child, I know it will kill me, and I ſhall willingly die rather then deſire life to ſee my unfortunate ſelf, and mine thus miſerably undone. Sir I beſeech your Majeſtie remember my Father that is dead, and me his diſtreſſed child; for if he could know any worldly thing, he would wonder to ſee me, and thoſe that ſhall come of me, thus ſtrangly uſed. But my hope is ſtill in your Majeſties goodneſſe, and that you will not be carried away with the malice of other men. In this confidence I reſt with my daily prayers for your health and happineſſe, as

*which might have been better ſpent.*

Yours &c.

*E. H.*

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## *The Lady* Elizabeth Norris *to the Duke.*

*My Lord,*

EVer ſince your Lordſhips firſt recommendation of my husband to me, I have thought my ſelf much ingaged to your Lordſhip; for I muſt confeſſe after he had taken his leave of me, I did love him never the leſſe: for immediately after my fathers death (when in my

my Conscience he least expected to hear from me) I did both send and write to him, which he might interpret an incouragement, or rather an invitation. I did it the rather, because I did not believe those which did him ill offices; for those which were most for him, on a sudden were most against him. I must confesse, that pitie did confirm my affection, and I trust your Lordship will commiserate his estate, as you do the fall of all mankind, for I was the *Eva*, and he was the *Adam*: and I pray God the King and your Lordship may forgive us, as I am confident God will pardon us. Your Lordship may imagine my Mother was of the plot, but I take God to witnesse, that she was not only against it, but contrarily. I did believe she was wholly for your Brother: And for your Brother, my Mother recommended him to me, whom I used like a Gentleman of high worth and qualitie. But I did by no means abuse him by promise, or taking guifts, which I falsely suffer for, in the opinion of the world. I only took a ring by my mothers appointment, which came as a token from my Lady your mother, which was of very small value. My husband and I am resolved rather to suffer in the opinion of the world, then contradict any thing which shall be aggravated against us. We must both honour you, and think our selves much ingaged to your Lordship. After God, I protest you are the onely authour of it: for by your means, I first settled my affection. I know there are those which do my husband and me ill offices. I have reason to be jealous of the Lord *Montgomery*, for he would have put tricks upon me in making me deny the Contract; and when he failed in that, he went about to make me believe Mr. *Wray* had denied his. And to tell your Lordship true, his violence and over-earnestnesse made me the more averse. If my husband had not fetched me, I would have come to him, and so I sent him word.

Thus humbly beseeching your Lordship as you are happie in your wife, that you would be pleased to make our peace with the King; and seeing it is Gods act, that you would honour us with your favour. We shall be both bound to joyn in prayer, that you may be ever happie in your Wife, and in your Childrens Children. And so with my humble respect to your Lordship, I rest

Your Lordships humble servant,

*Elizabeth Norris.*

## *Sir* Edward Cecyl *to the Duke.*

*My very good Lord,*

HOw much my affection and ambition hath been to ſerve your Lordſhip before other men, I hope I ſhall not need now to expreſſe, conſidering it hath been clear and manifeſt to your own trial, whereof I do bear ſtill the teſtimonie, and the continuance in mine own heart. But in your nobleneſſe it will not appear impertinent to your Lordſhip, that I put you in mind, how much I ſuffered in the diſgrace my enemies caſt upon me about the imployment for the Palatinate, when I was under your protection; whether I ſuffered for mine own ſake, or for your Lordſhip, I know not: howſoever of this I am aſſured, the greateſt cauſe I gave them, that had leaſt reaſon, was becauſe I ſought not them, but your Lordſhip only. And for the ſucceſſe, you may ſee by the miracles the imployment hath brought forth, that it was carried another way, rather for private malice, then for any great zeal to the advancement of the publique Cauſe.

Now my Lord, for your own honour, and for the upholding of your ſervant, make me ſo happie, if there be any imployment for men of my profeſſion (as there is opinion) that I may be the man by your Lordſhips means, wherein you ſhall make me your obliged, as I am now your affectionate ſervant. For which you ſhall be aſſured of as thankful heart, as any breathes in the whole world. In the enjoying of which kind of ſervice, though you are accounted the moſt happie among great men, yet you cannot have too much of it. I could remember your Lordſhip of his Majeſties gracious promiſe for my imployment before any other in the preſence of the Prince and your Lordſhip, and that I am the firſt General his Majeſtie ever made, and that I had no ill ſucceſſe in the perfecting of that ſervice; yet for all this, I will onely truſt in your Nobleneſſe, if you reſolve to make me your Creature.

And if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſtie to hold me worthy of this honour, I will undertake to ſave his Coffers (as I have heretofore done) the ſixth part of the imployments charge and coſt, that any other man ſhall require, who makes not a computation for the managing of it, by a ſufficient expence of his own.

I will not write more at this time, but to wiſh your Lordſhip as much

much happineſſe as your heart can deſire, and that you will give me an occaſion to ſhew how much I am, and will be

Your Lordſhips moſt faithful and affectionate ſervant,

*From our Army this 20. of* Novemb.

*Ed. Cecil.*

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## *Sir* Edward Cecil *to the Duke.*

*May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

THis Gentleman Sir *George Blundel* hath now cleerly quitted the ſervice of the States, for this eſpecial reaſon (as he aſſures me) to be the more abſolutely imployed in your Excellencies ſervice. This I know, his friends here that love him (which are many) are very ſorrie to part with him, for there is no melancholy where he goes. And therefore conſidering the condition of this place, we ſhall be great loſers, being upon a melancholy place, and ſervice, ill payed, ſick of all diſeaſes in the world, in a place that is next neighbour to hell, if the book printed ſay true, which ſaith, that the Low-Countriemen are next neighbours to the devil. And I am ſure, we are now ſeated lower then any part of theſe Countries; for the waters are above us, and about us, and we live in more fear of them, then of the enemy; for we may be drowned at an hours warning, if we do not continually work againſt it, and yet, and it ſhall pleaſe your Excellencie, this is the Seat for a Winter War. Many more inconveniencies we are daily ſenſible of, of which I have endured ſo much, as I dare ſay without vanitie, that few of my rank and fortune have ſuffered more, or longer then I have done in theſe Countries; having ſerved theſe 27. years together without intermiſſion; and all this for no other end (for I am 900 l. a year the worſe for the Wars) then to make me able to ſerve my Prince and Countrie when occaſion ſhould be offered.

But ſince the time is come, that opinion doth ſo govern, as ſtrangers get the Command, and new Souldiers imployed, which was never heard of before amongſt men of our occupation, It is high time for me to retire, and wiſh I had been of any other profeſſion then this. For if long ſervice can get no honour, nor reward, nor imployment, but the contrary; it would touch a mans diſcretion to be

more and more unfortunate: All my comfort is, that I shall have the honour and good fortune in my retreat, to draw neerer to your Excellencies service, if not in my profession, (which I desire above all) yet in something whereof your Excellencie may make use of me. For I am ambitious of nothing more, then to prove my self by action, and not by recommendation,

Your Excellencies most faithful devoted, and humble servant,

*From our Army at* Wallike *the* 4th *of* Decemb.

*Ed. Cecyl.*

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## *Sir Edward* Cecil *to Mr. Secretary* Conway.

*My very good Lord,*

IT hath pleased your Lordship to write me three Letters lately: the one a particular list of officers, that should be sent from hence; the second for Mr. *Hopton*, the third an acknowledgement onely of the receipt of my Letter to your Lordship. The first I have put in execution, and have written to your son, Sir *Edward Conway* to give them all notice of your Lordships Care of them. And to let them know how welcome any one shall be to me, that you think fit to be imployed. For one of them called Ensign *Rainesford*, I had set him down, because I received your Lordships direction from himself. For Mr. *Hopton* I have written unto him according to your desire, with your Letter inclosed; concerning the last, I give your Lordship many humble thanks for having expressed the acceptance by your answer. Touching your business here: the State hath ben as contrary to us, as the wind. For though they see a great action likely to be performed to their own good, with little cost to themselves; yet they desire to be so wise, as to make benefit, both wayes, and not to balk any advantage: which makes them stand so stiff upon the denying of us Officers, and Soulders by election, and will yield to send none but whole companies, onely to abate so much upon the repartitions. But Sir *William St. Leiger* and I, have utterly refused their offer as a proposition against his Majesties service: for by this ignorant winter war our Companies are grown half new men, having lost most of our old, and of those new men the half are sick besides: So that his Majestie should be beholden to them, rather for names, then men:

And

And again for the Officers, and Soulders, it is like they ſhould be moſt of them the worſt in the regiment, from whence they are to come. Whereas if we might have had thoſe Officers we made choice of, which were but ten Captaines, and other inferiour Officers to the number of thirty, they might have been fit for imployment upon a double enemy. And I could wiſh, that whenſoever his Majeſtie ſhall be once furniſhed with Good Officers, it would pleaſe him to make account of them, as theſe men do, who have had long experience, and known their Value.

It pleaſed my Lord the Duke to write to me a Letter, and to let me know he had choſen me his Officer, to attend, and obey him this journy: an honour too great for me, becauſe I did never expect it, but nothing ſhall excuſe my faults, ſaving my life. And among many other directions he commanded me to provide for the Army ſuch neceſſary things as cannot be had in England. Whereof I have thought of many, which I fear, I ſhall not have the time to get. In my care belonging to theſe proviſions, I have conſidered the uſe of our ſmall pieces of Ordinance here, which they call Drakes, that ſhoot 70. Musket bullets. They will be of great uſe in this ſervice, both in regard of the quick landing, and of the paſſing of ſuch mountainous places, as perhaps we may meet withal, and likewiſe in reſpect of the little hope we have to get any good muſquetiers, or at leaſt any great ſtore of them. But they are in ſuch favour here, as we can obtain none from hence, and ſo are forced by a general conſent to buy ten of them here, that were provided for the King of France. And the reputation they carrie is ſuch, as they are readie mony every where. They coſt not much more then 400. ſterling, and I hope they will prove the profitableſt pieces that were ever uſed in the quarrel of his Maieſties Friends. We have likewiſe conſidered of what ſervice a company of Firelocks would be to the action, but the time is ſo ſhort, we cannot raiſe them. Howſoever we are promiſed of the States to have leave for a companie of Harquebuſſiers, which are of ſuch uſe upon all occaſions, that we cannot miſſe them. And we have choſe a brave and worthie Gentleman his Majeſties Servant and Subject who is willing to leave any ſervice for this, being the ſervice of the King. If they ſhould have been raiſed in England, his Majeſtie muſt have payed for the horſes, armes, ſaddles, and piſtols, and yet not find any able to have ſerved in that kind.

The wind (as yet) holds contrary, which hath made me ſend this by Sir *Henry Vane*, who goes a way, that I dare not paſſe. But (I

hope) if the wind ſerve, not to be many dayes behind him to receive your Lordſhips command, more particularly which I will obey as

Your Lordſhips moſt humble Servant,

Hagh 2. June. 1625.

*Ed: Cecyl.*

*Poſtſcript.*

MY Lord, now in this time of neceſſity for the getting of good Musquetiers, there are many hundred to be found in England that have ſerved in this Land, which by proclamation and promiſe of mony in hand, or more pay, will eaſily diſcover themſelves, whom ſome of the new men (to be releaſed) will be glad to ſatisfy, without charge to his Majeſtie.

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## *Sir* Edward Cecyl *to the Duke.*

*My moſt excellent Lord,*

THere are ſome Letters of mine, that had come to your Lorſhips hands, a good many dayes ſince, had not the wind been contrary and withſtood their paſſage. The ſubſtance whereof was onely to ſhew you how thankful I hold my ſelf to your excellencie for ſo great and infinite a favour as it hath pleaſed your excellencie to think me worthie of. But as is it a favour that will ſet me on work all the dayes of my life: : ſo is it greater then I can ever deſerve. Howſoever my reſolution is to do my beſt. And I humbly beſeech your Excellencie to believe, that with my diligence, and the beſt underſtanding I have, I will ſeek nothing but to pleaſe you, and to honour you; and if God ſay Amen to make the world ſpeak of your deſign as much (I hope) as ever our Nation hath given cauſe. And for the faults of my ſelf, and thoſe I ſhall bring with me, they ſhall not be excuſed, but with our lives, and bloods: for I hope I ſhall bring none, but ſuch as know what to do, and when they come to it will bite ſooner then bark. I do promiſe my ſelf your Excellencie will have no cauſe to doubt or repent you of your favours, for I know what men have done, and what they can do in my occupation. But God is God, and men are but men.

All my diſcouragement is, that the States anſwer not his Majeſties expectation

expectation being fearful (especially since the losse of *Breda*) to part with any of their old Officers, or old Souldiers; but my hope is now better, for we have put them to another resolution, by answering all their objections. By this disposition of the States to the keeping all their old Souldiers, I wish your Excellencie will be pleased to be as careful in your choice, as you are desirous of great designs. For otherwise the honour, and the charge will both be cast away, as your Excellencie may perceive in some of our latter expeditions, seeing that although there are many called Souldiers in the world, yet but a few there be, that are so: for so long a man must live in the profession to inable him sufficiently, that many grow unable to perform, what they know, before they have attained to the knowledge of what to perform. The knowledge of war being the highest of humane things that God suffereth mans understanding to reach unto.

I have according to your Excellencies command made as many provisions as I can for the shortnesse of the time, of such things as cannot be gotten in England. And I could have wished I had known of this imployment but some months sooner; for then I could have saved his Majesty somewhat, and have added many things that would very much have advanced the service. For in our profession the preparing of things belonging to the war, doth more shew a mans experience and judgment, then any thing else, by reason the first errours are the begetting of many more, that afterwards cannot be avoided. Your Exellencie may be pleased to inform your self of all the exployts, and undertakings of our nation, that none of them hath suffered (for the most part) more then through the negligence of provisions, as in victual, munition, boats for Landing, and for the receiving of sick men, to keep the rest from infection. In this point of provision, it is not good to trust upon a particular man, for gain is a corrupter where the care is not publique. And in so great an expedition, one must do with living men, as they do with the dead, there must be overseers and executors to have a true intent well performed.

I have presumed to write thus much, to shew my thankfulnesse to your Excellencie, and my great affection to his Majesties service, whereof I am infinitely possessed. I hear your Excellencie is in *France*, but my prayers to God are to send you safe, and happie home, for the World holds you the soule of advancing his Majesties affairs, wherein his Honour is ingaged as it is, especially in this action, being the first, and a Great One.

And as for my self, who am now a creature you have made, I know not

not what I shall do when I come to *England*, being your Excellencies shadow only.

I have here attended the wind, and since I cannot force it, I am glad of the opportunitie to send the Letters by Sir *Henry Vane*, who goes over Land, a Passage I am not capable of, having been so long their enemie. But I hope God will send me soon after, leaving Sir *William St. Leiger* here for the dispatch of that which remains. I have written more particularly to my Lord *Conway* which I dare not set down here for fear of being tedious, and knowing his Lordship will give your Excellencie an account of it. And so in all humblenesse and dutie, I pray God send your Excellency honour, and length of life for his Majestie's affairs, and for the happinesse of

Your Lordships most humble, faithful and obedient servant,

*Ed. Cecill.*

*Hagh* the 3d. of June, 1625.

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## *Sir* Edward Cecil *to the Duke.*

*My most Excellent Lord,*

THe occasion of my boldnesse in presenting your Excellency with these lines, is for that, contrary to my expectation, I hear that there is a Commission a drawing to make Sir *Horace Vere* a Baron of *England*. It is strange to me at this time to hear it, for that I know not what worth there is more in him, then in those, that are equal in profession, and before him in birth. If your Excellencie have made choice of me to be your second in this journey of so much charge, and expectation, and to make me lesse then I was, what courage shall I have to do you service? or what honour will redound to your Excellencie? But although I write it, yet I cannot believe it, for that I know you of that judgment and nobleneſſe, that you will rather adde to your faithful servants, although they beg it not, then to disgrace them, and make them lesse. Therefore I will continue my belief, and rest

Your Excellencies most humble, and devoted servant,

*Ed. Cecill.*

19. of July, 1625.

My

## *My Lord* Wimbledon *to the Duke.*

*My Gratious Lord,*

IT hath not a little troubled your faithful ſervant at my laſt being with your Excellencie in *White-Hall* Garden, to underſtand (after I had attended ſo long) that I had ill offices done me to his Majeſtie, and yet the World is of opinion, that I have your Excellencies favor. I preſently went home, and ever ſince I have muſed and conſidered, and can find no reaſon or policie for my being kept from his Majeſties preſence, which maketh me and my neer friends aſtoniſhed. For hitherto I have received no favour, but rather the moſt ſtricteſt proceeding, that ever was uſed (and without example) to any man, that had ſuch a charge.

And whereas there is no Commiſſion of any force, or validitie, without the aſſiſtance of the State, and Prince he ſerveth, for he that Commandeth is but one man, and the reſt are many thouſands, which are great oddes, yet I have been publiquely heard before the whole body of the Councel (my adverſaries ſtanding by) ſo curiouſly, as no inquiſition could have done more.

For firſt, I was examined upon mine inſtructions, then upon my acts of Councel, then upon my journal, then upon a journal compounded of by ten ſundry perſons, which were under my Command both Landmen and Seamen, which was never heard of before, and I did not only anſwer in particular to all points that were demanded, but by writing which is extant: yet cannot I get any judgment or report made to his Majeſtie, but rather time is given to my enemies (as I hear) to make an ill report of me and my actions to the King. But when I was to be accuſed, there was no time delayed nordeferred, and ſuch men as I have proved guilty, and failed in the principal point of the ſervice, to have fired and deſtroyed the Shipping, are neither examined, or any thing ſaid againſt them, which is ſtrange, eſpecially Sir *Michael Geere*. So that I know not how my Lord of *Eſſex* can take any thing ill from your Excellencie, unleſſe it be to have you do injuſtice, or againſt all reaſon. He may rather give your Excellencie many thanks, that his Lordſhip is not called into queſtion for letting paſſe the King of Spain's ſhips, that offered him fight, which would have been the chief ſervice, having inſtructions not to let any flie, or break out, without fighting with them.

Now (my Lord) I humbly beſeech your Excellencie to conſider my Caſe, that hath been ſo ſeverely examined, and no body elſe, and that after my Examination, I have lingred ſo long in my wrongs

and

and disgraces, and by the ill offices your Grace doth see are done me to his Majestie, which will rather increase then diminish, so long as I shall be kept from the presence of his Majestie, that is I know of himself the justest Prince in the world, and yet to be in your Excellencies favour.

And I hold my self clear of all imputations in despight of all malice and practice, that hath been against me, to obscure all my endeavours which my adversaries in their consciences can best witnesse, that when they slept I waked; when they made good chear, I fasted; and when they rested, I toyled. And besides, when they went about to hinder the journey at *Plimouth*, by railing on the beggerlinesse of it, and discrediting of it, I was content to take it upon me, though against my judgment, as I did secretly deliver both to his Majestie and your Grace, before I departed from the Coast: Nominating in my Letter to his Majestie all the inconveniencies that did after happen unto the Fleet: for had it not been in my obedience to his Majestie, and my good affection to your Excellencie, (that I did see so much affect it, and was so far ingaged) I would have been rather torn in pieces, then to have gone with so many ignorant and malicious people, that did shew so little affection or courage to his Majesties service, or any affection at all to your Excellencie. Yet for all this, all hath been laid upon me, having had rather hard courses taken against me, then any way maintained in my Commission which was given me, which no State, that I have ever heard of, did before. I pray God his Majesties future service do not suffer for it; for where his Majesties Officers are not obeyed, he can never be served.

Wherefore my suit is, that if I have any ill offices done me to his Majestie, that I may clear my self before him by your favour, which I have so long attended after; or by way of Petition, which the meanest Subject is not to be hindred in; for as I continue now, I have not onely wrong done to me, but I suffer as much punishment (without any fault) as if I had been condemned.

And that your Excellencie will do me the favour to deal plainly with me, to let me know, why I am deferred from his Majesties presence, which is not denied to any, having received so much wrong.

If my suffering be to adde any service to your affaires in these troublesome times, let but this honest friend of mine know so much, and I will suffer any inconvenience, as I have, misery, danger,

ger, and decay of my fortunes for your Excellencies ſake. And ſo I reſt

Your Excellencies moſt devoted, and faithful and thankful ſervant and Creature,

28th. Apr. 1626.

*Wimbledon.*

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## *My Lord* Wimbledon *to the Duke.*

*My Gracious Lord,*

I Underſtand that it pleaſed the Lords to grant the Colonels leave to accuſe me anew, and they have taken to them the moſt diſcontented Seamen they could get to help their malice forward. I had thought, that before my coming, they ſhould have had time and advantage ſufficiently to have ſhewen all their envie. And I was perſwaded, that they could not have deſired more, then to have been preſent when I ſhould be examined, and my journal read. At the reading whereof they took all the exceptions that might be, and I did anſwer them all in your Excellencies preſence, as I thought fully, whereupon they ſeemed to be ſo content, as they had no more to ſay; neither did they at that time deſire to make a journal, or to ſay any more.

Then the Lords reſolutions were only to hear the Seamen ſpeak, upon whom all the buſineſſe did lie. If they may be ſuffered upon new Combinations, to bring new ſlanders upon me, I cannot tell what to think of it. But this I can ſay, that if this courſe be taken, his Majeſtie will never be without a mutinous Armie. (which all States in policy do ſhun) For when the Common Souldiers ſhall ſee their Chiefs give them ſuch examples, they will ſoon follow, being that all Armies are ſubject to it, eſpecially a new Armie. I had thought that one Trial had been ſufficient, being it was before ſuch an Aſſembly. But if I ſhould be accuſed, I ſhould deſire to have new accuſers, and not the ſame that have already accuſed me, (for ſo there would be no end) & that upon their Petition, I might have been heard what I could juſtly ſay, why they ſhould not have leave to make a journal, and not to give them leave before I were heard. I am afraid there was never any ſuch preſident before, and what inconveniencies may come of it time will ſhew.

I have fought to none of the Lords as I fear my enemies have done, (I know not whether I shall suffer for it or no) but my truth hath only been in your Excellencie and the justnesse of my Cause. I have been your Excellencies Officer in as difficult and as miserable an action as ever any one hath undertaken, and with as little assistance as ever any one had. For many of those that should have assisted me, were more careful in betraying me, then in forwarding his Majesties service. And if this course be held to encourage them, there is no man shall suffer more then his Majesties service will. For it will be folly for any man to look to his Majesties service, or to take any pains to prevent, or hinder that which may be committed against it; But to let every man do what he will, so all will be pleased, and he that Commands shall have no man to slander him, which is the way to live in quiet.

Thus much I thought was fit for me to let your Excellencie understand, and withal, that I held it a great unhappinesse for me (that have taken such toyl and pains, and suffered so many slanders) to be kept back by my enemies from that honour, that never any one of my rank and place was hindered in, which is from kissing the hand of my Soveraign Lord the King All Power is in your Lordships hands; whether you will uphold me in my just cause, or no, or let me be ruinated for want of it. So that I can say no more, but that if I suffer, I shall be your Excellencies Martyr; if not, I shall all my life rest

Your Excellencies most humble, and most thankful servant and Creature,

*Wimbledon.*

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## Sir John Ogle to the Duke.

*Right Excellent and most Gratious Lord,*

AND because you are so, why should not I put my soul in your hand? that I have not done it sooner was not through want of will in me, but it hath been the will of God, that mine acknowledgment should be the fuller, your goodnesse the greater. Your Grace cannot be ignorant of the many motions I have had thereto, but my judgment hath been made irresolute by several distractions. I lay now my self, and the fortunes of me and mine at your Graces feet.

Take

Take me up then (nobleſt Lord) as becometh the ſame which you have, and the confidence which I have of you with a hand of goodneſſe. If I had wilfully ſinned againſt you (when I was wickedly inſnared and beguiled by that wretch at *Utrecht*, to whom I gave ſome Extract out of your Letters, as alſo out of the Lord Embaſſadours,) or did yet with obſtinacie maintain ſuch indiſcreet proceeding, your Grace might in juſtice reject me as unworthy.

But ſince you have long diſcerned in me a propenſion to crave your pardon, though ſtill unhappily diverted till this time; I truſt your true Nobleneſſe, generouſneſſe and goodneſſe to be ſuch, as you will not only not turn this heartie ſubmiſſion to any diſadvantage on my part; but looking upon mine ingenuitie, with a right eye of gracious inclination, both pardon my fault, and follie towards your ſelf, and alſo (to bind my prayers to be offered in the greater zeal for you, for I ſhall not be able to do you better ſervice then in prayer) be a ſtrong mediator to his gracious Majeſtie, that my errours of weakneſſe, and want of diſcretion, committed then towards his late Majeſtie of ever bleſſed memorie, and his Embaſſadour, with what other overſights may have been gathered up ſince, may be freely and fully forgiven and remitted, that ſo my ſoul being diſcharged of all fear of diſpleaſure againſt me, I may with a cheerful heart and quiet conſcience, go on in ſuch a vocation as the Lord ſhall have appointed for me. My Lord, this wound hath long feſtered neer my heart, and though falſe skins have been drawn over it ſometimes by unskilful hands, yet have I ever judged it the ſureſt cure to rip it up by Confeſſion, and heal it by Contrition. And ſure I judge that it favours more of a right generous ſpirit to confeſſe a fault, then to conceal it, eſpecially when the party offending is free from malice, and the party offended of a nature ſo noble and full of goodneſſe, as nothing can be wiſhed to be added unto it, and which is yet more; and this have you graciouſly done to me, (my Lord) ſigned himſelf with his own hand a true and faithful friend unto him, the more to invite him to truſt him. And truſt you I do my Lord, and in you (next my Gracious Soveraign) as much as may be in any arm of fleſh. The God of Heaven (I hope) will ſpeak peace to my ſoul, if the King, and your Grace will ſend peace to my heart. I truſt you will, and will pray to God you may, that I may in all cheerfulneſſe and thankfulneſſe ever remain

Your Grace's moſt humble, and faithful, and obliged ſervant

*Exeſter* 3. June, 1625.

*Jo. Ogle.*

*Postscript.*

I Beseech your Grace to send some other man to take this Charge which I too weakly for fear of offending by denial have thus far undergone, but upon hope of being withdrawn. Yet still submit my self to your Graces good pleasure.

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## *Sir* Robert Mansel *to the Duke.*

*Right Honourable and my singular good Lord,*

HAving used all the possible speed I could to repair to *Algier*, where I should have been by the 15. of *March* last, I held it my dutie humbly to present unto your Lordship the particular account of my proceedings.

Before my arrival I furnished the two Prizes, three *Brigandines*, and a fourth Boat with Firelocks, and combustible materials for the burning of the Pyrats ships within the *Moal*, and had trained my men in the execution of their several duties, and likewise appointed a squadron of boats with small shot to rescue the vessels of execution in their advancement and retreat.

The first night of my arrival being the 21. of *May* last, the vessels of execution were all advanced, but by reason of contrary winds they were commanded to retire.

The second and third nights they were also in a readinesse, but were withheld with calmes.

The fourth night it pleased God to blesse us with a fair Gale, and they being advanced again, and the two ships with the fire-works, having almost recovered the mouth of the *Moal* (the wind to our great grief) turned to the opposite point of the Compasse.

The boats performed their directions in towing of the ships, but considering, that by the continuance of the course, they should expose their principallest men to hazard, by reason of the great store of Ordnance and small shot, which plyed upon them, they debated amongst themselves what to do, Capt. *Hughes* (who commanded one of the Brigandines) replyed, Go on, and give the attempt with the boats, which they cheerfully pursued, crying out without cessation, King *James*, King *James*, God blesse King *James*, and fearlesse of danger (even in the mouth of the Canon, and small shot, which showred

red like haile upon them) they fired the ſhips in many places, and maintained the ſame to the great comfort of us, that were ſpectatours, ſo long as they had any powder left in their bandileers, ſtriving in the end who ſhould have the honour to come off laſt, the which at length, as a due to his former reſolution and courage, they left to captain *Hughes*, and ſo retired, all the ſhips continuing ſtill their cheerfull cry, King *James*, with the loſs of 20. that were ſlain, and hurt, and leaving the fire flaming up in 7. ſeveral places, which continued in ſome of them long after their retreat, and being aboard his Majeſties ſhips.

The cowardly Turks, who before durſt not ſhew themſelves to ſo weak a force, but from the walls or the tops of their houſes, ſo ſoon as they perceived all the boats retyred, opened their ports, and Sallied out in 1000. and by the help of ſo great multitudes, and a ſuddain ſhower of rain, ſeconded with a calme which then happened, the fire was after extinguiſhed, without doing any more hurt then making two of their ſhips unſerviceable.

During that Stay, there there came out of the Moal only one Frigot, which we forced to run on ſhoare.

Other ſervice by us there performed, was the ſinking of one of their beſt men of war by Sir *Thomas Wilford*, and Captain *Chidleigh*, ſhe was mann'd with a 130. Turks and 12. Chriſtians, whereof 12. onely eſcaped, the reſt were either ſlain or drowned, which appeared both by the relation of divers Chriſtians which nightly eſcaped aboard us, and by divers of the dead bodies that floted upon the water by our ſhips. We took likewiſe before their faces in the Bay a Fly-boat, which the Pyrats had formerly taken from the Chriſtians and ſold to *Ligorn*. In her Merchandize to be exchanged for Pyrats goods, and ſome mony amounting to 2000. and odd pounds, the exact account whereof I ſhall not fayl to addreſſe to your Lordſhip as ſoon as the ſame is perfected by the councel of War.

The Turks hereupon preſently manned out three Gallyes to reskue here, but Captaine *Giles*, and Captain *Herbert*, with the help of three Brigandines, which I ſent out to ſecond them, ſoon fetcht her up, and brought ther unto me, and the Gallies were put to flight by Sir *Thomas Wilford*, Captain *Pennington*, and Captain *Childlegh*.

During the time of my aboad there, after the attempt made by the boates, I attended ten dayes for an opportunity to ſend in the ſhips with the fire workes, to finiſh the ſervice begun by the boats; but in all that time there happened not a breath of wind fit for their attempt, notwithſtanding the ſhips were allwayes ready at the inſtant,

that

that they should receive my directions to advance. But at last understanding by the Christians (that escaped by swimming) aboard me, how the Pyrats had boomed up the Moales with Masts, and Rafts, set a double guard upon their ships, planted more ordnance upon the Moale, and the walls, and manned out twenty Boats to guard the Boome, and perceiving likewise, that they had sent out their Gallies, and boates both to the Eastward and Westward to give advce to all the ships upon the Coast, that they should not come in during my aboad there, and so finding no hope remaining, either by stratagem to do service upon them in the Moale, or to meet with any more of them, in the regard of the daily complaints brought unto me, both from some of the Kings ships, and most of the Marchants of their want of victuals, I resolved by the advice of the Councel of war to set sail, whence I made my repair to this place, where I met my Brother *Roper* with your Lordships dirrections which I have received, and at the instant obeyed, by signifying his Majesties pleasure declared by your Lordships Letter unto the worthie Commanders of those four ships whom his Majestie hath pleased to call home.

But my Lord, in the duty I owe your Lordship, and my zeal to his Majesties honour and service, I humbly beg your Lordships pardon to advertize your Lordship, that seeing we have now made this attempt upon the Pyrates, and that they perceive that our intent is to work their utter ruine and confusion, the recalling of these his Majesties Forces before the arrival of others in their stead, and the bereaving us of so many worthy and experienced Commanders, I fear may prove more prejudicial to the service, then upon one daies consideration I dare presume to set down in writing, by encouraging the Pyrats to put in execution such stratagems upon us, as to my knowledge they have already taken into their consideration. My reasons for the same, I shall be bold upon more mature deliberation to offer in all humblenesse unto your Lordships judicious view, either by the Commanders that are to return unto your Lordship, or by a messenger which divers of the Councel of War advise to be addressed over land on purpose with the same.

And so being ready (so soon as we have received in our water, and dispatched divers other businesses, which of necessity must be ordered in this place) to set sail for *Malega*, there to receive in our remainder of Victuals, and to take my leave of these 4. Ships, and such other of the Merchants as cannot be made serviceable in these parts. With my endlesse prayers for your Lordships increase of all honour,

Honour, I cease your Lordships farther trouble for the present; And rest

Your Lordships most humble, most faithful and sad servant,

*From aboard the Lion in Alegant Rode. 9th. June. 1621.*

*Robert Mansel.*

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## Sir Robert Mansel *to the Duke.*

*Right Honourable and my singular good Lord,*

IT is not unknown unto your Lordship, that Sir *Thomas Button* before his coming out, thought himself much wronged in that he did not hold the place of Vice Admiral in this Fleet, whereof I must acknowledge him very worthy, and that for my part I had ingaged Sir *Richard Hawkins*, a very Grave, Religious, and experienced Gentleman, before I was assured whether Sir *Thomas Button* would leave his imployment in *Ireland*, or no; and that afterwards Sir *Thomas Button* by your Lordships mediation, was contented to undertake the charge he now holdeth, which God knowes I laboured for no other end, then for the securitie and advancement of his Majesties service, by reason of the experience I have had of his sufficiency and ability.

Since that time, I have doubled that injury. A wrong was done unto him which cannot be denied, he patiently appealed to me for justice, which I must confesse I denied him. But the name of the person that offered the wrong, and the reasons why I denied him Justice, I must leave unto Sir *Richard Hawkins* and Sir *Henry Palmer* to relate unto your Lordship, and if that will not give your Lordship satisfaction, I must humbly submit my self to your Lordships Censure.

Notwithstanding the impression that these injuries took with him, yet thus much I must truly confesse in his behalf, That there was no man more zealous to advance his Majesties service nor more forward to undergo any danger or hazard then himself, whereof he hath given assured testimonie to the World in these three particulars.

First, in the service performed by him on a Christmasse day at night, whereof I have formerly advertized your Lordship at large.

Secondly, Then in going over to *Algier* cheerfully, without complaining,

plaining, when his Ship was so grievously infected, that he had not able men in her to manage her Sailes.

Also in imploying the most choice men in his Ship under the command of his Nephew, for the firing of the Pyrates ships within the Moale of *Algier*.

And lastly, in his joyning with Sir *Richard Hawkins* in the towing off one of the Prizes, when she was becalmed within musquet shot of the *Moale*.

My Lord, I must protest unto your Lordship, that I had no ends of mine own for the injuries done to Sir *Thomas Button*, and therefore your Lordship cannot cast a greater honour upon your poor servant then in repairing him, which I humbly begg of your Lordship.

If Sir *Richard Hawkins* do return unto me, then I shall be an humble suitor unto your Lordship in the behalf of Sir *Thomas Button* that he may return to his imployment in *Ireland*, from whence in my earnest desires to enjoy his company and assistance, I was the only means to withdraw him, and that he may receive such allowance and entertainment as was formerly usually paid unto him, by which means your Lordship will take away the Curses of his children, whose blouds are neer unto me, and oblige me with my continual prayers for your Lordships increase of honour, ever to remain

Your Lordships most humble and faithful servant,

*From aboard the* Vantguard *the* 10. of July. 1621.

*Robert Mansell.*

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## *Captain* John Pennington *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

MY last to your Lordship was of the 18. of this present from *Stokes Bay*, since which time I have received two from your Grace, at *Deep* one by your Secretarie Mr. *Nicholas*, whereby your Grace commands me to deliver up his Majesties Ship, and the rest under my Command, to the hands of such *Frenchmen* as his Christian Majestie shall appoint, according to his Majesties pleasure signified by my Lord *Conway*. And that I and the rest of the Masters take securitie of them for our ships severally according to the true valuation.

on. And to see this put in execution, you sent your Secretarie Mr. *Nicholas.* And the other by Mr. *Ingham* in answer of mine written from *Stokes Bay.* The former part whereof being only a command to put your former in practice, and the latter a denial of my humble suit for my being called home from this Service. Which said part confirms absolutely, that it was not your Graces pleasure that I should yield up the ships into their hands, and dispossesse my self and companie of them: for I trust your Grace had no such unjust thought as to continue me here alone after.

The French had possession of her to be their slave, as I am sure they would have made me if they had their wills. To give your Grace an account of what I have done since I came to *Deep* (which was the 21th. at this instant about nine of the clock at night) would be too tedious for this time. The 22th. in the morning Earlie I sent my boat ashoare with my Lievetenant to find out your Graces Secretarie, to receive my Letters, whereby I might know your Graces pleasure, and to kisse my Lord Embassadours hands from me, and to let him know I was come with his Majesties ship to do him service, but could not command the rest to come along with me, their Masters not being there, and all their companies in a mutiny. But his jelousie was such, that he would not suffer your Graces Secretary to come aboard, or to send me your Letters, or that my Lievtenant should speak to him, but in his presence, but presently sent a Gentleman aboard to me, commanding me to come ashoar to him, which I confesse I was very loath to do, in regard my people were much discontented, and readie daily to mutiny, being all wonderous unwilling to go against *Rochel*, or those of their religion. And besides, I never having been a shoare, since I came into my command, neither on our own Coast, or else where. (It being not my use) yet notwithstanding these particulars knowing his Greatnesse, and your Graces pleasure, for the giving him all due respect, I presently went to him, where he taking me into a roome apart with your Graces Secretary, he first delivered me my Lord *Conwaies* Letter, or rather a warrant, (for so he tearms it himself) for the delivery of the ship into their hands (as they interpreted it) and then your Graces Letter, commanding me to see his Majesties pleasure (signifyed by my Lord *Conwaie*) put in execution. And lastly a letter from the King of France, thereby willing me to receive his Souldiers aboard that he had provided, and his Cousin the *D. de Mommorencie*, and to go presently, and to joyn with his Great Fleet against his rebellious subjects. This is the effect of that Letter. Having read all these letters,

he would presently have possession of the ship that night. for that he could not stay longer. I told him, that I did not understand it so, but that I was torender all service to his most Christian Majestie; but nothing would serve him, save the present possession, which because I would not yield unto, he grew into a strange furie, telling me, that your Grace had sent your Secretary to see her delivered, and security to be taken for her. My answer was, that I was ready to obey, according as I understood the warrant, which was to do his Christian Majestie service, and to receive a convenient number of Souldiers aboard me. But to dispossesse my self of my command, I had no such order: but still nothing wold satsfie him but the shipe, telling me, he would not entertain at the most (if they were willing) above 60. or 80. of our people. My answer was, I had no order to discharge a man of them, neither could I, but if they were discharged, what they should do, or how they should get home, having neither meat, mony, nor clothes, I know not. To the first of these, he told me, that Mr. *Nicholas* had order by word of mouth from your Grace to discharge us, which Mr. *Nicholas* confirmed, as also to see the ship delivered, which he commanded me to do. But with your Graces pardon I durst not do it upon words, it being a businesse of too high consequence, neither if I had been willing, would my companie ever have condescended to it. To the second, for our passage, he promised to have provided barques for us; but to conclude this, and not to insist upon the rest of the particulars (they being too tedious) his rage and fury was such, that I must of necessity give a little way thereto, or else I think he would have kept me ashoare, so as I told him I was content if my company would yield thereunto, and therefore desired to go aboard to speak with them, and to give order for the drawing up of the inventorie. And upon this he suffered me to depart, but not without promises of a large summe of mony which should be given me at the surrender, besides a royal pension during my life, he sending his Secretarie, and many others aboard with me to see all things put in execution, and your Graces Secretary to perswade me to do it. But when I had them aboard, I told them it was a thing not presently done, neither was my companie willing to deliver over the ship without a more ample warrant, yet I would do my best to bring both to passe so soon as I could. So using' them with the best respect I could, and fair promises, that I would use all diligence for the accomplishing of their desires; though I must confesse I never meant it, till I should hear further from your Grace, and have an especial Warrant from his Majestie, or your Grace for it, it being a businesse

of

of so high a nature. Vpon these hopes they departed, and went a shoare, where they had not been long, till some of them returned back with a strange allarum from his Lordship, that he would presently have possession of her, or my resolution to the contrary. And althoug I alleadged that the inventory, and other businesse would not be dispatched in two dayes, it would not suffice, except I would receive 400. Souldiers aboard in the mean time till things were perfected.

Thus seeing I could not delay him till I heard farther from your Grace, I was forced to give him this resolute answer, That upon this Warrant, I would not deliver over the ship unto him, neither if I would, would the company give way unto the same, we not holding it a sufficient discharge for us: But that we were ready to receive a competent number of Souldiers aboard, with a chief Commander, and to go upon such service, as his Christian Majestie should direct us, according to the agreement with the King my Master; but nothing would satisfie him but to have her delivered over to him, which if I did not presently, my head should pay for it. I desired his patience for two or three daies, till I had written and sent to your Grace, and that he would let me have a Shallop for that purpose; but he denied both the one and the other; notwithstanding sent away a Barque himself with one to your Grace, but would not suffer me to send thereby, which made me the more jealous of the real intent of the businesse. The 23. he sent your Lordships Secretarie aboard to work and perswade me, but I could not give other answer, then I had done formerly, only that I would attend until I heard farther from your Grace; though I must confesse I had much ado to perswade my Company, who were very unwilling to it. But I had hope still to have a more ample Order how to proceed in this great and weighty businesse. And upon the 24. at two of the clock in the morning, Mr. *Ingham* (whom I sent from *Stokes Bay* to your Grace) returned unto me with two Letters, one from your Grace, and another from my Lord *Conway*, the former part of both commanding me to put your former Commands in execution: but the latter part prohibiting me to depart with my charge, gave me the more courage to stand upon my former tearms.

This day your Graces Secretarie came aboard me again, after I had sent your Graces Letter to him, being sent by the Embassadour to prosecute the businesse, for the deliverie of the ship unto them. But after I had shewed him, that part of your Graces Letter, he knew not what to say to it. I willed him to tell the Embassadour, that this

Letter was nothing but an answer of mine written from *Stoken Bay*, concerning the not coming of the rest of the ships. I further offered his Lordship this day for the more expedition of the businesse, to take 150 of his men aboard, and to run over for the Coast of *England*, and to send presently to your Grace, that we were ready to surrender over there, upon an authentique Warrant from his Majestie, or your Grace. His answer to this was, That he would not put his men in to be prisoners, nor that we should be the major part. I then offered him to take in as many French as I had English man for man, but without arms, yet nothing would satisfie him, but the possession of the Ship, either by delivering of her over into their hands, or by receiving 400 armed men aboard, wherewith they would quickly have taken her from us, as you may plainly see their intent by their proceeding. Which I refusing to do, this night about ten of the clock, he sent his Secretarie aboard with three or four others to make a protestation against me, as a Rebel to my King and Countrey, as you may perceive by the Copie of it, which I send your Grace herewith, and this he said was the last he would have to do with me, for that on the morrow, he would away for *Paris*. Whereupon the next morning I sent this Gentleman Mr. *Ingham* unto him to know, what farther service he would command me, and whether he would have me attend his pleasure longer here, for that I was ready to go upon any service they would command according to the former agreement, and to receive as many men aboard as possibly I could; but he said he had nothing to do except I would either deliver up the ship, or take in the 400. Souldiers. In the interim came his Secretarie, with the same company he had before, and made another protestation against me, in regard I would not take in his 400. men, and therewithal brought me a Letter from your Graces Secretarie, (for he is so jealous that he will not suffer him to come aboard but when he listeth) which Letter was, That the Embassadour would stay till Thursday next, if I would give it him under my hand to deliver up the ship then, if I had not order to the contrary before, which I had as good have done at the present; for I expect no Letters from your Grace, in regard they would not suffer me to write to you, as I desired. And if your Grace should write to me by his messenger, they would be sure not to deliver them, till the day were past, except such as were for their turn.

In all which your Grace may see their intents, that there hath been no slights or wayes left unassayed to bring their purpose to passe: first by fair words, then by seeking to get me become the French

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Kings servant, with promises of a great Pension, and brave employment, with offers of good sums to be laid down upon the surrender of the ships aforesaid. And when none of these courses could prevail with me, then followed their threatnings of having my head, and such like. All which (I thank God) I have withstood; for I had rather live all my life with bread and water, then betray my King and Country of so precious a Jewel as this; and had rather the King should take my life, then to have a hand in the surrender, or valuing of such a Bulwark of the Kingdom.

Upon the making of the last Protest, and with the threats they gave us, my Company grew into such a fury and tumult, that they got up their Anchors, and set sail for England, without acquainting me with it, or order from me, saying, They would rather be hanged at home, then surrender the Kings Ships, or be slaves to the French, or fight against those of the Religion. But I must confesse, I heard what they were a doing, but let them alone, because I saw they had reason; otherwise, I should rather have died amongst them, then to have suffered it.

And thus I have related the principal passages unto your Grace, wherein, if I have offended his Majestie, or your Grace, it hath been for want of discretion, and not of true zeal to do his Majestie, your Grace, and my Countrey service, which if it be found to be an offence, I humbly crave pardon.

I am now come to an anchor in the Downs, where I shall attend your Grace's farther pleasure, to be disposed of as his Majestie, and your Grace shall please. But to return again to *France*, I can assure your Grace, that all the people in the ship will rather be hanged then do it, they have been so well used there. Thus praying for your Graces many happie and prosperous daies, I humbly rest

Your Graces most humble, and faithful servant,

*From aboard the* Vanguard *in the* Downs, 27. July. 1625.

*Jo. Pennington.*

*Captain*

## *Captain* Pennington *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

TO take into your Consideration these particulars following:

First, That there is no clause in the contract for our quiet injoying, and celebrating our Divine service to God morning and evening, according to the ancient order of the Seas.

Secondly, That they may bring as many of their own Nation aboard as they will, and they speak of putting in as many French as English, which will amount to 500. in all, which the ship is neither able to carry, neither will it be for the health of those that go in her, or safety of the ship to his Majestie. All which I desire may be considered of, and a course settled with the Embassadour of the just number I shall receive aboard.

Thirdly, That we are bound to fight against any Nation, that they command us, except our own; which you may likewise please to consider of.

Fourthly, That there is no Clause for the supply of the Victuals, and other provisions before the six moneths be expired, so that they may keep us till that time, and then turn us off naked and destitute of all provisions to be a prey to our enemies.

Fifthly, That we may know where we shall receive our supplies of powder, and other munition from them, for that the three last, which we have in here, with the appurtenance, is not sufficient to maintain a fight of three hours.

The former five Articles I humbly desire your Grace judiciously to consider of; and what your Grace will have me therein perform, may be inserted in my instructions.

Now further I humbly desire your Grace;

First, That all we English may be of a squadron, and not separated upon any occasion, the accidents of the Sea excepted, and that we may be ready at all times to ayd and assist one another.

Secondly, That I may have power in my instructions, or otherwise, for the command of the rest of the English that go along with me, if not, every man may take his course, and do what liketh him best, which may prove prejudicial to the service, dishonourable to the State, and dangerous for the safety of his Majesties ship.

Lastly, I humbly desire, that your Grace will be pleased to give order, that there may be some provision of Cloathes laid in for naked men, (whereof there are many in the ship) as hose, shoes, and

shirts

shirts (at least.) As also some provision of store for sick men, of Oatmeal, Rice, Sugar, and fruit, and some little stock of money, to relieve them if necessitie require it. It may afterwards be deducted out of their wages, if your Grace will have it so.

Your Graces Loyal, and faithful servant ever to be commanded,

*Jo. Pennington.*

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## *Mr.* Trumbal *to the Secretarie.*

*Right Honourable,*

WIth my former dated the 11th. of this moneth, I sent your Honour two Letters for his Majestie, and promised by my next to write unto your Honour at large, about the matter they did contain.

In performance whereof, and for the discharge of my dutie, I will now desire permission hereby freely to deliver my mind, for so much as is yet come to my knowledge, and I judge meet to be committed to paper concerning the same. And seeing this Packet is to be sent by an expresse Messenger, and a * person of trust, I will for your Honours greater ease abstain from the use of a Cipher. * *Mr. Carit.*

After I had been at *Lovain*, and *Antwerp* to take some depositions for the discovering of the authours and correctors of that most pernitious Libel, *Corona Regia*, (as by a dispatch to the late Mr. Secretarie *Lake* I did advertize his Majestie,) there came unto me a certain person, living about this Town, going by the name of *Nicholas de Laken*, and brought me the Packet, which a good while since I sent to your Honour. Amongst other things, he told me, that heretofore by accident, he fell into the company of a Cannon of *Lovain*, with whom he had some speech about that divelish book, and that if I would send thither, he was very confident, he should penetrate farther by his private industrie in the space of a few dayes into the mysterie then I had been able to do in the compasse of divers years, with my publique information.

Here upon to make a tryall, and desiring to imploy *Le see et Leverd*, for the manifesting of a truth, which I knew his Majestie so much longed to understand, I furnished him with mony, and some instructions

ſtructions, and ſent him to *Lovain.* At the end of ſix or ſeven dayes, he returned from thence, and as his own letters do teſtify, and (he hath proteſted with many oaths) he avouched to me, that he had diſcovered that ſecret to the very bottom. I inquired of him, by what meanes? He made anſwer by the help of the ſaid Canon, and ſome young Schollars his countrie men, Students, in that univerſity, who had brought him to the acquaintance of a certain Italian living there, that had ſerved the author of the book both while he did compoſe it, and while it was in printing. He averreth alſo that *Puteanus*, and ſome others, had their fingers in that unſavorie Pye. And he ſaith, that when I began to make ſearch for thoſe perſons, which had done his Majeſtie that intollerable wrong, that the principal authour, and *Flavius* the Printer were ſecretly warned, to get them out of this country, and had ſome meanes given them to maintain them abroad. He affirmeth likewiſe, that both of them ever ſince that time, have remained, and are at this preſent remaining out of the territories of the Archdukes. That he hath often ſeen the ſayd authour in this Citty, and knoweth his name, and Surname, and his perſon ſo well, as no change of his apparrel, nor diſguiſing of his body, can cauſe him to miſtake or be deceived. By his report, that party is no Clergie man, though he be a good Schollar, and reputed to have an excellent Latin pen. But thoſe commendable quallities, are drowned by his greater vices, he being much addicted to lewde women, and unſatiable drinking. He is now (by this mans information) reſident in a town upon the Frontiers of Germany, And as for *Flavius*, he can (if he truly) declare where he lurketh, and aſſureth me, that his wife is at a place within ten leagues of this town. The Cannon that did overſee the preſſe, and withdrew the leaves of this booke, as they were printed, is called (as he heard) Mr. *Claud.* and dwelleth at *Noſtre Dame de Halles*, whither I purpoſe to ſend him this Eaſter holidaies to make farther inquirie. More then theſe, and ſome other particulars (which are ſo tranſcendent, as I dare neither believe, nor ſet them down in writing) he will not impart unto me, until he be aſſured of his Majeſties protection, by a Letter under his hand, and a competent reward for his labours. And the reaſon he alledgeth therefore is, that if once it be known, he did meddle in this matter, there can be no more ſafety for him to continue in theſe provinces. He doth further undertake, that in caſe his Majeſtie will be pleaſed to grant him his demands, allow mony for the expences of the journy, and give him two perſons of courage, and fidelity to accompanie him, he will either loſe his life, or put the ſayd author

into

into their hands who may carry him (as he thinketh) with little danger, either into the Pallatinate, or the united Provinces. Hereupon I gueſſe, that (if this report be well grownded) that wicked fellow muſt be in, or near about the town of *Cullen*. I cannot amongſt all thoſe of my acquaintance, and his Majeſties ſubjects here call to mind any one ſo fit for this interprize, as the Gentleman whoſe name is written in Cipher in my letter to his Majeſtie. For he is univerſally well ſpoken of for his honeſtie, and other good Parts, and in ſundry occaſions hath given good teſtimony of his ardent deſire to do his Majeſtie ſome remarkeable and meritorious ſervice. And his ſufficiencie being better known to his Majeſtie then to my ſelf, I will not commend it any further. The want of imployment and ſome diſguſtes he received in Holland, while he ſerved there, compelled him by neceſſity to looke for preferment under the King of Spain. But hitherto his religion, the reſpect he beareth to his Majeſtie, and my perſwaſions, have detained him from thoſe Courſes. By him I am told, that he hath heard out of the mouths of one Captain *Carpentine*, and his ſon in law Captain *Hamilton*, pencioners to the King of Spain (but ſubjects to his Majeſtie, that they being one day walking in a ſtreet at *Antwerp* called the Major Brugg (where they reſide) with 4. or 5. others in their companie, and there happening ſome ſpeech amongſt them, about a book his majeſtie had then publiſhed againſt the Pope, it fell out that one of them apprehending that opportunity ſaid, that he had ſubject enough to furniſh a book which ſhould more vex the King of great Brittain, then his Majeſties book could offend his Holineſſe, and if he could meet with a Schollar, that were able to put it into a method, and good latine, he would be ready to perform his word. Another of the troop made anſwer, that he would undertake the work upon that condition, and they both (for a great whiles after) were abſent at *Lovain*, even about the ſame time that the Libel was forged. Perhaps ſome part of this, may draw neer to the verity. But they both depending upon the King of Spain (as is before mentioned) and being averſe in religion, I am much afraid, I ſhall do little good upon them by examining them before the Arch Dukes Commiſſioners, ſeeing they may delude me, and the truth with equivocation, and mental reſervation. Although he conceiveth, that if they were called before a judge, and ſummoned upon their oathes to ſpeake the truth, they would not refuſe to diſcharge their conſciences. I have ſeriouſly intreated him to beſtow his beſt indeavour in attempting what he can further learn about this relation, and he hath accepted to perform my requeſt.

The said Gentleman from whom I had it is not willing to be brought publiquely upon the Stage, for this busineſſe, leſt thereby he ſhould incurre the note of an informer, then which nothing is, or can be more odious in theſe parts. Nevertheleſſe he hath promiſed (if his Majeſtie like to have it ſo, and will be pleaſed to give commandement for it) to juſtifie what is before rehearſed to their faces.

Whether both theſe parties encounter upon one, and the ſame authour, or underſtand them to be divers men, I can neither judge, nor fortell: yet it ſeemeth that one of them may hit on the right. And as I will not ſpare any paines, charges, nor peril whatſoever to bring the parent of this child of darkeneſſe into the light, ſo I hope his Majeſtie (whoſe cauſe it is) will not refuſe to hazard a little mony to give himſelf ſatisfaction.

Theſe things having paſſed in this manner, I humbly beſeech your Honour at a fit opportunity, when the King is alone to acquaint him with theſe particulars, and intreat his Majeſtie to keep them ſecret; for I am of opinion (being ſpoken under humble correction, and without offence) that had not his Majeſtie by communicating this buſineſſe at the firſt to *Mounſieur Borschot*, given him meanes to advertize it to his wife (who by tatling divulged it, and foyled the way) we had never been put to half this trouble, but had taken *Flavius*, in the form, and by him diſcovered the authour. My intention is not, that his Majeſtie ſhould be induced to put 2000. Piſtols (or the ſumme that ſhall be allotted *Laken*) into his hands, before the ſervice be done; but that his Majeſtie would vouchſafe (if he approve the project) to cauſe ſo much mony, as in his profound wiſdom, he ſhall think meet for this occaſion to be forthwith remitted to me by Mr. *John More*, by the meanes of Mr. *Ducket*, a Marchant dwelling in Milk ſtreet in London, to be repayed at *Antwerp* by Mr. *Lionel Wake* trading there, or by the companie of our Engliſh Marchants at *Middleborough* in *Zealand* in the name of reward for ſervice done, or to buy Tapeſtries, or linnen for his Majeſtie. And I will either return it back again by exchange, if this deſign cannot be effected, or defaulk the remaines thereof upon my entertainment. All that I would venture in this caſe, ſhould only be for thoſe mens neceſſary expences that are to be imployed therein; and that alſo I would have not to exceed, but to be limitted within the compaſſe of 200. pounds ſterling.

By apprehending theſe men, the Arch-Dukes cannot take any juſt occaſion

occasion of offence against his Majestie or his Ministers, seeing one of them is not their Vassal, and both are out of their Dominions.

It may (for these Considerations) please your Honour to advise with his Majestie, whether it be fitter to proceed herein *Via facti*, or *Via Juris*: to send *Laken* to seek out the Author and others to apprehend him, or the Printer, or upon promise of a reasonable recompence for his pains, to deal with him effectually to declare their names, and habitations, and afterwards leave it to his Majesties gracious and Princely pleasure to prosecute or let fall his action. In either of which kind, I will yield humble obedience to his Majesties Commands, and your Honours directions, as things to my self indifferent. But I am doubtful, that by continuing of the course formerly holden in the carriage of this businesse, we shall never attain our desired ends. I am not so slight as to give credit to all reports, nor so prodigal as to part with money for nothing.

My most humble and earnest suit is, that his Majestie, and your Honour after mature deliberation upon the several points of this Letter, will vouchsafe to send me by my servant *Marsham* (who is now at *London*) particular, and distinct answers for my better direction. I have been the more prolixe upon this subject, in hope that this I have written shall serve once for all.

In that matter concerning the Countesse of *Argile*, which it pleased your Honour to recommend unto my Care, I have done as much already as I can for the present. We must of necessitie with a little patience expect the successe, whereof your Honour shall in due time be punctually advertized. In the mean while, I do with all reverence, desire your Honour to excuse the tediousnesse of this Letter; And so take my leave,

Your Honours very humble, and ready to be commanded,

*Brnxels* $\frac{21}{31}$. of March, $\frac{1618}{1619}$.

*W. Trumball.*

## Mr. Trumball to the Secretarie.

*Right Honourable,*

THose that are employed in such place as I am, must admit all manner of men into their company. And the Oath I have taken to his Majestie, will not permit me to conceal any thing from his knowledge that cometh to mine, and may in any sort have relation to his Royal service. For these Considerations I assume the boldnesse so soon to renew your Honours trouble, after the dispatch of those Volumes of Letters which I sent you yesterday by one of my servants.

This Bearer *de la Forrest* is better known to your Honour, then to my self, although I remember many years ago to have seen him in England. During his stay in this Town, he brought unto me a certain *French* Gentleman, calling himself the Viscount of *L'orme*, and Sir *De la Pommeraye*; who hath (by his own relation) been a great Navigator, and been authorized by 18. of the chief Pyrats in the *Levant*, to search for their pardon, and retreat into some Christian Countrey, being sorry for the ill they have done, and desirous to spend the rest of their daies in peace. With this Commission he came into France, and there travelled so far with the King and his Ministers, as he obtained a general abolition for the said Pyrates, a safe Conduct to bring them into his Dominions, and a procuration (which I have seen under the great Seal of France) to treat, and conclude with them upon certain conditions. But he being envied by some Grandees of that Kingdom, and by misfortune happening to kill a man, he was forced (as he pretendeth) for the safety of his life to flie into these Countries, before he could bring that work to perfection.

And being now disinabled to return thither again, he desireth to make a tryal, whether his Majestie will vouchsafe to lend his ear to that Treatie, and grant unto the said Pyrates a general Pardon. To which effect, he sendeth over *La Forrest*, and hath intreated me to accompany him with my Letters to my Lord Admiral, your Honor, and Mr. Secretarie *Calvert*. For retribution of this grace, the said Pyrates offer to give 45000 l sterling to be shared amongst you three, or to be disposed of as his Majestie shall appoint. But your Honour may see the Conditions proposed to the French King were more advantagious. For they were to give him their Ships, Artillerie, and Munition,

Munition, and to furniſh means to ſet out ſome men of War for his ſervice.

And I ſee no reaſon (in caſe his Majeſtie ſhould encline to ſuch capital offenders, and common enemies) why he ſhould not have as much, or more benefit then another Prince, the greateſt part of them being his Vaſſals.

Your Honour if you pleaſe may peruſe theſe adjoyned Papers, and impart the contents of them to my Lord Admiral. They agree with their Originals; and if his Majeſtie do not taſte this overture, there is no more harm done (for any thing I can perceive) then the loſſe of my labour to peruſe and ſubſcribe them.

There remaineth onely two points, wherein I ſhould ſpeak to your Honour, the one is, that this matter may be concealed from the French Embaſſadour *Mounſieur le Count de Tilliers*, for fear of ruining de *L'Orme*. The other with gratifying *La Forreſt* with the pay of a Pacquet (if your Honour ſhall think it meet) for the carrying of theſe Letters, who ſaith your Honour is his great Patron, and hath promiſed him a good turn.

*Mounſieur de L'Orme* hath given him power to ſollicite this buſineſſe, and procure him an anſwer; wherein I joyn my humble prayer, that the poor man may not here languiſh in hopes, and ſpend his money to no purpoſe.

When I ſhall know whether his Majeſtie will relliſh this overture, or not, I will write thereof more largely (if there be cauſe) otherwiſe let it remain as it was before. In the mean while, I humbly take my leave; And reſt

Your Honours

In all humbleneſſe to be commanded,

*Bruxels* 23. of Octob. 1619. *W. Trumball.*

*Sir*

## *Sir* Thomas Roe *to the Marqueſſe of* Buckingham *Lord Admiral.*

*My Lord,*

I Can give your Lordſhip no great account of any thing that hath occurred ſince my departure. I was bold to write to Mr. Secretarie *Calvert* from *Maliga* of the great increaſe of the Pyrates in thoſe Seas, and of the danger of the Merchants; with my own thoughts, if his Majeſtie have any farther purpoſe to attempt their deſtruction, which is both honourable and neceſſarie; if theſe Trades, or the other of *Spain* to the South of the *North-Cape* be of any conſequence to his Majeſties Kingdomes: if they be ſuffered to increaſe, they will brave the Armies of Kings at Sea in a few years, and attempt even the Coaſts and Shoares with peril. And becauſe they carry the name only of Thieves, they are yet contemned, or neglected; but they will become a dangerous enemie, when they ſhall rob with Fleets, and therefore would be in time conſidered. The Spaniards now make great offers to continue the Contract, though their performance be ſlow, and their own Eſtates chiefly intereſſed, yet beſides the danger and ruine of the Merchant it is conſiderable, that this Army increaſing is at the obedience of the Grand Seignior the common Enemy, who hath no ſtrength but Gallies. I know your Lordſhip will collect enough out of this without further preſſure. The Armado's of *Spain*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, have been in the *Archipelago*, the Turks Forces abſent in the black Sea. Yet they have done nothing of conſequence, taken a few Carmiſales and ſlaves, and are returned to the Port, where *Don Philibert* of *Savoy Generaliſſimo* is preſent, who is made Viceroy of *Sicily*, with abſolute power to diſpoſe of all offices, without attendance from Spain, which is more then Vice-Re. He hath uſed me for his Majeſties honour with very great reſpect, as I have in particular adviſed Mr. Secretarie. Among many courteſies, finding 13. Engliſh Captives in the Gallies, I thought it my duty to ſuccour them. His Highneſſe at the firſt inſtance, to expreſſe his good affection to my Maſter, gave them to me all free, which I think is a good work, and not ordinary. I beſeech your Lordſhip, that his Majeſtie may be pleaſed to take knowledge of it into Spain for the Princes honour, that he may in the like occaſion, not think himſelf neglected.

The advice from *Conſtantinople* is ſeconded of the overthrow of the *Turk*. God grant it be true, and yet the pride of the Grand Seignior

is

is not aſſwaged, but he threatens a new attempt in the ſpring. I hope I have hitherto done his Majeſtie no diſhonour, nor can I boaſt of ſervices; but being under your Lordſhips protection, I will hope for a good interpretation, beſeeching you to preſent my name to his Majeſtie, that I be not forgotten in theſe great diſtances, wherein my humble fortune hath kept me, and as I have obſerved your Lordſhip to be the *Amparo* of thoſe that pretend to virtue and honour, and not to deſert them till they have forſaken themſelves: So I beſeech you take me upon thoſe conditions which cannot ſhame you, and leave me, when I am other, then

Your Lordſhips faithful, and honeſt ſervant,

*Thо. Roe.*

*Meſſina, 7/17. Decemb.* 1621.

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## L. R. H. *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

*My dear Lord,*

I Have ſince my departure from you uſed all diligence in the Princes ſervice, and punctually obſerved all his Commands. Onely with the King I have dealt ſo freely in my relation of the Prince his carriage, and your extraordinary care of working his content in all points, that I did move him to ſhed tears in expreſſing his happineſſe for ſuch a ſon, and likewiſe his good fortune in having a Favourite, who is framed according to his own heart in all points. Neither have I preſſed any thing to injure any farther then my dutie bound me, and my faithful love to your ſervice, which ſhall alwaies have a prime place in my heart.

My Lord, there are contrary opinions in Court and City, by the one you are much admired for your noble expreſſions of true honor, and love to your King, Prince, and Country, with many obſervations of your ſpecial care and zeal to Religion, and your immovable reſolution to Conteſt with all oppoſitions to the contrary. By the other you are maligned, and they give it out, That you have with your wilfulneſſe occaſioned theſe delayes, by diverting and changing their waies wherein they had begun to treat: but the falſeneſſe hereof hath been ſhewen, and it appears malice without ground, the which, (though heretofore I have told you,) not out of any other end then to

to do you service, yet have you so slightly regarded me for it, and so much respected those ill-deserving Great ones, (as if you had intended to receive your enemies into your bosome, and to cast off your faithfullest friends;) yet shall not any usage discourage me from discharging the office of a most loving and zealous affected friend, and servant, yea insomuch, that I will rather displease you, in doing you that faithful service, that both my honour and love obligeth me to, then be silent, and they let you run into apparent danger.

My Lord, amongst the protestants your are divulged (as much as ill disposed ones dare) a Papist. Among the Papists, it is avowed you are the greatest enemy they have. For which reports, I am not troubled, for they have made you the much more pittyed, and as highly esteemd, and honoured amongst the most juditious, and best deserving subjects, as any thing could do. And I dare assure you, that since your being at *Madrid* you are much better beloved of all people (who have not ends) then you were before. Noble Lord, I find the King both resolute, and couragious, but wise, and secret, to my own hearts joy, and not to be won upon by the subtil and false policie of any. I made it my humble suit upon my knees, that he would consent to no proposition of this Spanish Embassadour concerning peace or war, till the Princes return. Which suite he tooke well at my hands, and granted. I have told him freely what I observed in Spain, both of their manners, usage, and honestie, and left it to his wisedom to make what use he pleased. His Majestie longs to see the Prince, and you, and so do all the subjects, and will not be satisfyed with any thing, but your speedy return. Except you have jelousies put into the Spaniards heads, and prevent the danger, which will be by hasting the marriage with all possible speed; for there are some whose buttons break with venom, that you have got so much honour, and so well deserved of the King and Prince. But you believe me not, but think I speak of Spleen, when God knowes I never bore any to any man, but for your sake. Your most vertuous lady mourns for your absence, and will not be comforted. Your fair Daughter deserves your staying withall, and your faithful friends and the good of the Kingdom want you most of all

And for your greater comfort, the King is so reserved in the Princes affaires, as that he neither imparts the businesses of Spain, nor his intents therein to any of hit privie Councel. Since your patent, the Earl *Marshal* is become a great stranger at the Court. But all men find you so fast revited into the Kings heart that they see it is an impossibility to work you any way displeasure in your absence, and

and therefore forbear to expresse, what willingly they would effect, but find it in vain to go about it. But let not the Kings love to you or their small ability to do you harm, make you too careless, or too credulous of those your enemies, last it give to ogreat incouragement to them, and too great disheartning to yourfaithful friends. I am sorrie at my being with you at *Madrid* that you durst not impart those secrets, wherein I am sure my faithfulnesse, and love unto you, would have done you all service (as the thing I most desire) but I see the zeale of my heart to you, is not rightly considered, yet am I confident that time will make me best known, and better esteemed by you as one whose true heart, is alwayes watchful of taking all opportunities to do you service. My Lord, you shall find me not only a word-friend, but an active, who never am better pleased, then when I find most opposition. And for conclusion, I am so far from shunning dangers to do you service, as that I would willingly wade in blood at any time to manifest my self yours. And therefore I should receive great content, if you knew, how truly I were yours, because then I am sure in the Nobleness of your nature, it would be impossible for any to be able to do me wrong in your Honourable thoughts. My dear Lord, pray suffer no longer delayes in Spain, but either dispatch what you went for quickly, or else return speedily; for assure your self, their desire to have you continue there, is for no love to you, but to further thereby their own designs elsewhere. Nay I dare justifie it out of my own weak judgment, that the longer you stay, the farther off you shall be from obtaining, what you desire. And if you resolutely purpose your return with speed, you will force them out of their dull pace, and put them upon the rock, from which they cannot escape, except they fulfil your desires. Besides, your presence is most necessary here for home-affairs, for your absence hath caused too great insolencie in the Court, by such as bear themselves very loftily, and insult very much over yours, especially your poore servant *Mewtis* is much threatned as being yours, and must suffer till you come back. Some other things likewise are otherwise carried in your absence, then would be in your presence, therefore for Gods sake return, but with the Prince, and count delayes, denyals. And the longer you stay there, the stronger you make them and your selves the weaker. My Lord of *Bristol* hath a great, and more powerful party in Court, then you imagine, in so much, that I am confident were the King a newter, he would prevail, and I do not much marvail at it, for you trust upon the honour, and justification of all your actions, desirous to make no friends, be-

cause you need none, but he deales with a great deal of cautelous wisedom, and as he hath wrought into the Kings opinion, by reason of some pleasing services, so hath he into all those, who are about the King, or powerful, that they may better his good services, and smother his bad. Besides the man who is suspitious (as he must needs be) hath far greater care of after-reckonings, how to make fair glosses, then he who doth all things with the avowment of all honour, and the only intent of service to his King, and Country. It grieves me I am not thought worthie to hear from you any word by these last messengers, especially being promised the imployment, from which I was put. Farewell (dear Lord) and the Almightes protection be upon our unmatchable Prince, upon whose worth, and brave atchievements all eyes are fixed, and the same protection light upon you his right hand, and give you the good fortune, to make as brave a return, as you did voyage thither, to the eternal praise of your future memories. And upon these hopes, I rest happie to think my self

Yours

*H. R.*

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## *Sir* George Carie *to the Marquesse of* Buckingham.
8. December, 1619.

Your Lordship

WIll be satisfied, before this of mine will have the happinesse to kisse your noble hands, that the great Mysterie of iniquity in the Star-chamber is now revealed, and as many as could be discerned to have the mark of the beast upon them, have undergone their censure. Some I must confesse, and great fishes too, have broken out of the nett. But that escape must be objected to the errours of some of the pursuers, whose courses in some things were not enough direct to warrant, what otherwise might have been done. And your Lordship who is a good Woodman well knowes, unlesse the Wind-lace be well carried, the Bowes which stand up can never shoot.

Notwithstanding all the defaults of the meaner Agents, the Court maintaining the honour of their own uprightnesse, and integritie hath with moderation too, (yet such as leaves subject to his Majesties

sties mercy to work upon some particulars,) raised in Fine some 130000 l. or thereabouts. If no errours had been committed, (whereupon those Defendants, which escaped, took advantage to be safe) by this which is done, you may imagine what it would have amounted to. For my part, I rejoyce to conceive, how with the shortest of the daies, we are at the worst of our estate, hoping by this means with the return of the Sun, to see some such return of the money, (the riches of his Majesties Treasurie, and bloud of the Common-Wealth) as that the Exchequer may flow, and the Veins of the State may fill again, and both with the Spring renew their strength, lustre, and complexion. I have now stayed here so long attending this businesse, that I hold it too late to wait upon you at *Newmarket*, That gives me cause to crave your pardon for this presuming imperfect Accompt of this daies action, and withal to desire the assurance, that I live in your estimation, the same, I will ever be

Your Lordships

Most sincerely honest and humble servant,

*G. Cary.*

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## *To King* James, ab ignoto.

*Your Majestie,*

BOth in the eminencie of your regal dignitie, and in the excellencie of your judgment, doth truly represent the common sense, whose part it is to judge and discern of all things; whereas the other senses do but report their particular objects. And in that manner do I humbly offer to your Majesties Consideration in this importune *Christs* of the affairs of Christendom, so much as I have observed in *France*, that may now concern your service, in which place I have been heretofore imployed in your affaires.

And first considering the present estate of things in France, and weighing against it, the seizure made of the *Valteline* by the King of *Spain*, the late invasion of the *Palatinate*, and now this new defeat arrived in *Bohemia*, I do put this for an infallible ground, that either the King of *France* will resolve out of jealousie of the progressions

of the house of *Austria* effectually to succour the *Palatinate*, or else abandoning the affairs of *Germany* to their own successe, and neglecting the increase of the house of *Austria* on that side, he will think more then to recompence himself, by taking this opportunity to extinguish the body of those of the Religion in *France*. And as undoubtedly he will resolve on one of those two points, so on both of them for sundry reasons he cannot. To move him to the succour of the *Palatinate*, the main motive will be, the jealousie between those two Monarchies, which can never die, so long as they do both subsist in no greater a disproportion of strength and power; As also that *France* shall by their usurpation of the *Palatinate*, be on all sides Circled by the house of *Austria*, and particularly on that part where *France* hath before usurped on the Empire; in which regard his interest of estate is greater then your Majesties in the Conservation of the *Palatinate*, though your personal interest be incomparable with his. Then he cannot but think of the losse of his Correspondencies, and breach of his Confederacies in *Germany*, which have been very ancient, and very particular with the house of the *Palatine*. And if the reason of mutual gratitude, and vindication of injuries, may move Frenchmen, there are plentiful arguments on both kinds to move them to defend the House of the *Palatine*, against that of *Austria*. But now on the other side to move him against those of the Religion at home, first doth present it self, his successful beginning against them in the businesse of *Bearn*, then which nothing could be more unjust, both in regard of the matter it self, and of his own faith, and promise, and of the desert of those of the Religion towards him, in these late troubles, nor could any thing be more suddenly, or violently (I do not say cruelly) executed, then that was. And again the present tearms, wherein that King, and those of the Religion do stand, will push him on. Then there will not want to this purpose, the powerful perswasions of the Pope, and his adherents, both by propounding overtures to lay asleep the jealousies of the house of *Austria*, and offering huge summes towards the charge of the War, which if he should attempt, and prevail therein, it would prove of far greater prejudice for many reasons that may be given in the interest of Estate, to your Majestie, though not in the interest of your affection, then the losse of the *Palatinate*.

What may in *France* be resolved upon these motives, is uncertain.

But I do conceive hereupon, that it may be useful for your Majesties service effectually to propound in *France*, a Confederacie for

the Conſervation of the Palatinate, to which if they do hearken, your Majeſtie ſhall proceed in that deſign with greater ſtrength and reputation, and occaſion the King of *Spain* to proceed with greater remiſſeneſſe, or elſe abſolutely to relinquiſh the Palatinate by a Treaty. But if in France it be not hearkened to, your Majeſtie may take it for an aſſured argument, that they mean to proceed againſt thoſe of the Religion, in which caſe your Majeſtie may make uſe of the ſame Embaſſage to revive again ſome of their factions in the Court, whereby thoſe of the Religion may be ſtrengthened in their defence, and it will not be hard to effect, if it be well proceeded in. And herein doth properly offer it ſelf the perſon of the Duke of *Bovillon*, who for his great experience and wit, and intelligence in that Court, is beſt able to guide and further your Majeſties intentions; and for his intereſt in the perſon of the *Palatine*, and in the converſation of thoſe of the Religion, doth preciſely ſquare with your Majeſties ends, whoſe advice you may firſt ſuddenly and ſecretly enquire.

&c.

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## *Sir* Walter Aſton *to the Duke*, 10. December, 1624.

*May it pleaſe your Grace*,

THe Arch-Duke *Don Carlos*, brother to the Emperour, made his entrie into this Town on the 15th. of the laſt moneth, *Stil. Vet.* He was met by the Almirante of *Caſtile* two daies journey from this place, who went from hence well accompanied, and attended by many Liveries richly ſet forth. Some 400. paces without a Gate of this Town called *Alcala*, the Arch-Duke was received by the two Infants *Don Carlos* and the Cardinal, and about 200 paces without the ſaid Gate by the King himſelf, who came attended with the greateſt part of this Court, and in his Coach accompanied with the Duke of *Newbergh*, and the *Conde* of *Olivarez*: The King lighted out of his Coach to receive the Arch-Duke, and ſome complements being paſt between them, returned into his Coach, and ſet the Arch-Duke by him on his left hand; in the other end of the Coach ſet the two Infants; in one boot the Duke of *Newbergh*, and the *Conde* of *Olivarez*; and in the other the Emperours Embaſſadour, and the Almirante; the Almirante taking place of the Embaſſadour. Being come to the Palace,

Palace, the King accompanied the Arch-Duke to the Queens Quarter, where his Majestie left him to be conveyed from thence to his own Quarter (which is the same was given to the Prince his Highnesse at his being in this Court,) by the Infants his Brothers, as he was, having finished his complements with the Queen, and the Infanta *Dona Maria*. There were preparations here making for the honouring his reception with several feasts, and entertainments after their manner here. But these have been stopped by the Arch-Dukes sickness, who felt himself indisposed the day after his arrival, and applying some Physical remedies by the advice of a Physitian which he brought along with him, his distemper increased, and as it is pretended by these Physitians by a wrong course held with him. What hath been the true cause of his infirmity, I leave to be disputed by them; He hath been held divers dayes with a terrible Calenture, which proved at last a *Tabardillo*, whereupon there was little hope conceived of his life; but he hath since received some ease, and is now in a good way of amendment. In respect of the Emperours unworthy proceedings with the King our Master, I have not dared to visit him, untill I shall have notice of his Majesties pleasure therein, which I shall be glad to understand from your Grace.

Since the expiring of the Truce betwixt this Crown and the *Hollanders*, this King hath given License to divers Port Towns on the Coasts of *Biscay* to arm out what ships they shall think good, and to make prize to their own particular benefit of what they shall light upon belonging to the enemies of this Crown: by which meanes it is here hoped, That these Coasts will be much the better secured from the daily pillages of the Holland men of War, and the Turkish Pyrates. For the advancing whereof upon request made of those of *Sevil*, there is License given unto them to arm what men of War they can find means. The Duke of *Mequeda* likewise with leave hath lately set forth six ships which are abroad in Pyracie.

There is advice given hither, that the Duke of *Brandenbergh* hath given his consent to the conferring of the Electoral dignitie upon the Duke of *Bavaria*, which I can hardly believe, though I find it assured from very good hands.

The Duke of *Newbergh* remains still in this Court, and presses to carry a cleer resolution in his businesses from hence; but for any thing I can yet learn his negotiation remains in the same estate as I advertised in my last to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*.

The Armada prepared in *Portugal* for the recovering of *Brasil* is gon to Sea, and whereas, they were to have stayed at the *Cape* St. *Vincent*

*Vincent* for the Armado of Castile, upon advice, that is given hither, that the Hollanders in *Brasil* are not able to make any resistance of consideration, they have order to proceed in their journey. Twenty ships of war, and 4000. land Souldiers (which is the force of that Fleet) being here held sufficient for that enterprize. The Armado in *Cadiz* is not yet departed, but hath her men aboard, and there is daily expectation of newes that it is gone to Sea. The Duke of *Saxonie* having received letters from the King our Master, and the King of *Denmark*, sent presently coppies of them unto the Emperour, with his answers unto their Majesties, and accompanied them with a letter of his own unto the Emperour. All which the Emperour sent unto the King. The carriage of the Duke is much esteemed here, for having given (as I am informed) by his Letters unto the King our Master, and the King of *Denmark* such an answer as they are here much satisfied withal. Nothwithstanding in this Letter to the Emperour with many reasons, and much instance, he advises him to apply himself to the setling of the peace in *Germany*, and expressing much affection to the composing of the affaires of the Prince Palatine doth earnestly intreat his Majestie not to destroy that ancient house. In the mean time the Duke of *Bavaria* uses all diligence to combine himself with this Crown, and now doth offer to cast off all other thoughts of leagues, and to depend wholly upon Spain, so that this King will protect him in his Electoral dignity, and what he hath lately possessed himself of in those parts. This offer of the Dukes hath been several dayes debated in Councel, where the Marquesse *Ynoiosa* hath been busie in the behalf of the Duke: but the wiser part of this Councel seeing how prejudicial, the increase of the Dukes greatnesse may prove to the Empire, do no way favour his pretentions. They likewise hold fit to continue the state of things in a possibility of an accommodation without our Master.

The Arch-Duke *Don Carlos* hath brought power from the Emperour to proceed to the consummation of a marriage betwixt the Emperours son and the Infanta *Donna Maria*, wherein he sayes, he hath nothing to Capitulate, but brings them a blanck paper, and hath power, and order to confirm what conditions they shall here set down. The Emperour's Embassadour doth much presse to proceed to the Capitulations, but there is yet nothing done. The Infanta of *Brussels* hath lately written hither, importing this King to admit of a treaty of marriage betwixt the Prince of *Polonia*, and the Infanta his Sister, extolling with many expressions the worth, and parts of that Prince.

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There hath been ſome moneths a general ſtop of their proceedings here in all ſuites of Engliſh Merchants depending in this Court; but I have at laſt procured a *Junto* to be aſſigned for the hearing of all Engliſh Cauſes, wherein I am promiſed there ſhall be a ſpeedy Reſolution taken of whatſoever is at preſent in Queſtion.

The Duke of *Feria* hath lately advertiſed hither from *Millain*, that the French King, and the Duke of *Savoy* do miniſter much occaſion of jealouſie, that they intend to attempt ſome novelty in thoſe parts, and doth therefore deſire, that his Troops may be augmented; whereupon (above the ordinary charge) there was inſtantly remitted unto him 2000. Duckets.

The great annual *Aſſiento* which this King makes with the *Genoueſes* is newly concluded, it is for 7. millions, whereof 4. are remitted for *Flanders*, to be paid by monethly portions.

In a late meeting of the Councel of State upon a diſcourſe that paſſed amongſt them, taking into conſideration this Kings wants, and the preſent diſtemper of his affairs, the Inquiſidor General expreſſing how neceſſary a time it was for his Majeſties Subjects to aſſiſt his preſent occaſions, made offer of 100 Duckets for his part, which the *Conde* of *Olivares* followed with a tender of 300; the *Conde* of *Monterrey* of 100; all the reſt of the Councel of State following their example gave according to their quality. Notice being taken of this abroad, the Condeſtable wrote a Letter unto this King, wherein he made tender of 200 Duckets, the Marqueſſe of *Caſtel Rodrigo* of 100, the Marqueſſe of *Carpio* of the like ſumme. Divers others have likewiſe declared themſelves in this donative, and it is hoped that it will go over the whole Kingdome, and bring in an extraordinary Treaſure into the Kings purſe. Thus with the remembrance of my duty, I reſt

Your Graces, &c.

*W. A.*

*Archbiſhop*

## *Archbishop* Abbots *to Secretarie* Nanton, 12. Septemb. 1619.

*Good Mr. Secretarie,*

I Have never more desired to be present at any Consultation, then that which is this day to be handled, for my heart, and all my heart goeth with it. But my Foot is worse then it was on Friday, so that by advice of my Physitian, I have sweat this whole night past, and am directed to keep my bed this day.

But for the matter, my humble advice is, That there is no going back, but a countenancing of it against all the world; yea so far as with ringing of Bells, and making of Bon-fires in *London*, so soon as it shall be certainly understood that the Coronation is past. I am satisfied in my Conscience, that the Cause is just, wherefore they have rejected that proud and bloody man, and so much the rather, because he hath taken a course to make that Kingdom not elective, but to take it from the donation of another man. And when God hath set up the Prince that is chosen to be a mark of honor through all Christendom to propagate his Gospel, and to protect the oppressed, I dare not for my part give advice but to follow where God leads.

It is a great honour to the King our Master, that he hath such a Son, whose virtues have made him thought fit to be made a King. And me thinks I do in this, and that of *Hungary* foresee the work of God, that by piece and piece the Kings of the earth, that gave their power unto the beast, (all the Word of God must be fulfilled) shall now tear the Whore and make her desolate, as St. *John* in his Revelation hath foretold. I pray you therefore with all the spirits you have to put life into this businesse, and let a return be made into *Germany* with speed, and with comfort, and let it really be prosecuted, that it may appear to the World that we are awake when God in this sort calleth us.

If I had time to expresse it, I could be very angry at the shuffling which was used toward my Lord of *Doncaster*, and the slighting of his Embassage so, which cannot but touch upon our Great Master who did send him, and therefore I would never have a Noble Sonne forsaken, for respect of them who truly aym at nothing but their own purposes.

Our striking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, will honour the *Palsgrave*, will strengthen the Union, will bring on the States of the Low Countries, will stirre up the King of *Denmark*, and will move

his two uncles the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Bovillon*, to-together with *Tremoville* (a rich Prince in France) to cast in their shares. And *Hungarie* as I hope (being in that same cause) will run the same fortune; for the meanes to support the war, I hope *Providebit Deus*. The Parliament is the old, and honourable way, but how assured at this time I know not, yet I will hope the best; certainly if countenance be given to the action, many brave spirits will voluntarily go. Our great Master in sufficient want of mony, gave some ayde to the Duke *Savoy*, and furnished out a prettie army in the cause of *Cleve*. We must trie once again what can be done in this businesse of a higher nature, and all the mony that may be spared is to be turned that way. And perhaps God provided the Jewels that were layd up in the Tower to be gathered by the Mother for the preservation of her Daughter who like a noble Princesse hath professed to her Husband not to leave her self one Jewel rather then not to maintain so religious, and righteous a cause. You see that lying on my bed I have gone too far, but if I were with you this should be my language, which I pray you humbly and heartily to represent to the King my Master, telling him, that when I can stand, I hope to do his Majestie some service herein. So commending me unto you, I remain

Your very loving friend,

*Geo. Cant.*

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## *The Lord* Brook *to the Duke*, 11. November, 1623.

*May it please your Grace*,

Out of *Spain* we hear, the world comes so fast after you (since your departure,) as we assure our selves this great work is at a good end, with contentment to our blessed Prince, and like a Princely treaty, with addition of honour to the Monarchie, he intends to match with.

But Sir, we hear of a new treaty sprung up between the *Palsegraves* Eldest son and the Emperours youngest Daughter. A Labrynth into which, what hope soever leades us, I fear no one thread will be able to guide us well out. Because in the passages between these far distant Princes education of children seemes like to be demand-

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ed, Ballancing of Councels to the jelousie of friends, Question whether the Palatinate shall be delivered in the Nonage before marriage, or after. Then whether sequestred into a Catholique, or Protestants hands. If into a Catholique, a probable argument that both it, and the *Valtoline* are equally reserved free to fall with associated forces upon our antient Bulwark the *Nether-Lands* at pleasure. Lastly whether the Myter, and these Scepters thus united, with their advantage in number of swords, and Deskes abroad, their new springing partie at home, strengthes by sea and land, Constant ambition of adding Crown, to Crown, and perfect Auditt of their neighbours powers, and humors (even while the second Heire male of this Kingdom shall live in the hands of enemies, and strangers) I say whether these will not prove fearful in equalities, casual to the lives of our King and Prince, dangerous to the Crown by changing successive rights into tenures of Courtesie, and charging of the peoples consciences with visions of confusion or bondage.

Again (Sir) admit this new project should vanish into smoak as undigested vapours use to do, yet give me leave to question, whether to your Grace you have overtlie protested against the intricate Courses of the Spaniard, even the specious issue of the Palatinates delivery before consummation of marraiage, but not like to prove Mother of many Colourable and unavoydable delayes. Because, suppose the proposition should be granted, yet who sees not that the effecting of it will prove an act of so many parts. Viz: the Pope, Emperour, King of *Spain*, Duke of of *Bavaria* &c. and of so great consequence joyntlie, and severally to them all, and must of necessity require divers assemblies, commissions, perchance Dietts &c. And then what time the execution of the Minutes under these Heads will demand, he that knowes the divers natures of Nations in treating may easily conceive.

To begin with the least; what mony or other conditions can be offered like to satisfie the honour, humour, and huge expence of the *Bavarian*, for quitting his Conquest to so unreconcileable a neighbour: and if there be possibility, yet out of whose estate or treasury are these conditions, or large proportions of Dowrie probably to be expected? touching the Emperour; Is there any forraign alliance able to perswade this Prince, who having by an untimely war, changed all tenures of Election into succession, and thereby shaken the antient freedom of our *Germany* Princes, what I say can in likelihood winn him to restore these dead forces of his Enemies, to the

prejudice of all he injoyes, or aſpires. Beſides what ſhall move this Emperour to take away the Bann from the *Palſegraves* perſon, who hath ſo deſparately hazarded not only his own private Kingdomes, and Provinces, but by his undertaking, waved the main ambition of of the *Auſtrian* familie. For the Spaniſh King if he be preſt, his anſwer will be ready and fair, that he hath no right in him (but mediation) as appeares by the diviſions already made. Notwithſtanding how little right ſoever pretends, yet his Councel, his inſtruments, his charge, by diverſion, *Overt Ayde*, inſenſible ſuccours (the world ſees) have been uſed in all theſe wars; ſo as this together with his right by ſtrong hand gotten (and kept by arts of depoſiting) upon the *Voltaline* may lead us to diſcern clearly, that he finds the paſſage of his forces through them, equal, and ſo reſolves both, to over-run the Low countries when he pleaſe. Againſt which little State (whether out of revenge, or ambition of greater conqueſts by them, he will conſtantly carry a warchfull and Griping enemies hand.

Concerning the Pope, who knowes not that his univerſal affected ſupremacie (howſoever diſſembled) yet hath, doth and ever will urge his Holineſſe to ſtir up colourable Warres of Religion. Since Warres, Contentions, and tumults among Princes have been his old way of adding more wealth, and power to his ſanctified Sea. How I ſay this new faſhion'd Monarch, ſhallbe won to ſuffer *Heidelberg* (the moſt dangerous neſt of Heretiques after *Geneva*) to return to her former ſtrength is a poynt beyond my Capacity.

By theſe ſhort, haſtie and imperfect images your Grace may yet judg, that except the reſtitution of the *Palatinate* be inſtantly preſſed (and like a work of Faeries either furniſhed, or broken off at once) we may eaſily be over-ſhot in our own bowes, by having the ſtrengths and free Councels of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* during this treaty kept under a kind of Covert-baron, and ſo long made a forge for other Princes ends, as my Bleſſed Soveraigns truſt may perchance find it ſelf compelled to play an After-Game, amongſt diſcouraged friends, and combination of powerful enemies, ſuch as under characters of *Allyance* will think they have won one great Step towards their inveterate Ambition of a Weſterne Monarchie.

Noble Duke, If you find me lifted above my earth, in handling a ſubject to which I am utterly a ſtranger, yet bear with a Monks humour, in a man that is priſoner to old age. Hide my follie from the eyes

eyes of Critiques. And pardon my freedom that hath wearied you, with a mind ever to remain

Your Graces loving Grandchild
and humble servant,

*Tho. Brook.*

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## *Dr.* Balcanquel *to Secretarie* Nanton, 26. of March.

*Right Honourable,*

THe reason why I have not of late written to your Honour, is the discontinuance of our Sessions of the Synod this great while; but since my last unto your Honour, we have thus spent our time. The publique reading of all the Collegial judgments upon the 5. Articles was made an end of. In which (God be thanked for it) there was a greater harmonie and consent then could almost be hoped for, in such variety of learned men, who did not know one of anothers judgment. The onely difference was in the second Article. After that the President, (never asking advice from the Synod) took upon him to conceive, and dictate the Canons himself to us; but we who were sent by his Majestie, conceiving that course to be altogether against the dignity of the Synod, consulted with some of the Delegates, who approved our Counsel, and thought it fit, that there should be some deputed by the Synod, and joyned to the President for conceiving of the Canons, that so whatsoever was done, might be done by publique authority. This motion did trouble the President not a little, who hath all the Provincials at his beck, and some of the forraign Divines too, but especially the *Palatines*. Yet there was a publique Synode called for this purpose, where the President of the Delegates did make a speech, desiring the Synode to depute some who joyned with the President and the Assessours, might take pains for moulding of the Canons. In the delivering of the voices most testified their dislike of this course, and their singular respect to the Presidents Credit; but *Scultetus* did by many reasons approve the course which the President had begun, and disprove this

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new course, which was suggested, yet he taxed no man personally. But *Sibrandus* (when he came to deliver his voice) like a mad-man did inveigh against those, who were the suggesters of this change, and said, That strangers should not take upon them to prescribe what was good for the estate of their Church, and that some others who had joyned in that, were worthy to be noted *Censurâ Ecclesiasticâ*: therein he aymed at the South *Holland*, who did likewise much dislike the President his Course. *Sibrandus* spake so furiously, that both the *Præses Politicus*, and the *Præses Ecclesiasticus*, desired him either to hold his peace, or else speak that which might not disturb the peace of the Synode. Yet since it was the Delegates pleasure, the whole Synode added to the President, and the Assessours three forraign Divines, *viz.* my Lord of *Landaff*, *Scultetus*, and *Deodatus*; 3. Provincials, *viz.* *Poliander*, *Vallæus*, and *Triglandius*; who should mould and conceive the Canons upon every Article, and then send a Copie of what they have done to every Colledge, that they may adde power, and change what they will, the Colledges observations being considered by them, and the Canons according to them amended, they are to be returned to the Colledges, and the Colledges to return them again, and so to keep the course ever till there be no exceptions against them. When they are thus agreed upon by all several Colledges, they shall publiquely be concluded, and approved by the Synode.

We are now hard at polishing the Canons, which these Deputies send us. All our trouble is in the second Article: The most part of the Synode would cry us down with voices for the restriction of the general propositions in Scripture, and the Confessions of the Reformed Churches concerning Christs death, *ad Solos Electos*. We stand for leaving them unexpounded, and unrestricted as we found them, and rejoyce exceedingly, that the Directions which my Lord Embassadour sent us from his Majestie concerning this point, agreeth so fully with our judgment subscribed with our hands, given in to the Synode, upon the second Article. By this doing we first leave a sound and sufficient ground for preaching of the Gospel to all men. Next we shun a great deal of offence, which otherwise we must needs have given to the *Lutheran* Churches. Thirdly, we retain the same phrases, and forms of speaking, which those Fathers did, who wrestled with the *Pelagians* in the same point. If this Article be well looked into, I hope there shall moderation enough be observed in all the rest. If it were not for the moderation of the forraign Divines, we should have

have such Canons as I think have not been heard of: for there is never a Provincial Minister here, who hath delivered any rigid Proposition, and hath been taxed by the Remonstrants for it, but he would have that Proposition thrust into one Canon or another, that so he may have something to shew for that which he hath said. As soon as the Canons are agreed upon, I shall by Gods grace with all expedition send them unto your Honour. Our next work will be *Vorstius*, whose book they would censure, without citation of himself. The President wrote to our Colledge in the Delegates name to know, whether we thought it fit to have him personally cited; but especially to know what we thought would be most agreeing to his Majesties mind.

To the latter, concerning his Majesties mind, we answered, That we thought my Lord Embassadour could give them the best resolution for that point.

For the former, we thought it would be evil taken, If any man should be condemned, not being first heard. But because they, that *Vorstius* would keep them as long as the Remonstrants had done; We told them, That we desired they would not suffer him to make any defences, or explications of his blasphemous propositions, but simply to answer *per ita vel non*, whether he would plainly abjure them, or not; And so accordingly proceed against him, and so we should make no great losse of time; so I think he shall be personally cited.

This is all, for we have had no Synodical meetings these 12. daies. I can see no end of the Synode before *Whitsontide*. With my best prayers for your Honours, and the remembrance of all my faithful respects. I take my leave; And am

Your Honours

In all true observance and service,

*Walter Balcanquel.*

Sir

## *Sir* William Beecher *to his Majestie*, 4th. of February.

*Most Gracious Soveraign*,

BEsides the relation of the apparance of change in the affairs of the Court, wherewith my Dispatch to Mr. Secretarie *Lake* will acquaint your Majestie: I thought it my duty to give you particular account, that being yesterday with the Prince of *Jain ville*, after some earnest protestations made to me of his desire to do your Majestie service, falling into discourse of those occurrences, he grew into these terms. That the complaints of the Queen Mother were founded upon good reason; that if she had offended the King, or the State, why did they not make her processe? if she had not offended, why should she not see the King, and her children? that when the Queen fell upon these Complaints, they thought to fright her, by Pretending to bring forth the Prince of *Conde*; but that the Queen had astonished them, by telling them, That she was so far from opposing, as she desired the liberty of the Prince. That the Queens friends would be glad of his liberty, for that it could not be prejudicial, but rather advantagious, at the least, it would be honourable for them, if his liberty were wrought, if not by their intercession, at least by their occasion; further he told me, That he was confident, that the Queen would not be gained by their fair words, but would persist in her resolution. Which discourse of his with some other advertisements, doth perswade me, that this matter hath a farther root, and is likely to bring forth some great alteration here, in no long time. And I doubt not but that *Monsieur de Luine* will find with repentance, how much better it had been for him, to have furthered your Majesties advice for the delivery of the Prince, whereby he might have acquired to the King a reputation of Justice, and to himself an obligation of a powerful friend in the Prince, rather then to leave him to the adventure of the changes, that time may produce. But if your Counsel did prove fruitlesse to them by their misconceit of it, yet it doth, and will every day prove more honourable to your Majestie, who by your wisdom have foreseen, and by your goodnesse have premonished all your neighbours of the mischiefs that threatned them.

Peradventure they may overcome this *effort* of the Queenes by fair

fair words to her Person, and threats signified afar off, and continue the state of affairs in the same condition that now it is, which is in few words extreamly Romish, Jesuitish, and by consequence *Spanish*.

Mounsieur *de Luine* seemeth to me a man in himself capable of reason, and by the death of the Marshal *d'Anchre*, eternally bound to be a good Patriot, but that he applyes himself wholly to the Kings person, and that distrusting his own judgment, relies upon the judgment of the Ministers of the State, and principally * *Du Augen* the Chancellour, and the Gardeseaux. * *Du Agen.*

They utterly neglect all the Alliances of our Religion abroad, and care not how inconsiderately they oppresse it at home. Onely they seem desirous to entertain themselves well with the King of *Spain*, by the intervention of the *Nunce*, and do think that no advantage which they can give the *Spaniard* by this proceeding in other parts, can equal that which they pretend to receive at home, by suppressing the State, and doctrine of those of the Religion.

If they proceed long in this train, it will undoubtedly breed mischievous designes, which there is no so ready way to prevent, as to let them generally perceive, that they are discovered, whereby the proceedings of the Ministers of State will grow so detestable to all those here, that have any sense of the love of their Countrey, that it will produce either a change of their persons, or of their Councels.

But I do humbly submit the Censure hereof to your Majesties most exquisite judgment, whom I do beseech the Almighty long to preserve in health, and all perfect happinesse.

Your Majesties

Most humble Subject, and
Loyal Servant,

*Will. Beecher.*

## *To King* James, ab ignoto

*Most wise, and Glorious Prince,*

BEcause the departure of your Majestie doth not permit me to hope for the honour of seeing you, and that the advertisements, and orders which I have to communicate unto you, do merit your speedy review and magnanimous resolution, I have presumed to trust them unto this paper, which I do humbly desire may rest in the hands of your Majestie alone.

The treaty of restoring all that had been taken by Sea (which by a motion from *Spain*, was put into the hands of some Ministers in *Rome*) is accompanied with so little hope of obtaining the end, that was pretended, that by reason of their continuing at *Naples* to dissipate, and waste such goods as they had taken in our ships, and the Cardinal *Borgias* reservedness to promise any thing, that negotiation may be held as vain, and as an insidious invention to gain time. Nevertheless my Masters marching still with a constant desire of purchasing the publique tranquillity, have been content to render all such vessels as they had taken within their Gulph, in hope that having gotten the advantage of the cause by this honest proceeding, they might prevail in which they had made at *Naples*, for the restitution of their Galeasses, and of the ship called *Rosse*.

But the actions and operations of the Spaniards do not answer unto what is desired, and hoped. For in the Kingdome of *Sicilie Naples*, and *Calabria*, they do muster new Souldiers, and they make great preparations for a war by the Sea. The subjects of those Kingdomes are taxed with extraordinary Contributions of mony, and in daily councels held by the duke of *Ossuna*, the Marqueste *Santa Croce*, and other ministers they do consult of the meanes of making war, and doing hurt. But that which is most important is, that in the conjuncture, there is likewise in divers parts of *Spain* a terrible concourse of great provisions. For they have put in a readinesse armour for 30000. men, they have ingrossed all the ammunition that could be purchased, and have put in good equipage 60. tall ships which being added unto those they have already in the Streights make 80. at *Naples* they have 20 ships more besides all their own Gallies, and an order they have obtained for the Gallies of *Malta*, *Florence*, and the Pope to joyn with them.

All the *Italian* Souldiers are quartered along the Coast of *Apulia*, which is opposite to our *Gulphe*, and they have 14000. foot of *Walloons*,

*Moons*, *French*, and *Spaniards* lodged within the Kingdom of *Naples*. In *Flanders* at this present, they make a new Leavie of 6000. foot, and a 1000. horse. And in the state of *Millan*, they do retain still 3000. horse supernumeraries. All which forces, and provisions, as they do deserve for their greatnesse to be regarded, and looked upon with a jealous eye of every one; so those, who do suffer at the present many injuries and acts of hostility at the hands of the *Spaniards*, and in particular the State of *Venice*, which is betrayed by their fraudulent treaties, cannot chuse but fear, and doubt more then any other. Neither can any pretences of enterprises or designs against the Turk secure those, who set the sword bended against their breasts, and the fire kindled in their own houses.

Whereupon your Majestie is humbly desired that you will be pleased to consider seriously of what hath been remonstrated, and to take such a resolution, as may best befit yonr wisdom, and Greatnesse, and the safety, and indemnity of a State so observant of your Majesty as ours is, and of a member so important of the liberty of *Italie*, and of Europe. There is not, at this day (Invincible Sir) any Prince in the whole world upon whom the Conservation of the publique tranquillity doth more rely then upon your Majestie. For there being none that doth equal your Majestie in wisdom, and experience, possessing your Kingdomes in perfect peace, quietnesse, and plenty, to the infinite praise of your name, and being free from the molestation of all stormes and tempests, it seemeth that the eyes of all men are turned towards your Majestie as towards a Sun, that ought to clear the Skie, and that they expect deliverance onely from your hand. These resolutions (oh most wise King) will be the strongest walls upon which your eternity can be reared. These will be the Jewels, and the crown, which will adorn you in earth, and in Heaven. These will be the immortal Glorie of your powerful name.

The resolutions in cases of such weight, and danger ought to be magnanimous, quick, and powerful. The very noise of your putting in order your royal Navie, the sending a person of quality to the place, from whence the danger is feared, and the declaring your self in favour of those, whom you shall find to have the right on their side, may perhaps prove sufficient to procure a peace. If words will not prevail deeds must follow, and such a resolution will prove the true Antidote to all their poysons. For the better effecting whereof the world doth attend with great devotion to see a good correspondencie renewed betwixt your Majestie and the *French* King; and for

the disposing your Majesties heart thereunto the State of *Venice* doth joyn her humble prayers unto the earnest intreaty of many others.

In the mean time, I am to request your Majestie, that you will be pleased to forbid the exportation of Artillerie, ships and Marriners out of our Kingdomes for the service of the *Spaniards*, it being neither just nor agreeable to your Majesties Piety, that your Arms should be stayned with the blood of a State, and Prince, that hath no equal in love to your Royal Crown, and that will ever testifie to all the world by effects of their observance, the pure, and sincere devotion that they have to your Glorious name. For my own particular, I humbly crave leave to kisse your royal hands.

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## *Sir* Isaac Wake *to the Secretarie.*

*Right Honourable,*

I Have safely received the Letter, wherewith your Honour hath been pleased to favour me, dated at *Theobalds* the 19th. of July Stil. Vet. and have to my singular comfort understood, that you have been pleased not onely to give favourable acceptance unto such weak dispatches as I have made bold to addresse unto you, but done me the honour likewise to acquaint his Majestie with the contents of them, and to direct my proceedings in in this intricate businesse, which instructions dictated by his Majesties wisedom, this light will be sufficient to direct my steps in the middest of an *Egyptian* darknesse, which doth not only obscure the *Horizon* of this Province where I reside, but almost the whole face of Europe, by reason of the great mists, which are cast artificially in all mens eyes to cover the designs of those, who do presume, that they have in all places *arbitrium Belli et Pacis.*

I most humbly crave pardon of your Honour, if you do not receive my answer so soon as perhaps you might expect. For yours having stayed upon the way a month and a day, did not come to my hands until the 20th. of August Stil. Vet. At which time it was brought unto me by Mr. *Rowlandson*, whom I had dispatched into *Germany*, to advertize those Princes of the motion made to the Duke of *Savoy* for the passage of Spanish forces through his State. My Lord of *Doncaster* under whose Cover I received that Letter, did not think fit to send it to me by an expresse messenger for fear of increa-

sing

sing the suspition of some in those parts, who are jealous that his Majesty doth favour the Duke of *Savoy* more then they could wish. And I must confesse, that the same reason induced me likewise to send that Gentleman of the Duke of *Savoy's* into *Germany*, rather then any servant of mine own, for fear least allees, and vennes of messagers betwixt my Lord of *Doncaster*, and me in these doubtful times might so far injealous the contrary party, as might prejudice the service of his Majestie in that Negotiation.

The instructions that your Honour hath been pleased to give me from his Majestie, concerning my treating with 52. *c.* in favour of 93. *a.* having reference unto the inclination of 95. *a.* to peace, or the probability of defence to be made by 93. *a.* I held it more safe for me to govern my self by such informations of the state of those affairs as I have received from the favour of the 1. 32. 7. 5. 47. 48. 2. 10. 40. 45. of 51. *a.* in 97. *a.* And for the better justification of my proceedings, I send your Honour here inclosed the Copie of his Letter unto me, wherein you will see, that I have no reason as yet to spend the name of 51. *a.* in favour of 93. *a.* nor to imbargue 52. *c.* in a businesse, which may draw a great charge, and envie upon himself, and not much advantage the 93. *a.* I must confesse that the 50. *b.* in general, and particularly the 54. *b.* and the 41. 45. 23. 34. 9. 12. of 5. 35. 22. 4. 30. 50. have represented the state of those affairs at this present unto 52. *b.* in a manner not onely different from the advertisements sent me, but almost contrary, and they do seem not only to be confident of the prevailing of 93. *c.* but likewise they continue to give hope that the 10. 51. 29. 15. of 48. 3. 59. 15. will concur with 51. *b.* and 52. *b.* in the 12. 30. 13. 9. 50. 27. 40. 35. of 99. *a.* But because I have reason to suspect that they make relation of those affairs, rather as they wish they were, then as they be indeed, and that their intention to draw somewhat from 52. *c.* towards the succours of 93. *a.* I will forbear to joyn with them therein, until I can have some better ground then their advertisements, which may be thought to favour of partiality, and I have reason to be backward therein, because I know that 52. *c.* would presently take me *en mot*, and put to the account of 51. *a.* that which he is most willing to do of himself. I do not affirm this out of conjecture, but upon good ground; for besides, that he did signifie so much unto me at my return out of *England*, I do know that within this fortnight he hath sent unto 56. *b.* 3000. 41. 24. 48. 49. 40. 30. 47. in part of 42. 2. 60. 32. 15. 35. 50. and in the conveyance of this

52. *c.* the Duke of *Savoy.*
93. *a.* the *Bohemians.*
95 *a.* the Emperour *Ferdinand.*
51. *a.* the King of *England.*
97. *a.* *Germany.*
99. *a.* the King of the *Romans.*
71. *c.* the Agent of *England.*
51. *b.* the Prince *Palatine.*
52. *b.* the Marquesse *Brandenbergh.*
54. *b.* the Marquesse *Auspach.*
50. *b.* the Princes of the Union.
56 *b.* Count *Ernest Mansfelt.*

this 33. 39. 34. 35. 61. there was extraordinary diligence used to conceal it from the knowledge of the 71. *c.* whereof no other construction can be made, but that 52. *c.* would fain be intreated by 71. *c.* to do that, which he hath already a mind to do.

If upon more fresh Letters, which I expect from my Lord of *Doncaster*, I shall find that the affairs there have changed face since the writing of his last unto me, I will govern my self accordingly, as I shall receive warrant from him.

We are here at a stand, expecting with devotion the issue of the affairs of *Germanie*. The Army in the Kingdom of *Naples* is still retained, and no order given, either for the dismissing of those Troops, or the employing them in any service. Prince *Philibert* is at *Messina* with the Gallies, and hath with him 10. or 12000 men. The Ships and Gallions remain at *Naples*, and the *Walloons*, *Lombardes* and *Neapolitanes* which should have come to *Vado*, are since their disimbarquing again, quartered round the City of *Naples*. It is impossible to guesse what they mean to do; but the most probable conjecture is, that under the colour of suspecting the Duke of *Ossuna*, the *Spaniards* will keep their potent Army on foot, and by that means keep all *Italy* in awe, and as it were *sub Ferulâ*, and delude the reiterated promises and oathes that have passed by them, to assure the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*, that they would dismisse those Forces. The season is now past for any enterprise by Sea, so that Prince *Philibert* must be forced to return without doing any thing. And many are of opinion, that the Duke of *Ossuna* had secret order to counterfeit madnesse, and to crosse the Kings Commandement expressely to deprive Prince *Philibert* of the honour which would have redounded unto him, if he had been possessed of the absolute Command of so potent an Armie. The Duke of *Savoy* on the other side, would fain make you believe, that undoubtedly *Ossuna* hath entertained rebellious thoughts, and that if *Don Octavio D'Arragona* do not bring a good answer out of *Spain*, he will break out into open contumacie. His demands of the King of Spain are these:

First, That he may be continued in the Government four years longer.

Secondly, That he may be permitted to enter with his Fleet into the Gulph of *Venice*, and to dispute his Majesties Title to that Sea by the force of Arms.

Lastly, That in case the King of *Spain* will not let him Conteste so far with the *Venetians*, that there may then be sent him so much money out of *Spain* as may license his Army, considering that the King-

dome

dome of *Naples* is so far exhausted, as that they cannot contribute any longer either to the maintaining, or to the dismissing of those Forces.

The *Venetians* did lately chase a small Gallie of the *Vicocchi*, which was entred into the Gulph to rob and spoyl, and followed her unto the shoares of *Apuglia*, where *Ferlitick* the Captain of those Thieves saved himself and the most part of his fellowes by flight into the mountains, but *Signior Filippo Belegno* recovered the Gallie, and carried her away as a prize, having found two banners displayed, the one with the arms of *Spain*, the other with the arms of *Ossuna*; And not onely a formal Patent and Commission to take any thing, that he could from the *Venetians*, but some Letters likewise from some principal Ministers of *Ferdinand*, wherein this *Capo di Banditi* is encouraged, and requested to do the *Venetians* as much hurt and dammage as he might be able. Now the Duke of *Ossuna* is fallen into a great rage with the *Venetians, quod non totum telum corpore accepernt*, and he doth threaten to be revenged upon them for not suffering these *Vicocchie* to rob and spoyl their subjects.

The Duke of *Savoy* hath done me the honour to intreat my company with him into *Savoy*, whither he doth purpose very shortly to go, that he may receive at the confines of his estate, the Prince of *Piedmount*, and Madam his wife. And because his request hath the power of a command over me in *Licitis, et honestis*, I must be enforced to passe the Mountaines again at an unseasonable time, before I have sufficiently refreshed my self after my last voyage, and I know not whether I shall have the opportunity of writing unto your Honour again before my going, which is uncertain, as depending upon the going of the Duke. So with my hearty prayers unto Almighty God for the preservation of his Majestie in health, and the prosperity of his Estate, in all humility I take leave; And rest

Your Honours most faithfully
to command,

*Turin* 27. Septemb. / 22. August. 1619.

*Isaac Wake.*

Sir

*Right Honourable,*

I Have received the Letter, wherewith your Honour hath been pleased to favour me, dated at *White-Hall* the 27. of February, and having to my singular comfort understood, that his Majestie hath declared his gracious approbation of my proceedings here, with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the *Venetians*. And I do with all thankfulnesse acknowledge to receive that favour from the hand of your Honour, as my only *Gratum faciens*——

I will not fail to govern my self precisely by the rule of those Instructions which you have been pleased to give me. And as you have favoured me with passing your word for me, that I will not spend his Majesties name without particular Warrant, and direction; so will I promise faithfully to perform as much, as you have undertaken for me, and both in this, as in all things else you may assure your self, that his Majesties revealed will, and that only, shall be a Law unto me.

Your Honour will have understood by my former Dispatches, that the Duke of *Ossuna* is re-confirmed in his Government of *Naples*: He hath not (as far as I can learn) any certain time prefixed, but is to remain there *durante Regis beneplacito*; And when his Patent was presented unto him, he had likewise order (which was delivered by word of mouth) that the King his Master did require him immediately to dismisse all his Army, and to send the *Walloons*, and *Neapolitanes* into *Germany* to the succours of the Emperour. The same party did likewise signifie unto him, that as the King of Spain had shewed, to have a care of the honour of the Duke of *Ossuna* in establishing him anew in that Regencie, at this time, when the world had made some doubt, that his late actions had not been conformable to the will and pleasure of his Master, so he did expect that he should voluntarily, and of himself, ask leave to go into *Spain*, and offer to give an account of all his proceedings. Which course, the King did recommend unto him as most honourable, for the justification of his own innocencie, and the confusion of his enemies. This Message the said Duke hath wisely suppressed, and hath published the Patent of his Confirmation, without taking notice of the private Articles, which were annexed thereunto, and delivered verbally. He doth professe to understand very well, that in *Spain* they wish him ill, and that their design is under the fair bait of this establishing him in that Government, to make him swallow the hook of dismissing his

his armie, that so they may afterwards dispose of him at their pleasure, when he hath remain utterly disarmed. But his heart did not serve him to throw away the scabbard when he had drawn his sword: and I am perswaded, that as in *Spain* they will judge of his proceedings by the rule of *Tacitus*. *Qui deliberant desciverant*: so he will repent of not having observed, that other *Maxime*, *Aut nunquam tentes*, *Aut perfice*. His best hope is, that *Chi ha tempo ha vita*, and if he can make his peace at home upon any conditions, he will not much care to turn honest, and change his dangerous designs into faithful service of his Master. To play *Le bon valett*, he hath now obeyed his Masters Commandment in sending the *Walloons* and *Nepolitans* into *Lombardie*, and they are all so safely arrived at *Vado* upon 19 Gallions, being in number 6. or 7000,

The landing of these troops, and their passing along the skirt of this State doth not onely give a little jealousie to the Duke of *Savoy*, but put him likewise to some Cost, and trouble. For as he doth well know, how dangerous it is to stand to the discretion of a reconciled enemy, so doth he evidently see, that their ill talent towards him, doth not only continue, but increase; and therefore to assure himself, and his State, he hath caused at this present a general muster to be made of all his Cavallarie, and trained Infanterie, which he doth send to the confines of his State, that way, which these newly landed Troops are to passe. And although their order be to march towards *Swisserland*, and to passe that way into *Germany*, yet will this Prince stand upon his guard until they are quite gone out of *Lombardie*, and hath given order to the Count *Guido* St. *George* in his absence, not to let him lodge in *Monferrat* upon any terms whatsoever, nor to linger too long neer the Confine of this Province. He hath this reason to conclude, that the *Spaniards* wish him ill, because he doth see that they do mistrust him. For wheras they had a fair promise of the passage for their armie through this State, in vertue of antient capitulations betwixt the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, they have chosen rather to buy the passage at the hands of the *Swisses* at a very dear rate, then adventure to take it here *Gratis*. Whereby it may appear unto all the world how little confidence they have in this Prince, and how much they mistrust him for being partiallie affected to the Prince *Palatine*, and all that party. Howsoever your Honour doth conceive, that the season of the year is too far passed for the transportation of this army of the *Spaniards* into *Germany*, yet you will see that necessity doth make men strive with many inconve-

niences, for they must passe whatsoever weather happen; and indeed the Alpes are passable enough until the month of January and February, if the Souldiers be well cloathed, for there is no danger but of cold, untill the deluges of Snow which fall late do shut up the passages.

Perhaps they will not find the passages of *Suisserland* so favourable as they do conceive, and as is figured unto them, for they have bought it only of the little Popish *Cantons*, without asking leave of the *Seignioric* of *Zurich*, and *Berne*, and it is to be supposed, that the State of *Berne* will take a hot Alarum, considering that their controversie with *Friburge* is not accommodated, and that the Governor of *Millan* hath made offer unto those of *Friburge*, and the little *Cantons*, of all this armie for the defence of the Catholique religion in the *Bailiage* of *Eschalens*, whereof I have given notice to our *Signiorie* of *Berne* by an expresse Currier that they may have time to save themselues from a surprise.

The voyce doth run currant over all *Italie*, that the Duke of *Parma* is to undertake a voyage shortly for the service of the King of *Spain*, but whither he is to go they cannot tell; for some send him into *Germanie*, others into *Flanders*, and the most men into *Spain*. For all which discourse, I know no other ground, but that his brother the Cardinal *Farnese* hath asked leave of the Pope to retire himself for a time to *Parma*, and I do imagin that the *Speculativi* have concluded thereupon, that he is to govern the State in the absence of his brother.

Prince *Philibert* having failed of the enterprise of *Susa*, did intend in his scond setting out from *Sicily*, to meet with the Turkish Fleet and fight with them. The first part of his design succeeded happily, for he had the good fortune to encounter the whole Fleet between *Zant* and *Cephalonia*, but finding them more strong then he was aware, and well resolved to give him battaile, he was counsailed to retire to *Messina*, where he is at this present, without having effected any thing. The two armies of *Venice*, and the Turk, did likewise meet on those Seas, not far from *Corfu*, but as soon as they did know each the other, the two Generals, and all the principal Officers, did interchangeably present one the other with wine, and *Rinfres Camenti*, and so much kindnesse passed betwixt them, that the *Visier Bassa* did offer to joyn his Fleet with the *Venetian*, and to set upon the Spanish *Armado*, which charitable offer, the *Venetian* General had so much christianity as to refuse with modest thanks.

Signiour

Signiour *Antonio Donato* hath sent a servant of his hither, who had the fortune to arrive in an ill Conjuncture. For the Duke of *Savoy* having lately called upon the *Venetians* for that money which is wanting in Signiour *Donato's* account, they did excuse themselves upon his pleading not guilty, and did send unto the Duke a Copy of his Letter written to the Senate, when he was yet Embassadour, and not convicted. This Letter arrived here from *Venice* the very day before Signiour *Donato's* servant, and if your Honour will be pleased to cast an eye upon the Copy which I send here inclosed, you will not blame the Duke of *Savoy* for refusing to give him audience, or to receive his Masters Letters; for he doth give the Duke the Lie three several times in that Letter, which is strange language to be used of a Prince; and I do much wonder, that the *Venetians* would upon any occasion whatsoever publish such a Petulancie, committed by one, that was their Embassadour at that time.

He brought me a Letter from his Master of meer Ceremonie, and Complement, and had his principal addresse unto the Popes Nuntio in this Court, whereat I did wonder somewhat formally at the first, as conceiving that in Congruity he ought to have interrupted his Correspondence with the Popes Ministers, as long as he doth live under the protection of his Majestie; but when I understood, that the Duke had lodged him in a prison, with an intent to send him to *Venice*, I was glad that I had so little to do with him, and the Nuntio so much.

The Duke of *Savoy* doth assure himself, that when his Majestie shall have perused this Letter of Signiour *Donato's*, he will withdraw his countenance, and protection from him, and account him unworthy of any favour, for having wronged in so high a degree a Prince, that is so much a servant of his Majestie.

I may not likewise conceal from his Majesties knowledge, that Signiour *Donato* hath not been wanting to ruine (as far as he could) *Padre Paolo*, and *Fulgentio* in *Venice*; two persons that have done his Majestie very long and faithful service, as by an inclosed Paper, your Honour may see, which is an abstract of a Letter written from *Fulgentio*.

The Prince of *Piedmont* having made a posting voyage hither to receive his Fathers blessing, before he bring his Lady in the Country, I did present unto him his Majesties Letters of Congratulation, whereunto he hath returned an answer, which I send here inclosed. So with my hearty prayers unto Almighty God for the preservation

of his Majesties Person in all happinesse and prosperity, in all humility I take leave, And rest

Your Honours

Most faithfully to command,

*Turin* $\frac{1}{11}$ of Octob. 1619.

*Isaac Wake.*

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## *Sir* Isaac Wake *to the Duke.*

*Right Honourable, and my very singular good Lord,*

IN these parts we have nothing of moment worthy the relating, the storms which do vex our neighbours round about us keeping us here in calme, and quiet, as it were *per antiperistasin.* Howsoever I am of opinion, that we shall enter into the *Dance* either actively or passively before the next summer passe over. All over *Italy* there doth raign a great dearth, which did lately cause in *Naples* a dangerous Cullevation of the people against the Cardinal *Zappata* Vice-Roy, who had somewhat to do to save himself from the fury of the *Popolarzo.*

In the State of *Millan* likewise some insurrections were beginning to be made in *Novarra*, *Alessandria*, and *Cremona*, both for want of bread, and for the insolencie of the Garrison Souldiers, who having had no pay for many moneths, did commit many violent excesses upon the people, which did drive them into despair; but those Commotions were appeased betimes, and no great matter of Consideration hath ensued, although there are some neighbour Princes who did stand *aux Escoutes*, and would be ready to have acted a troublesome part, if the scene had been ready.

The Duke of *Parma* hath imprisoned his natural son *Don Octavio*, the mysterie whereof is not well known, but it must needs be for some great matter, because he did make shew to love him passionately. The Infanta *Isabella* of *Modena* hath been in danger of her life, by being surprized with a violent feaver, neer the time of her childbirth: from hence the Duke of *Savoy* sent his Physitians to help her, and we hear now that she hath escaped that danger, and is safely delivered of a daughter.

Count

Count *Mansfelt* is grown formidable, and doth daily increase in strength and reputation. Although he hath hitherto intitled his armes unto the service of the King of *Bohemia*, yet I believe he will neither disarm, nor suspend his arms, when he shall be commanded so to do by that King. For being now intertained by the State of *Venice* with an honourable provision of 12000 Crowns *per annum* in peace during his life, and the pay of 10000 Foot, and 2000 horse in the time of War, he will try what he can do for the infranchising of the *Grisons*, when the affairs of the *Palatinate* shall be accommodated. And if the *Austriaci* do not bend all their forces against him very speedily, and break his Armie before it grow more strong, he is like to give them a greater blow then they have had these many yeares. That which he hath gotten already in *Alsatia*, is much more worth, then the lower *Palatinate*; and although he hath hitherto made those people to swear Allegiance unto the King of *Bohemia*, yet when the said King shall make his peace with the Emperour, it may be doubted whether Count *Mansfelt* will resign up what he hath conquered; and it is thought, that he will either keep it for himself, or intitle some other Prince thereunto. The *Austriaci* were never so matched as with Count *Mansfelt*, for he is a perpetual motion, and doth not stand upon the defensive (as others have done hitherto, and lost by the bargain) but he is alwaies setting upon them, and doth make War at their cost; let them take heed how they proceed with him; for he, who hath nothing to lose, is ready to hazard the Paquet upon all occasions; And if he do chance to overthrow them once in battel, they will run danger, or lose all that they have in *Germany*. Let me in all humility beseech your Lordship to continue me in the honor of your good opinion, and to favour me with your honourable protection, especially with a good word to my Lord Treasurer, for the sending me some relief, without which I cannot possibly subsist, having for want of my pay, consumed all that I had in the world. God Almighty increase upon your Lordship all happinesse and prosperity, as is unfainedly wished unto you by him that is

Your Lordships most humble obliged
Creature and Servant,

*Turin* $\frac{22}{27}$ of Febr. 1621.

*Isaac Wake.*

*Sir*

## Sir Isaac VVakes *Propoſition for the King of* Denmark.

IT ſeemeth that the Glorie of this State, which at all times was great, doth ſhine brighter now adayes; ſince that beſides ſo many Neighbouring Kings and Princes, whereof ſome are in a made league with us, and ſome do keep a good correſpondence, and all a good intelligence with us. Now the friendſhip of your Highneſſe is ſought by the mighty King of *Denmark*, a monarch of thoſe nations, that in time paſt have left their remembrance of their *proweſſe* in *Italie*, *France*, *Spain*, and in whole Europe behind them. This Great King of the North, who like a Second *Atlas* holds up the *Artick-pole*, rich in treaſure, numerous in men, dreadful for his invincible generoſity and Courage, doth here offer himſelf unto your Highneſſe. And acquainting you of his actions, doth confidently promiſe you to ſtand firm, and ſtout in the defence of the common cauſe, if ſo be that he receive that aſſiſtance as he hath reaſon to expect from thoſe, that are intereſted in the ſame cauſe. His Majeſtie of *Denmark* hath had from the King my Maſter, as much as can be given, and it is no ſmall matter, that his Majeſtie of great *Brittain* doth ſtill continue the ſame aſſiſtance, having withall ſtill thoſe great expences, that are required for the ſurety of his Realmes, and for the offence of the common enemie.

His Majeſtie of *France* hath alſo contributed to this good work ſomewhat, and there is great hope, that he will bring forth in a ſhort time ſome fit remedie againſt this evill. The Lords States do as much as they are able. And the Princes of *Low Saxonie* do not want in their duties. There remaineth now, that your Highneſſe put alſo your powerful hand to this work, and with a vigorous ſuccour, worthie of your great heart do incourage all the reſt to continue their Empreſe. The two Kings are not ignorant of the great ſincerity wherewith this moſt Excellent State, doth obſerve the capitulations made with Allies of the league, and that rather then to be wanting in things agreed upon, you have ſurpaſſed in neceſſarie proviſions for the advancement of the deſigns, and that you have not been partakers, nor agreers of the treaty made at *Moncon*. But that you do continue to keep ſome forces in your Dominions, and likewiſe ſome troops in the *Valtoline* forthe effecting (as much as is in you) of what was firſt thought fit, and of the agreement of the League.

And as that generous reſolution and conſtancie of this State is never enough praiſed, ſo there is great hope that you will not bring this

ſame

same in the reckoning of the two Kings, who never will misse to praise the wisdome and generositie of this State, though not obliged for their particular for any thing whatsoever done till now, either by the league in general, or by whomsoever of the united in particular, because that the league was made two years and more before his Majestie of great *Brittain* broke with *Spain*, or that the King of *Denmark* had declared himself. Since the time that these two Kings are come to the *Dance*, your Highnesse hath not levied one man, and the Forces which you do yet keep, as they were not levied, so are they not maintained in Contemplation of the two Kings, but onely for the first reasons of the League.

The onely thing here sought for is to go with a common pace, that those that are now too heavily laden, may be supported by their friends, either by way of diversion, or by way of assistance. And therefore your Highnesse and other Princes are now requested to help, seeing there is small appearance of diversion. And set the case, that the Peace between *Spain* and *France* should be firm, would it not turn against the Common Cause? *Italiæ incendium ruina Germaniæ extinguere?* To quench a little fire in *Italy* by the ruine of whole *Germany*? In Chronical diseases Physitians do not so much respect the symptomes and accidents as they do the causes of the evil.

The *Valtoline*, *Palatinate*, *Hussia*, *Marchisat* of *Baden*, Dukedome of *Brunswick*, and so many other Countries attempted, and oppressed by the *Spanish* and *Austrian* usurpation, are grievous and dangerous symptomes and accidents: but the Cause, and fewel of the evil remains yet in the ambitious bowels of the *Spaniard*, who now with spread sailes goeth on towards the universal Monarchie; unlesse there be applied betimes some fit remedies, all topick remedies will do but little good.

The King of *Denmark* doth offer himself ready to apply such an issue, whereby he may be brought back to terms of modestie, and with the assistance he doth expect from your Highnesse and other interessed Princes, he hopeth to bring his good intent to passe. And being prodigal of his great Soul, there is no doubt he will ever go back, unlesse he be forsaken.

Thus there remains the Common liberty almost in your hands, and if this most excellent Senate resolves to give ayd unto that King, that libertie will be preserved. If you do forsake him, that will also be indangered, yea lost. I therefore beseech your Highnesse to ponder well this matter, and to grant such an assistance, as is requested by the King of *Denmark* Embassadour.

Sir

*My moſt Noble Lord,*

I Will be bold by this opportunity to give his Majeſtie through your Lordſhips hands, an accompt of a Command which I had from him at *Theobalds*, about founding how the *Venetian* Embaſſadour ſtood ſatisfied with the late determination touching his predeceſſour *Donato*.

I did viſit the ſaid Embaſſadour immediatly at my return from the King, and ſaluted him as by expreſſe Commandment; interjecting ſome words of mine own gladneſſe, that he had received contentment in this tender point, which would ſignalize his beginnings. This I ſaid, becauſe in truth I had found him alwaies before the more paſſionate in it by ſome reflection upon himſelf. His anſwer (after due thanks for his Majeſties gracious remembrance of him from abroad) was, That for his own part, he was *Contentiſſimo*, and had repreſented things home in the beſt manner. He hoped likewiſe it would be well taſted there alſo, though with ſome doubt, becauſe the State out of their own devotion towards his Majeſtie might form a confidence of expecting more. I replyed, that the King upon the matter (if we conſider diſgrace) had done more then themſelves: for he was but once baniſhed at *Venice*, and twice here; *viz.* once from the Verge of the Court, and ſecondly, from *London*, which was as much as could be done with preſervation of National immunities, and more then would have been done at the ſuit of any other Embaſſadour here reſident, or perhaps of any of their own hereafter if the like caſe ſhall occur. For (as I told him) it was the Kings expreſſe will, that his particular reſpect to the republique, and to him in this buſineſſe ſhould not be drawn into examples. With this point he was not a little pleaſed for his own glory, and ſaid, that indeed Mr. Secretarie *Nanton* had told him ſo. This was the ſumme of what paſſed between us, omitting impertinencies. Let me end (my dear Lord) as I am bound in all the uſe, either of my pen, or of my voice, with an humble and hearty acknowledgment of my great obligations towards your Lordſhip, which will make me reſolve, and in good faith unhappy, till I can ſome way ſhew my ſelf

Your Lordſhips moſt thankful and faithful ſervant,

25th. of January, 1619.

*Henry Wootton.*

Sir

## *Sir* Henry Wotton *to the Duke.*

*My moſt honoured Lord, and Patron,*

THeſe poor lines will be preſented unto your Lordſhip by my Nephew (one of your obliged ſervants) and withal ſome deſcription (as I have prayed him) of my long infirmities, which have caſt me behind in many private, and often interrupted even my publique Duties; with which yet I do rather ſeek to excuſe ſome other defects of ſervice then my ſilence towards your Lordſhip.

For to importune your Lordſhip ſeldom with my pen is a choice in me, and not a diſeaſe, having reſolved to live at what diſtance ſoever from your ſight, like one who had well ſtudied before I came hither, how ſecure they are whom you once vouchſafe any part of your love. And indeed I am well confirmed therein by your own gracious lines: for thereby I ſee that your Lordſhip had me in your meditation, when I ſcant remembred my ſelf.

In anſwer of which Letter after ſome reſpite from mine own evils, I have deputed my ſaid Nephew to redeliver my fortune into your Noble hands, and to aſſure your Lordſhip, that as it ſhould be cheerfully ſpent at your Command if it were preſent and actual (from whoſe mediation I have derived it) ſo much more am I bound to yeeld up unto your Lordſhip an abſolute diſpoſition of my hopes: But if it ſhould pleaſe you therein to grant me any part of mine own humour, then I would rather wiſh ſome other ſatisfaction, then exchange of Office; yet even in this point likewiſe ſhall depend on your will, which your Lordſhip may indeed challenge from me, not onely by an humble gratitude, and reverence due to your moſt worthy perſon, but even by that natural charity and diſcretion, which I owe my ſelf: For what do I more therein, then onely remit to your own arbitrement the valuation of your own goodneſſe? I have likewiſe committed to my foreſaid Nephew ſome Memorials touching your Lordſhips familiar ſervice (as I may term it) in matter of art and delight.

But though I have laid theſe Offices upon another, yet I joy with mine own pen to give your Lordſhip an account of a Gentleman, worthier of your love, then I was of the honour to receive him from you.

We are now after his well-ſpent travailes in the Townes of purer language, married again till a ſecond Divorce, for which I ſhall be ſorry, whenſoever it ſhall happen. For in truth (my good Lord) his

converſation is both delightful, and fruitful, and I dar pronounce, that he will return to his friends, as well fraught with the beſt obſervations as any that hath ever ſifted this Countrie, which indeed doth need ſifting; for there is both flower and bran in it.

He hath divided his abode between *Sienna* and *Rome*: The reſt of his time was for the moſt part ſpent in motion. I think his purpoſe be to take the French tongue in his way homewards, but I am perſwading with him to make *Bruxels* his Seat, both becauſe the *French* and *Spaniſh* Languages are familiar there, whereof the one will be after *Italian* a ſport unto him, ſo as he may make the other a labour: And for that the ſaid Town is now the ſcene of an important Treatie, which I fear will laſt till he come thither: but far be from me all ominous conceit.

I will end with cheerful thoughts and wiſhes; beſeeching the Almighty God to preſerve your Lordſhip in health, and to cure the publique diſeaſes. And ſo I ever remain

Your Lordſhips

Moſt devoted obliged ſervant,

*Henry Wotton.*

*Venice* 29. of July, 1622.

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## Sir Henry Wotton *to the Duke.*

*My moſt honoured, and dear Lord,*

TO give your Lordſhip occaſion to exerciſe your Noble nature, is withal one of the beſt exerciſes of mine own duty, and therefore I am confident to paſſe a very charitable motion through your Lordſhips hands, and mediation to his Majeſtie.

There hath long lay in the priſon of Inquiſition a conſtant worthy Gentleman, viz. Mr. *Mole*; In whom his Majeſtie hath not only a right as his ſubject, but likewiſe a particular intereſt in the cauſe of his firſt impriſonment. For having communicated his Majeſties immortal work touching the alleagiance due unto Soveraign Princes with a *Florentine* of his familiar acquaintance, this man took ſuch impreſſion at ſome paſſages, as troubling his conſcience, he took occaſion at next ſhrift to confer certain doubts with his Confeſſor, who

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out of malitious curiosity, enquiring all circumstances, gave afterwards notice thereof to *Rome*, whither the said *Mole* was gone with my Lord *Rosse*, who in this storie is not without blame; but I will not disquiet his Grave.

Now having lately heard, that his Majestie at the suite of I know not what Embassadours (but the *Florentine* amongst them is voiced for one) was pleased to yield some releasement to certain restrained persons of the Roman faith: I have taken a conceit upon it, that in exchange of his clemencie therein, the Great Duke would be easily moved by the Kings Gracious request, to intercede with the Pope for Mr. *Moles* delivery. To which purpose if it shall please his Majestie to grant his Royal Letters, I will see the businesse duely pursued. And so needing no arguments to commend this proposition to his Majesties goodnesse, but his goodnesse it self, I leave it (as I began) in your Noble hand.

Now touching your Lordships familiar service (as I may term it) I have sent the complement of your bargain upon the best provided and best manned ship, that hath been here in long time, called the *Phœnix*, and indeed the cause of their long stay hath been for some such sure vessel as I might trust. About which since I wrote last to your Lordship, I resolved to fall back to my first choice. So as now the one peece is the work of *Titian*, wherein the least figure (viz the child in the Virgins lap playing with a bird) is alone worth the price of your expence for all four, being so round, that I know not whether I shall call it a piece of sculpture, or picture; and so lively, that a man would be tempted to doubt, whether nature, or art had made it. The other is of *Palma*, and this I call the speaking piece, as your Lordship will say it may well be tearmed: for except the Damosel brought to *David*, whom a silent modesty did best become, all the other figures are in discourse, and action. They come both distended in their frames; for I durst not hazard them in rowles, the youngest being 25. yeares old, and therefore no longer supple, and pliant. With them I have been bold to send a dish of Grapes to your Noble Sister, the Countesse of *Denbigh*, presenting them first to your Lordships view, that you may be pleased to passe your censure, whether *Italians* can make fruits as well as *Flemmings*, which is the common Glorie of their pencils. By this Gentleman, I have sent the choicest Melon seeds of all kinds, which his Majestie doth expect, as I had order both from my Lord of *Holderneſſe*, and from Mr. Secretary *Calvert*. And although in my Letter to his Majestie (which I hope by your Lordships favour himself shall have the honour to deliver

together with the said seeds) I have done him right in his due attributes; yet let me say of him farther as *Architects* use to speake of a well chosen foundation, that your Lordship may boldly builde what fortune you please upon him, for surely he will bear it virtuously. I have committed to him for the last place a private memorial touching my self, wherein I shall humbly beg your Lordships intercession upon a necessarie motive. And so with my heartiest prayers to heaven for your continuall health and happinesse, I most humbly rest

Your Lordships

Ever obliged devoted
Servant,

*Venice* $\frac{2}{12}$. Decemb. 1622.

*Henry Wotton.*

*Postscript.*

MY Noble Lord, it is one of my duties to tell your Lordship, that I have sent a servant of mine (by profession a Painter) to to make a search in the best townes through *Italie* for some principal pieces, which I hope may produce somewhat for your Lordships contentment, and service.

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## *Sir* Henry Wotton *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

HAving some daies by sickness been deprived of the comfort of your sight, who did me so much honour at my last Accesse, I am bold to make these poor lines happier then my self. And withal to represent unto your Grace (whose noble Patronage is my refuge, when I find any occasion to bewail mine own fortune) a thing which seemeth strange unto me. I am told (I know not how truly) that his Majestie hath already disposed the *Venetian* Embassage to Sir *Isaac Wake*; from whose sufficiency if I should detract, it would be but an argument of my own weaknesse.

But that which herein doth touch me, I am loath to say in point of reputation, surely much in my livelihood (as Lawyers speak) is that thereby after 17. years of forraign in continual imployment either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left utterly destitute of all possibi-

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ſity to ſubſiſt, & hom̃, much like thoſe Seale Fiſhes which ſometimes (as they ſay) overſleeping themſelves in an ebbing water, feel nothing about them but a dry ſhoare when they awake. Which compariſon I am fain to ſeek among thoſe Creatures, not knowing among men that have ſo long ſerved ſo gracious a Maſter, any one to whom I may reſemble my unfortunate bareneſſe. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchſafed me ſome part of your Love, ſo make me worthy in this of ſome part of your Compaſſion. So I humbly reſt

Your Graces, &c.

*Henry Wotton.*

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## *Sir* Henry Wotton *to the Duke.*

*My moſt Noble Lord,*

WHen like that impotent man in the Goſpel, I had lyen long by the Pooles ſide, while many were healed, and none would throw me in, it pleaſed your Lordſhip firſt of all to pity my infirmities, and to put me into ſome hope of ſubſiſting hereafter. Therefore I moſt humbly and juſtly acknowledge all my ability and reputation from your favour. You have given me encouragement, you have valued my poor endeavours with the King, you have redeemed me from ridiculouſneſſe, who had ſerved ſo long without any mark of favour. By which arguments being already and ever bound to be yours till either life or honeſtie ſhall leave me, I am the bolder to beſeech your Lordſhip to perfect your own work, and to draw his Majeſtie to ſome ſettling of thoſe things that depend between Sir *Julius Cæſar* and me, in that reaſonable form, which I humbly preſent unto your Lordſhip by this my Nephew; likewiſe your obliged ſervant, being my ſelf by a late indiſpoſition confined to my Chamber, but in all eſtates ſuch as I am

Your Lordſhips

*Henry Wotton.*

Sir

## Sir Henry VVotton *to the Earl of* Portland, *Lord Treasurer.*

*My most honoured Lord,*

I Most humbly present (though by some infirmities a little too late) a straying new years guift unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the richest Materials.

In short, it is only an image of your self drawn by memorie from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship among the most intelligent, and unmalignant men. Which to portraict before you, I thought no servile office, but ingenious and real. And I could wish, that it had come at that day, that so your Lordship might have begun the new year somewhat like *Platos* definition of felicity with the contemplation of your own *Idea*. They say, that in your forraign imployments under King *James* your Lordship wan the the opinion of a very able and searching judgment, having been the first discoverer of the intentions against the *Palatinate*, which were then in brewing, and masqued with much art, and that Sir *Edward Conway* got the Start of you both in title, and imployment, because the late Duke of *Buckingham* wanted then for his own ends a Martial Secretarie.

They say that under our present Soveraign you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity, and provident moderation, which atributes I have heard none deny you.

They discourse thus of your actions, since, that though great exhaustations cannot be cured without suddain remedies no more in a Kingdom then in a natural body: yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustring clamours, wherewith at your beginning, your house was in a manner daily besieged.

They note, that there hath been made changes, but that none hath brought to the place a judgment so cultivated, and illuminated with various erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord *Burleigh* under Queen *Elizabeth*, whom they make your paralel in the ornament of knowledg.

They observe in your Lordships divers remarkable combinations of virtues and abilityes rarely sociable.

In the character of your aspect, a mixture of Authority, and Modestie. In the faculties of your mind quick apprehension and solidity together, in the stile of your Porte, and Trayn, as much dignity and

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as great depe dencie as was eve. in any of your place, and with little noiſe, an outw.ard form.

That your Table is very abundant, free, and noble, without Luxurie; That you are by nature no flatterer, and yet of greateſt power in Court. That you love magnificence and frugality both together. That you entertain your Gueſts and Viſitours with noble Courteſie, and voyd of Complement. Laſtly, that you maintain a due regard to your perſon and place, and yet no enemy to froath-formalities.

Now in the diſcharge of your function, they ſpeak of two things that have done you much honour, *viz.* that you had alwaies a ſpecial care to the ſupply of the Navie; And likewiſe a more worthy and tender reſpect towards the Kings only ſiſter for the continual ſupport from hence, then ſhe hath found before.

They obſerve your Greatneſſe as firmly eſtabliſhed as ever was any, of the love (and which is more) in the eſtimation of a King who hath ſo ſignalized his Conſtancie: beſides your additions of ſtrength (or at leaſt of luſtre) by the nobleſt alliances of the Land.

Amongſt theſe notes, it is no wonder if ſome obſerve, that between a good willingneſſe in your affections to ſatisfie all, and impoſſibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the perſons, there doth now and then, I know not how, ariſe a little impatience, which muſt needs fall on your Lordſhip, unleſſe you had been cut out of a Rock of Diamonds, eſpecially having been long before ſo converſant with liberal ſtudies, and with the freedom of your own mind.

Now after this ſhort Collection touching your moſt honoured Perſon, I beſeech you give me leave to adde likewiſe a little what men ſay of the Writer.

They ſay I want not your gracious good will towards me, according to the degrees of my poor talent, and Travailes; but they ſay, I am wanting to my ſelf. And in good faith (my Lord) in ſaying ſo, they ſay the truth. For I am condemned I know not how by nature to a kind of unfortunate baſhfulneſſe in mine own buſineſſe, and it is now too late to put me in a new Furnace.

Therefore, It muſt be your Lordſhips proper work, and not onely your Noble, but even your charitable goodneſſe, that muſt in ſome bleſſed hour remember me. God give your Lordſhip many healthful and joyful years, and the bleſſing of that Text *Beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum.* And ſo I remain with all humble and willing heart.

At your Lordſhips command,

*Henry Wotton.*

Sir

*May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

I Fear I have taken too much of that liberty of not writing, you were pleaſed to allow me by Sir *George Goring*, but I hope your Lordſhip will meaſure my devotion to ſerve you by no other rule then your own intereſt and deſert. For as I underſtand by Sir *George Goring* how often I come in your thoughts, and how great a part I have in your Cares; ſo is there no man to whom I would more willingly give daily account of my ſelf then to your Lordſhip, to whoſe grace and favour I owe ſo much.

I forbear to trouble your Lordſhip with any relation of buſineſſe, becauſe I preſume your Lordſhip is acquainted with all my diſpatch, and it is not long ſince I intreated my Lord Treaſurer to tell your Lordſhip what I thought of things then. I have yet little reaſon to change my opinion.

And if your Lordſhip pleaſe to know the ſtate of things now, I have ſent this Gentleman the Bearer hereof eſpecially to do your Lordſhip reverence in my name, and to give you full information. For my return or ſtay, I humbly ſubmit it to his Majeſties pleaſure.

Though this Negotiation be like to ſpin it ſelf out into much length, I weigh not my own intereſt. I ſhall willingly be there, where I ſhall be thought moſt able to do his Majeſtie ſervice. And ſo intreating that I may be continued in that good opinion and grace, wherein your Lordſhips own affection, not any merit of mine hath placed me, I humbly kiſſe your hands; And remain

Your Lordſhips

Faithful and devoted
ſervant,

*Rich. Weſton.*

*Bruxels* 26. June,
1622.

*Sir*

## *Sir* Richard Weſton *to the Duke*

*My very good Lord,*

I Have underſtood by my Lord Treaſurer the way you have made with his Majeſtie for my calliing home, for which this preſent doth give your Lordſhip moſt humble thanks, though I have forborn to preſſe or ſollicit it, becauſe I would approve my obedience to his Majeſtie, and take away from them all occaſion, who otherwiſe might have accuſed my departure, and imputed the want of ſucceſſe here to my want of patience to expect an anſwer.

I have almoſt in all my Diſpatches ſince we entred into this Treaty, ſignified what opinion I had of their proceedings here, and my chief comfort was, that whatſoever the ſucceſſe were, that the clearneſſe of his Majeſties intentions would appear to the whole world, and that the failing is not of his ſide, which I think is manifeſt enough: for notwithſtanding that his Majeſtie hath followed them in all their deſires, and the Prince Electour hath conformed himſelf to what was demanded, that the Count *Mansfelt*, and Duke of *Brunſwick*, the pretended obſtacles of the Treatie, are now with all their Forces removed. No face of an enemy in the *Palatinate*, but his Majeſties power in the Garriſons; All other places repoſſeſſed which *Mansfelt* had taken. No cauſe of continuing any War now, nor any cauſe of jealouſie or fear for the future, conſidering his Majeſties fair and honourable offers: yet are they ſo far from a ceſſation, that they are fallen upon *Heidelbergh*, and either want the will, or power to remove the ſiege. And all I can get is two Letters of intreatie from her Highneſſe to the chiefs of the Emperour to proceed no further; and after ſome 18. daies ſince I made my propoſition for the Ceſſation, I have yet no anſwer: ſo that being able to raiſe no more doubts, they make uſe of delayes. I have ſaid, and done, and uſed all diligences within my power to bring forth better effects, and can go no farther; and therefore I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip that I may have leave to return, when I ſhall hear that they will not remove the ſiege at *Heidelbergh*. For their pretending to reſtore all, when all is taken, is a poor comfort to me, and as little honour to his Majeſtie; and how far they are to be believed in that, is to be examined more exactly then by writing, by weighing how the weak hopes given me here, agree with the ſtrong aſſurances given by my Lord *Digbie* out of *Spain*.

I hope therefore his Majeſtie will be pleaſed to think it reaſonable

to ſpeak with me, and as your Lordſhip hath ever been a happie and gentle ſtar to me; ſo have I now more need of your favourable aſpect then ever, that his Majeſtie may receive my obedience as a ſacrifice, and interpret well of all my endeavours, what ſucceſſe ſo ever I bring home with me. Wherein humbly intreating your Lordſhips wonted grace and favour, I humbly kiſſe your hands, and vow unto you the faithful obſervance of

Your Lordſhips

Moſt humble and devoted
Servant,

*Bruxels* 3d. of Septemb. 1622.

*Richard Weſton.*

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## *Sir* Richard Weſton *to the Duke.*

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

YOur Grace ſhall adde much to the infinite favours I have received from you to read a few lines from me, much more to vouchſafe them an anſwer, which I am the more bold to begg, and the more hopeful to obtain, becauſe I underſtand by Sir *George Goring*, that howſoever I have had many ill offices done me, your Grace will not eaſily depart from that opinion, you have hitherto conceived of me, for which I humbly thank your Grace, and intreat the continuance of it no longer, then I ſhall be able to make good the integritie of my heart unto you. But that, which with all humilitie, and importunitie I ſue for at your Graces hands, is to let me know my Accuſer, and if your Grace think it unſeaſonable now, that I may have a promiſe to know him at your return. Whatſoever, or how great ſoever he be, (though reſpect, and reverence of thoſe eyes which ſhall read theſe lines make me forbear ill language now) I ſhall dare to tell him, whatſoever becomes a wronged innocence to ſay. In the mean time, I deſpiſe him, if there be any ſuch that hath accuſed me ſince your Graces departure, to have done, or ſaid, or given way to the hearing of any thing that may be wreſted to the impeachment of my faith and ſincere profeſſions towards your Grace; and yet till it come to the tryal, I relie (as I wrote to Sir *George Goring*) no leſſe upon your Graces wiſdome and goodneſſe, then my own innocencie, that

that ſuch Calumnies ſhall not leſſen the eſtimation I had with you; wherein being moſt confident praying for the continuance and increaſe of your Graces honour and happineſſe, I remain

Your Graces
Moſt humble and devoted
ſervant,

17. *July*, 1623. *Richard Weſton.*

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## *Sir* Richard Weſton *to the Duke.*

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

I Humbly thank your Grace for the Meſſage I received from you yeſterday by Mr. *Packer*. And withal I humbly beſeech your Grace to believe, that no man ſhall condemn me more, then I would my ſelf, if I had omitted any poſſible diligence either to intereſt, or acquaint your Grace with the Commiſſion of the Treaſurie. Wherein I appeal to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, who firſt declared his Majeſties pleaſure unto me, which I could not aſcribe more to any Cauſe, then your Graces favour, and good opinion of me. And at my laſt being with your Grace, I began to ſpeak with you of it, but finding your Grace to grow into ſome indiſpoſition, I forbore, thinking it not only incivilitie, but a violence to have ſpoken any thing of my ſelf to your Grace at that time. This I intreated Sir *George Goring* to relate unto your Grace, and withal to renew the profeſſions of my love and reverence to your Graces perſon, which I had rather make good by real performances then by words, and therefore I will trouble your Grace no longer upon this ſubject.

I am now extreamly importuned by the Earl of *Middleſex* to ſollicite his Majeſtie for the firſt teſtimonie of his gracious diſpoſition towards him. And your Grace remembers, that in the beginning of his Lordſhips troubles, his Majeſtie commanded me to deliver unto his Majeſtie, whatſoever his Lordſhip ſhould petition of him.

Now I humbly beſeech your Grace to direct me what to do: His Lordſhip ſues for his enlargement, and I know deſires to derive that favour from his Majeſtie by your Graces mediation. And I am careful to perform all duties, my obedience to his Majeſtie, my reſpect to

your Grace, and my care of him (that relieth upon r[illegible])being in affliction. And therefore I humbly beſeech your Grace to vouchſafe me an anſwer to this particular, becauſe his Majeſtie goeth from hence to morrow, and the Earl of *Middleſex* will languiſh with expectation till he receive ſome comfort from him. And ſo continually praying for the increaſe of your Graces health, I remain

Your Graces

Moſt humble ſervant,

29. *May*, 1624. *Richard Weſton.*

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## *Sir* Richard Weſton *to the Duke.*

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

I Have according to his Majeſties Command ſignified to me by Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, delivered to the Earl of *Middleſex* his Majeſties pleaſure concerning his Fine. The news of it did extreamly diſmay him, as being far contrary to his expectation. He uſed not many words; but thereof I having given Mr. Secretarie a particular account in anſwer of the charge I received from his Majeſtie, I will not trouble your Grace with the repetition of them.

The chief cauſe of this unto your Grace is, to acquaint your Grace with a ſhort Dialogue that paſſed between Mr. *Brett* and me touching his Penſion.

He ſent his man to me this week to demand it; to whom I made this anſwer, That the charge of the Progreſſe being ſettled, I would conſider of the payment of his Maſters penſion amongſt others, before which time I could not in that caſe give ſatisfaction to any. He went away with this anſwer, and immediately after (within leſs then a quarter of an hour) Mr. *Brett* himſelf came to me, and asked me at the firſt word, Whether I had any Command to ſtay his Penſion. I replied, No other command then the want of money. He told me, That the reſt of his fellowes were paid: I ſaid it was true, I was to have care of them that immediately followed his Majeſtie, when I was forced to intreat others to have patience till more moneyes came in. He asked me again, Whether I had any Command to ſtay his? I anſwe-

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red as before, wherewith he parted from me, as it ſeemed, not pleaſed.

This peradventure is not worth troubling your Grace withal, but that becauſe his Majeſtie was pleaſed to acquaint me with his juſt indignation againſt him at *VVanſteed*, I would be glad to receive ſome direction, what anſwer I ſhall make upon his next importunitie. And ſo humbly intreating your Grace ever to number me amongſt thoſe that do moſt honour and pray for you, I remain

Your Graces

*Chelſey* 23. *July*, 1624.

Moſt humble and faithful ſervant,

*Richard VVeſton.*

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## Sir Richard Weſton *to the Duke.*

*May it pleaſe your Grace*,

I did ſcarce eſteem my Letter worthie your Graces reading, much leſſe worthie your paines to anſwer it. It is my duty upon all occaſions great and ſmall, to pay unto your Grace thoſe obſervances I owe you. And when your Grace vouchſafes to take knowledge of them, it is your favour, and therefore I humbly thanke your Grace for vouchſafing an anſwer.

I have according to his Majeſties commandement ſignified by your Grace unto me, taking the beſt order I can about the Wardſhip of the Ladie *Cravens* Son. The moſt of the Officers of the Court of Wardes being out of the town, I have ſpoken with Sir *Benjamin Ruddier*, who aſſured me, that there is nothing yet done, nor can be, till there be a maſter, or that the Officers meet together, and that he will take care that nothing ſhall be done to the prejudice of his Majeſtie.

And for the more Caution, I have commanded the Clerk of Court, if any man petition, or ſue about the Wardſhip, that there be no proceeding till he acquaint me with it. This is all can be done for the preſent, and thereof I think fit to give your Grace account, in anſwer of the charge I have received from his Majeſtie. And ſo humbly,

humbly craving leave to kisse your Graces hands, I wish your Grace continuall increase of honour and happinesse, and remain

Your Graces

Most humble and faithful
Servant,

*Richard Weston.*

*Chelsey* 12th
August 1624.

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## Sir Francis Cottington *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Honour,*

MY last unto you was of the 23. of September by Mr. *Berrie*, who that day departed from hence towards England, with intention to take passage by Sea from *St. Sebastians* : and although I conceive, that this conveyance will be much speedier (it being by an extraordinarie dispatched for *Flanders*) yet for that I hold the other to be sure, I will not forbear to trouble your Honour with any repetition of that dispatch.

The strength and boldnesse of the Pyrats (or rather of the Turks) is now grown to that hieght both in the Ocean, & *Mediterranean* seas, as I have never known any thing to have wrought a greater sadnesse and distraction in the Court, then the daily advice thereof. Their whole Fleet consists of 40. Sail of tall ships, of between 200. and 400. tuns a piece ; Their Admiral of 500. tuns. They are divided into 2. Squadrons, the one of 18. Sail remaining before *Malaga* (in sight of the Citie) the other about the *Cape St. Marie*, which is between *Lisbone*, and *Sevil*. That Squadron within the *Straights* entred the rode of *Mostil* (a Town by *Malaga*) wherewith their ordnance , they beat down a part of the Castle, and had doubtlesse taken the town, but that from *Granado* there came Souldiers to succor it ; yet they took there divers ships, and amongst them 3. or 4. of the west part of *England*. Two bigg English ships they drave on shoar, not past four Leagues from *Malaga* ; and after they went on shoar also, and burnt them, and to this day they remain before *Malaga*, intercepting all ships, that passe that way, and absolutely prohibiting all trade into those parts of *Spain*. The other Squadron at the *Cape St. Marie* doth there the like, intercepting all shipping whatsoever

soever. They lately met with seven sail of English ships, (all of London as I take it, but loaden only with pipestaves, which they had taken on the Coast of *Ireland* by the way. Five of these, viz. the *Marie Anne*, the *Marie* and *John*, the *Rebecca*, and *Gibbs* of *Sandwich*, and one *John Cheyney* of London they took, and the other two escaped. They robb'd them onely of their victuals, their Ordnance, and of some sayls, and so let them go, but in their company was also taken a great Ship of *Lubeck*, sayd to be very rich, which they still keep with all the men. They have few or no Christians aboard them, but all either *Turks*, or *Moores*, and the most part are of those, which of late years were turned out of *Spain* for *Moriscos*. They attend (as it seems) and as themselves report to them that have been aboard them (the coming of the *West Indian* Fleet, which is now very near.) But from hence they have commanded the *Armada* (which was divided into three Squadrons) to be joyned together, and advice is brought that it is so, and now consists of twenty strong ships; *Don John Faxardo* (the General) hath also expresse order to fight with the Pyrats, not admitting any excuse whatsoever, but the common opinion is here, that we will be able to do them little harm, because his ships are of great burthen, and they will be able to go from him at their pleasure. And the other Squadron within the *Straights* will alwaies be able to secure their retreat thither. I doubt not but in my next dispatch, I shall be able to tell your Honour what *Don John Faxardo* either hath or will do to them. If this year they safely return to *Argier* (especially if they should take any of the Fleet) it is much to be feared, that the King of *Spains* forces by Sea will not be sufficient to restrain, them hereafter, so much sweetnesse they find by making prize of all Christians whatsoever. The Secretary of the Councel of war, hath hereupon discoursed much unto me, and by him I perceive, that here is an intention, to move his Majestie (the King our Master) that he will be pleased to joyn some of his Sea-forces (upon good terms) with this King, for the suppressing of these Pyrats, if they should hereafter grow, and increase as hitherto they have done. Seeing they now professe themselves the common enemies of Christendom. Many reasons he gave me, that he thought might move his Majestie thereunto; but that whereon for my part I most reflect is, that these courses of the Pyrats, do but exercise the forces of the King of Spain by Sea, and put an obligation on him by all meanes to strengthen, and increase his *Armada*, and keep in practise his Sea-souldiers, without doing him any great harm, for that the greatest dammage will alwayes fall upon the Merchants that trade

into

into thoſe parts (of which the Engliſh will ever be the greateſt number, and the greateſt loſers) And as for the taking of his Fleet, it is not to be imagined, for that beſides, that they come very ſtrong (conſiſting of 50 great ſhips, of which eight are Gallions of war) they ſhall alwayes be meet, and guarded by the *Armada*. Your Honour may be pleaſed to acquaint his Majeſtie with what I here write, for I perceive it is expected that I ſhould advertize what the Secretarie hath diſcourſed to me, which I would have done more at large; but I am ſtraightned with want of time. Yet I may not forbear to advertize your Honour, that the ſaid Secretarie told me withal, that the laſt year the States deſired leave of this King for certain ſhips of war (which they had armed to Sea againſt *Pyrats*) might have ſafe recourſe into theſe parts, which was accordingly granted them, but that inſtead of offending the *Pyrats*, the ſame ſhips ſold in *Argeir* as much Powder, and other warlike proviſion (eſpecially powder) unto the *Turks*, as furniſhed the foreſaid Fleet which they have now at Sea, a thing which is here (he ſayes) very ill taken. I doubt not but from *Piemount* your Honour hath better advertizement (at leaſt more ſpeedier) then I can give you from hence, yet have I thought it fit to advertize you, that in a late ambuſh, which the Duke of *Savoy* had layed, at *Don Pedro de Tolledo's* entrance into *Piemount*, the *Maeſtro de Campo* of the *Spaniſh* armie was ſlain; the Son of the Prince of *Aſtoli* was hurt: ſo was the Prince of *Morveles* (who ſerves this King there) and many other Captaines, and Gentlemen of note ſlain and hurt. They here ſay that the number of men *Don Pedro* loſt was but few, but their cuſtome is to diſſemble their loſſes; howſoever it is to be conceived, that when ſo many principal men were touched, the common Souldiers could not well eſcape.

At *Lisbone* there is arrived two Caracks, and a Gallion from the *Eaſt-Indies*, the Caracks very rich, and much richer then in former years, but (as in a former Letter I advertiſed you) two others as rich as they, and that ſhould have come in company with theſe, were caſt away coming home.

*Don Roderigo Calderon* (now the Marqueſſe *de Las Siete Igleſias*) is ſuddenly commanded from this Court, and confined to a ſmall Village, and Judges are appointed to examine by what means he is ſo ſuddenly grown to ſo great an eſtate (which in my time is riſen from nothing to above 60000. Duckets a year rent, beſides an infinite treaſure in moveables) and doubtleſſe ſome heavie ſentence will fall upon him, for he hath many enemies, and I underſtand that the Duke of *Lerma* hath much withdrawn his favour.

New

New ſupplies of Souldiers are here raiſed for the Governour of *Millan*, and 30. Companies are ready to be embarqued at *Valentia*, where the Gallies attend them.

Here is lately come hither one who calls himſelf Sir *James Mackonel* a Scotchman, and ſayes he is Couſin german to the Earl of *Arguile*: I have not ſeen him, but I hear he diſcourſes of his breaking out of the Caſtle of *Edenborough*, of the unjuſtneſſe of his impriſonment there, of his integritie in the Popes Religion, and ſo deſires to be entertained into this Kings ſervice, which doubtleſſe he ſhall obtain if he can make it here be believed, that he hath a true fugitives heart.

My Lord *Roſſe* is now much hearkened after, and they think he ſtaies very long. By the ordinarie (God willing) I ſhall write again to your Honour. And ſo for this time I humbly take my leave

Your Lordſhips

*Madrid* the firſt of Octob. 1616. *Stil. Vet.*

to be Commanded,

*Fran. Cottington.*

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## *The Lord Viſcount* Rochfort *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

*My Lord,*

I Have received great wrongs about my Lord of *Oxford* by reports, which can find no authour: yet have they wrought ſuch impreſſions in the hearts of ſome, that it is hard to remove thoſe Calumniations: for divers are poſſeſſed, that I am to be his accuſer, which is ſo ſtrange, and ſo malitiouſly bruited, that it is ſomewhat ſuſpected; yet know I not any one particular, for which he is in the Tower, neither if I knew any ſuch ſlip (in ſo noble a perſon as might deſerve the Kings diſpleaſure) would my nature give me leave to play the Informer, except it neerly concerned the ſafetie, or the honour of my King, and then ſhould my diſcoverie be publique to the face, and not private behind the back, for that I account too baſe to be found faultie in.

Sorry I am to be so much as suspected, but since ill affected persons will raise ill rumours without any ground, the cleerness of my heart is sufficient content unto me; and as my heart hath been alwaies most faithful and watchful to do you service; so good my Lord, let me intreat you, that for my sake, my Lord of *Oxford* may receive some testimonies of your great favour for his speedy enlargement, and that it may appear, you are the more willing to do it, for my earnest intreatie. My Lord, you shall not onely hereby oblige all my Lord of *Oxford's* friends, but likewise the Lady *Diana's*, who doth lose a great deal of precious time by my Lords imprisonment, and therefore let all be arguments to excite your noble heart to procure his freedome. And so I kisse your hands, and rest

More yours

then his own,

*H. R.*

*Postscript.*

PRay make all haste from *Spain*, for neither are your pleasures and contents so great there, as you may find them here, neither have you so faithful friends there as you deserve; but sure I am you have many false ones. For I have work enough both in Court and Citie to falsifie their reports of you; yea some of them (about women) very base ones, and much tending to your great dishonour. And it goes currant among very great ones, that the Prince hath been somewhat displeased with you of late. I have sent you another Letter of larger contents, and I should be glad to hear from you.

## *King* James *to Pope* Gregorie 15th. 30. September, 1622.

*James* by the Grace of God King of great *Brittain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the faith, &c. To the most Holy Father Pope *Gregorie* the the 15th. greeting, and all manner of Felicitie.

*Most Holy Father*,

YOur Holinesse will perhaps marvel, that we differing from you in point of Religion should now first salute you with our Letters. Howbeit such is the trouble of our mind for these calamitous discords and bloudsheds, which for these late years by past, have so miserably rent the Christian World, and so great is our care, and daily sollicitude to stop the course of these growing evils betimes, so much as in us lies, as we could no longer abstain, considering that we all worship the same most blessed Trinitie, nor hope for salvation by any other means, then by the bloud and merits of our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus; but breaking this silence to move your Holinesse by these our Letters friendly and seriously, that you would be pleased together with us to put your hand to so pious a work, and so worthy of a Christian Prince.

It is truly to be wished, and by all means to be endeavoured, that this mischief creep on no farther, but that these storms at the last ceasing, and the rancor being removed, by which they were at the first raised, the hearts of these Princes, whom it any way concerns, may be re-united in a firm and unchangeable friendship, and as much as may be knit together in stricter obligations then before, one unto another.

This we have alwaies had in our desires, and to bring it to passe, have not hitherto spared any labour, or pains, not doubting but your Holinesse out of your singular pietie, and for the credit and authoritie that you have with the parties, both may and will further this work in an extraordinary manner. No way can any man better merit of the state of Christendome, which if it shall take the desired effect in your daies, and by your assistance your Holinesse shall worthily reap the glorie and the reward due to so excellent a work.

That which remains for us further to say concerning this matter, this Gentleman our Subject *George Gage* will deliver unto you more at large. Praying your Holinesse, that you will give him in all things full credence and belief, beseeching Almightie God from our heart to preserve you in safetie, and to grant you all other happinesse.

From our Palace at *Hampton Court* the last of Septemb. 1622.

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## *Pope* Gregorie *the* 15th. *to the Prince of* Wales.

*Most Noble Prince, Health and light of Divine Grace, &c.*

GReat *Brittain* abounding with worthy men, and fertile virtues, so that the whole earth is full of the glorie of her renown, induceth many times the thoughts of the great Shepherd to the consideration of her praises. In regard that presently in the infancie of his Church, the King of kings vouchsafed to choose her with so great affection for his inheritance, that almost it seems there entred into her at the same time the Eagles of the *Roman* Standard, and the Ensigns of the Crosse. And not few of her Kings indoctrinated in the true knowledge of Salvation gave example of Christian pietie to other Nations, and after-ages, preferring the Crosse to the Scepter, and the defence of Religion to the desire of Command. So that meriting heaven thereby (the Crown of eternal blisse) they obtained likewise upon earth the lustre, and glorious ornaments of sanctitie. But in this time of the *Brittanicks* Church, how much is the case altered? yet we see that to this day the English Court is fenced and guarded with moral virtues, which were sufficient motives to induce us to love this Nation, it being some ornament to the Christian name, if it were likewise a defence and sanctuarie of Catholique virtues.

Wherefore the more the glorie of your most Serene Father, and the property of your naturall disposition delighteth us, the more ardently we desire, that the gates of Heaven should be opened unto you, and that you should purchase the universal love of the Church. For whereas, that the Bishop *Gregorie* the Great of most pious memorie introduced amongst the English people, and taught their Kings the Gospel, and a reverence to the *Apostolical* Authority, we much inferiour to him in virtue, and sanctity, as equal in name, and height of dignity, it is reason we should follow his most holy steps, and procure

procure the salvation of those Kingdomes, especiallie (most Serene Prince) there being great hopes offered to us at this time of some successeful issue of your determination.

Wherefore you having come to *Spain* and the Court of the Catholique King, with desire to match with the house of *Austria*, it seemed good to use most affectionatetly to commend this your intent, and to give clear testimony, that at this time your person is the most principal care that our Church hath. For seeing you pretend to match with a Catholique Damosel, it may easily be presumed, that the antient seed of Christian pietie, which so happilie flourished in the minds of *British* Kings, may by Gods Grace reverberate in your breast. For it is not probable, that he, that desires such a wife, should abhor the Catholique religion, and rejoyce at the overthrow of the holy *Romane* Church. To which purpose we have caused continual prayers to be made, and most vigilant orisons to the Father of Lights for you (fair flower of the Christian world, and only hope of great *Brittain*) that he would bring you to the possession of that most Noble inheritance, which your Ancestors got you by the defence of the Apostolique authority, and destruction of monsters of hærisies. Call to memorie the times of old; ask your forefathers, and they will shew you what way leades to heaven, and perceiving what path mortal Princes passe to the Heavenly Kingdom, behold the Gates of heaven open. Those most holy Kings of *England*, which parting from *Rome* accompanied with Angels, most piously reverenced the Lord of Lords, and the Prince of the Apostles in his Chair. Their works and examples are mouthes wherewith God speaks, and warneth you, that you should imitate their customes in whose Kingdomes you succeed.

Can you suffer that they be called Heretiques, and condemned for wicked men, when the faith of the Church testifieth, that they reign with Christ in Heaven, and are exalted above all the Princes of the Earth, and that they at this time reached you their hands from that most blessed Country, and brought you safely to the Court of the Catholique King, and desire to turn you to the womb of the *Romane* Church; wherein praying most humbly with most unspeakable groans to the God of mercy for your salvation, to reach you the arms of Apostolical charity to imbrace most lovingly your children, so often desired, and to poynt out as it were with a finger the blessed hopes of Heaven. And truly you could do no act of greater comfort to all Nations of Christendom, then to return the possession of those most Noble Isles to the Prince of the Apostles, whose authori-

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ty for so many ages was held in *England* for the defence of the Kingdom, and divine Oracle, which will not be uneasie to do if you open your breast (upon which depends the prosperity of those Kingdoms) to God who is knocking. And we have so great desire of the honour and exaltation of your Royal Name, that we wish, that you should be called through thee whole world (together with your most Serene Father) the Freer of Great *Britain*, and restorer of her antient Religion. Whereof we will not lose all hopes, putting them in mind in whose hands the hearts of Kings lie, and he that rules all nations of the world, by whose Grace we will with all possible diligence labour to effect it. And you cannot choose but acknowledge in these Letters the care of our Apostolical charity to procure your happinesse, which it will never repent us to have written, if the reading thereof shall at leastwise stir some sparks of Catholique religion in the heart of so Great a Prince, who we desire may injoy Eternal comfors, and flourish with the Glorie of all virtues. Given in *Rome* in the Palace of *St. Peter* the 20. of April 1623. In the third of our *Pontificado*.

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## *The Princes answer to the* Popes Nuntio *that brought him this Letter.*

I Kisse his Holinesse Feet for the favour and honour he doth me, so much the more esteemed, by how much the lesse deserved of me hitherto. And his Holinesse shall see what I do hereafter, and I think my Father will do the like. So that his Holinesse shall not repent him of what he hath done.

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## *The Prince of* Wales *his Reply to the* Popes *Letter.*

*Most Holy Father*,

I Received the Dispatch from your Holinesse with great content, and with that respect which the pietie and care wherewith your Holinesse writes, doth require: It was an unspeakable pleasure to me to read the generous exploits of the Kings my predecessours, in whose memorie, posterity hath not given those praises and Elogies of honour as were due to them: I do believe that your Holinesse hath set their examples before my eyes, to the end I might imitate them inall my

my actions, for in truth they have often exposed their estates and lives for the exaltation of the holy Chair; and the courage with which they have assaulted the enemies of the Crosse of Jesus Christ, hath not been lesse then the care and thought which I have, to the end that the peace and intelligence which hath hitherto been wanting in Christendom, might be bound with a true and strong concord: for as the common enemy of the peace watcheth alwaies to put hatred and dissention amongst Christian Princes, so I believe that the glory of God requires that we should endeavour to unite them: And I do not esteem it a greater honour to be descended from so great Princes, then to imitate them in the zeal of their piety. In which it helps me very much to have known the mind and will of our thrice honoured Lord and Father, and the holy intentions of his Catholique Majestie to give a happy concurrence to so laudable a design: for it grieves him exceedingly to see the great evils that grow from the division of Christian Princes, which the wisdom of your Holinesse foresaw, when it judged the marriage which you pleased to design between the Infanta of *Spain* and my self, to be necessary to procure so great a good; for 'tis very certain, that I shall never be so extreamly affectionate to any thing in the world, as to endeavour alliance with a Prince that hath the same apprehension of the true Religion with my self: Therefore I intreat your Holinesse to believe, that I have been alwaies very far from Novelties, or to be a partisan of any faction against the Catholick, Apostolick Roman Religion: But on the contrary, I have sought all occasions to take away the suspition that might rest upon me, and that I will imploy my self for the time to come, to have but one Religion and one Faith, seeing that we all believe in one Jesus Christ. Having resolved in my self, to spare nothing that I have in the world, and to suffer all manner of discommodities, even to the hazarding of my estate and life, for a thing so pleasing unto God: It rests onely that I thank your Holinesse, for the permission you have been pleased to afford me, and I pray God to give you a blessed health and his glory after so much pains which your Holinesse takes in his Church. Signed,

*Charles Steward.*

## *Gregorie* P.P. XV.

*Nobleman, health and the light of Divine Grace.*

THe authority wherein we have underſtood your Nobleneſſe to flouriſh in the *Britiſh* Court, is accounted not onely the reward of your merits, but alſo the patronage of virtue; certainly an excellent renown, and every way ſo worthy, that the people deſire a diuturnity to be annexed unto it. But it is almoſt ineffable, what an increaſe of glory thoroughout the world would be annexed unto it, if by Gods favour it ſhould become the defence of Catholique Religion.

Certainly you have gained an opportunity by which you may inſert your ſelf into the Councels of thoſe Princes, who obtaining an immortal name, have attained the Celeſtial Kingdom.

Suffer not then (O Nobleman) this occaſion preſented to you from God, and commended by the Biſhop of *Rome*, to ſlip out of your hands.

You that are privie to their royal Councels cannot chooſe but know in what eſtate the affaires of *Brittain* at this time ſtand, and with what voyces of the Holy Ghoſt (ſpeaking in them) they daily ſound in the ears of your Princes. What Glorie would redound unto your Name, if by your exhortation and perſwaſion, the Engliſh Kings ſhould again recover their Celeſtial inheritance of that Glorie left unto them by their Anceſtours in thoſe Kingdomes in abundant manner, by providing for the increaſe of Gods Worſhip, and by not only defending, but propagating the jurisdiction of the Pontifical authority. There have been many, and ſhall be hereafter, whom the bonntie of Kings hath enriched with fading riches, and advanced to envied titles, and yet mindful poſterity will not celebrate your name with eternal Prayſes for having attayned theſe: but if your Councels ſhould rednce thoſe moſt powerfnl Kings and people unto the boſom of the *Romane* Church, the name of your Nobleneſſe would be written in the book of the living, whom the torment of Death toucheth not, and the Monuments of Hiſtories, ſhall place you amongſt thoſe wiſe men in whoſe ſplendor Kings walked; but with what comforts in this life, and what rewards in the life to come, God who is rich in mercy would reward you, they eaſily ſee, who know the art, and force by which the Kingdom of heaven is conquered. It is not only our Pontifical charity (to whoſe care the ſalvation of mankind pertaineth)

taineth) but also the piety of your Mother, who as she brought you into the world, so she desireth to bear you again to the *Romane* Church, which she acknowledgeth for her mother, that moved us to desire, that you were made Partakers of so great felicity. Therefore when our beloved son the religious man *Didacus de la Fuente*, who hath wisely administred the affaires of your Princes in this City) prepared his journie for *Spain*, we commanded him to come unto your Nobleneſſe, and present these our Apostolical Letters, by which the Greatneſſe of our Pontifical charity, and the desire of your salvation may be declared. Your Nobleneſſe may therefore heare him as the interpreter of our mind, and as one indued with these virtues which have won him the love of forraign nations being a Catholique, and religious priest: He certainely hath reported those things of you in these parts of the world, that he is worthie to be imbraced of you with singular affection, and defended by your authority being a servant to the Glorie, and salvation of the *Brittish* Kings, and people. This thing truly will we pray for to the father of mercies that he will open to your Nobleneſſe the gates of his Cœlestial kingdom, and afford you frequent Documents of his Clemency. Given at *Rome* at *St. Marie* the Greater under the Ring of the *Fisherman* the 19. of May. 1623. and of our *Popedom* the third,

*John Champolus.*

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## *To his Sacred Majestie* ab ignoto.

*My most Gratious King,*

THese things which your Majestie did lately command to be spoken unto you, and now to be repeated in writing, are not such as they can be made bylegal and Judicial prooses, both because they by whose testimony they may be confirmed, do for fear of a most potent adversarie withdraw themselves. And also because they think it a crime to come into the Embassadours house, yea even they are afraid to do it, who have commandement from your Majestie; but neither was it lawful for the Embassadours themselves to speak these things, especially not to such as they directed, when the order of the affaires required it, because they had never the freedom to speak unto your Majestie, and no audience was given or granted

them in the absence of the Duke of *Buckingham*. An example certainly unusual with other Kings, and never to be taken in good part, unlesse it be perhaps, when the King himself wanting experience, and being of weak judgment and no wisedom, some one, that is familiar, and inward with the King, a man wise and circumspect, of great judgment and no lesse experience, supplies the Kings place. But here, when all things go preposterously, and the King himself being a most prudent, and experienced Prince, he that is familiar, or favorite doth in all things shew himself, a rash, headie young man, a Novice in managing of businesse, and to the Crown of *Spain* most offensive. Certainly by all just right, this man was to be kept away from the audience of the Embassadour of the State. We may also be bold to say, that his presence so earnestly desired of him doth argue a great fear in him, and a great distrust in him, as well of his own upright conscience, as also the Kings wisdom. Hence therefore it is come to passe, that your Majesties most faithful Vassals dare not so much as indirectly disclose their minds to the King, though they take it in very ill part, that a very good King should be driven into such streights. And that a man pleasing himself in his own designs, should use the favours of Princes so sinisterly, that he doth of set purpose stir up breach of friendship, and enmity between most Mighty Kings.

Besides, who can without a discontented mind endure, that the greatest affaires, and of greatest moment (if any in the Christian world can be so tearmed) shall be ordered, or concluded at the pleasure of your Parliament, and from thence all things carried on with a headlong violence, at his will and pleasure, and a most deadly war to be preferred before a most happie Peace. When as nevertheless, I am not ignorant, that not so much the restitution of the *Palatinate*, as the very claime to it, will very difficultly be obtained, or recovered by force of armes. Let your Majestie exactly consider as it useth to do, whether this be not an evident argument of that I have said, that the conference, or treatie about the *Palatinate* was taken from the Councel of State, a society of most prudent men, only for this cause, that almost everie one of them, had with one consent approved the proposition of the most Catholique King, and did not find in it any cause of dissolving that treaty. Hereupon the Parliament of this Kingdom was procured by the Duke, because he thought his plots would be most acceptable to the Puritans, not without great injury to your Councel of State, from which he fled, and disclaimed by way of an appeale, and with such successe, that we may be bold to say, that the Parliament is now above the King; Nay, which is more, that this

daring

daring Duke propounded many things to the Parliament in the Kings name, your Majestie being neither acquainted with them nor willing to them. Yea and that he propounded many things contrary to your Majesties service. Who is there that doth not see, and commend the royal disposition of the Prince, adorned with so great endowments, of his mind, that he doth not in them all shew, and approve himself to be a very good son, of a very good King. And yet nevertheless, that the Duke doth so much presume upon his favour, that he contemneth all men, as knowing that those, who are obedient to his Highnesse, will also subject themselves to his will. I would to God, he did direct those his actions, to the good of the Prince. But that is a thing so far from the opinion of good men, that they rather believe, that he, who hath overthrown the marriage with *Spain*, will be of no lesse power to the breaking of any other marriage, and that is it which many do propheſie.

They knew in *Spain*, that very same day, that he had received Letters from the most illustrious Prince *Palatine*, that he caused the procuration to be revoked, and in a few dayes after, when the comming of the foresaid Princes Secretarie, and the confirmation of his hope of having his Daughter married to her Highnesse son, all things were utterly dashed in pieces. Let your Majestie have a care of your self, and the Prince, and foresee the hurts, and damages, which a man of such a turbulent humour may stir up; whose headie spirit your Majestie saith you have noted, and have desired to mittigate.

A man (I say) that is ambitious of popular ayr, as plainly appeared in Parliament, when the casting of all odious matter upon your Majestie, he did arrogate the thanks of all things that were acceptable, to himself, being stiled the redeemer of his countrie. I say again, a man that hath envied so great a good to the Christian world, and principally to the kingdomes of *England* and *Spain*, having used some certain meanes, which do argue, that he aymed at such an end, as many already do fear, and to propheſie in it the worst event that can be, if the Puritans desire a kingdome (which they do against their wills) they wish it not to the most illustrous Prince, the best and true Heir of your Majestie, but to the Prince *Palatine*, whose spie and Scout *Mansfelt* is, what shew soever he makes. He that makes these things known to your Majestie discharged the part of a good man, as well towards God, as your Majestie, and the illustrous Prince, whom it now standeth in hand to foresee the vengeance of God provided by the Dukes plots, and the furie of the Parliament, there having been so many, and so great testimonies published against *Spain*

contrarie to truth, so many, and so frequent infamous Libels begotten and brought forth, and many such other things so full of bitternesse, and ignominie, that they cannot be read even of our enemies, without some taint upon the English Nation.

It is most apparent, and stories will testifie, that here Leagues have been broken by the will and pleasure of them, whom it especiallie concerneth to provide for your peace, and quier, and to wish from the bottom of their hearts, that after many, and these most happie, yeares, that Motto of yours (blessed be the Peace-makers) might be verified in Letter of the person of your Majestie, and to propound the same Counsel to the most illustrious Prince to be imitated, which your Majestie hath done to the whole world to be commended, and admired.* A happie Prince will he be, if he comes, and succeeeds peaceably into the hæreditarie possession of his kingdom, and which will be of no lesse advantage to him, having his peace established with those Princes, whose friendship and amitie your Majestie hath procured, and deserved. He would certainly love and commend those that had given him those Counsels of peace. Peace and tranquillitie are by hæreditarie right devolved to the most illustrious Prince, in as much as he is born of the Father, who hath with so much industrie procured them, not onely to this Island, but to the continent also, esteeming them at a higher value, then his kingdomes themselves.

Which since it is thus, and that the blood of his Father, which is in him, and the love wherewith he is carried towards your Majestie, and the experience of this your most happie Government, and that great example wherewith your Majestie hath drawn, and won the Christian world to an admiration, and love of you, did all direct the most illustrious Prince with a kind of connatural motion to the same Counsel, and purpose of peace, as might have heretofore been likewise hoped. Certainly this Machination is very strong, violent, and mighty, which doth suddainely labour to turn him into a clean contrarie course.

And questionlesse if the very entrance into a war, the war it self if it want justice, it will want also happie successe. It cannot be unknown to your Majestie, that the Duke of *Buckingham* carrieth himself so lofty; that he would have all men perswaded that he hath, and doth exercise a kind of dominion over the will of your Majestie, and of his Highnesse. All things shall be made manifest to your Majestie, if you will have them so; for there are not meanes wanting, whereby you may free your vassal from fear and diffidence, who

will otherwise dare nothing, nor say nothing, which certainely appeares so far to be true, that when all things standing as they do, it is an easie matter to find who will speak against your Majestie, yet there is none that dare speak against the Duke.

Let your Majestie call some certain men unto you, and sift out of them, the opinion of the more moderate Parliament, and enquire of those that come out of *Spain*, who did first give the first cause of falling out? whether the Complaints against the King of *Spain* be true, or no? whether that foresaid King were not desirous to satisfie the desire of the Prince his Highnesse? Whether he did not faithfully endeavour to effect the marriage? Whether the Duke of *Buckingham* did not many things against the authoritie and reverence due to the most illustrious Prince? Whether he was not wont to be sitting, whilest the Prince stood, and was in presence, and also having his feet resting upon another seat, after an undecent manner? Whether when the Prince was uncovered, whilest the Queen, and Infanta, looked out at the Windowes he uncovered his head, or no? Whether sitting at the Table with the Prince he did not behave himself unreverently? Whether he were not wont to come in to the Princes Chamber with his cloathes half on, so that the doors could not be opened to them that came to visit the Prince from the King of *Spain*, the Door-keepers refusing to go in for modesties sake? Whether he did not call the Prince by ridiculous names? Whether he did not dishonour and prophane the Kings Palace with base and contemptible women? Whether he did not divers obscene things, and used not immodest gesticulations and wanton Tricks with Players in the presence of the Prince? Whether he did not violate his faith given to the *Conde Olivares*? Whether he did not presently communicate his discontents, offences and complaints to the Embassadours of other Princes? Whether in doing of his businesse, he did not use frequent threatenings unto the Catholique Kings Ministers, and to Apostolical Nuns? Whether he did not affect to sit at Playes presented in the Kings Palace after the manner and example of the King, and Prince, being not contented with the honour that is ordinarily given to the High Steward, or *Major domo* of the Kings house. Besides all these things which have heretofore been told your Majestie, there is yet this more, that is new:

That the Duke of *Buckingham* (with what intention let others judge) hath divulged in Parliament some secret Treatie negotiated betwixt your Majestie and the King of *Spain* touching the affaires of *Holland*; the secresie whereof, nevertheless your Majestie had so recommended

recommended, that besides the King, and the *Conde* of *Olivares*, no man in *Spain* knew of it.

If the Duke do not appear guilty of all these things, let him be still your Majesties most faithful servant, and let your Majestie yet confer upon him greater Honours, if you can. For I would have these things conceived to be spoken for the securitie of your Majestie; not for the hurt of him, to whom I wish prosperitie, if by him the Christian world might be in prosperitie.

It onely remaineth, that your Majestie will be pleased to take in good part this my service and obedience shewed to your Commandements.

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## *To the King*, ab ignoto.

*Best, and most excellent King,*

YOu will wonder that he who at first protesteth to be neither Papist nor Puritan, *Spaniard* nor *Hollander*, or yet in any *delirium* fit, should presume in this Libel-like way, to lay down to your Majestie the strong zeal he beareth to the safetie of your Majestie, and his Countrie, by shewing in this dark Tablet (drawn by the worst Painter) the common opinion of all those which are not possessed as above.

They say, the businesse of greatest consequence, that ever your Majestie handled, is now at point to go well, or ill. The marriage, or none, and (as it is carried) a present War, or a continued Peace. The match of your son, they wish you may perfect in your own time, and think that for the quiet of your self and Kingdomes, the shortest time the best: And that this already traced will far sooner piece, then any new one have beginning and accomplishment.

They fear this suspension carried by *Killegrew* was brought by *Buckingham*, not for what he pretends, and plainly say, It was not onely to prevent his Highnesse marriage there, but any where.

Whereby, 1. His particular greatnesse may still stand absolute.

2. His Wife, and Tribe still present the Princesse person.

3. And your Majestie be, and remain their Pupil.

The Parliament so much urged, they say, is to be a marrying his Mightinesse unto the Common Weal, that as your Majestie is his good

good Father, It may be his Mother, and so he stand not only by the King, but by the People, and popular humour, that he hath lately so earnestly courted, and especially from those who are noted to be of the most troubled humour.

How your Majestie should gain upon a Parliament they cannot imagine, seeing all are resolved to sell your Courtesies at the deerest rate both by ill words, and for double as much again, the humour of it being so inconstant, that twenty to one, but those very tongues, which in the last did cry *War, War, War*, will now curse him that urgeth for one poor Subsidie to raise a War. And miserable is he, that is to make a War, or to defend against it, with money that is to be given, and gathered from them.

They say, our Great Duke hath certainly a brave desire to War, but in that also, he hath some great end of enriching himself, which he too well loveth, being carried away with that sweet sound, how *Nottingham* gained yearly during that sickness 40000 l. by his Admirals place; but what his Majestie gained, they find not in the Exchequer or Kingdome.

Somewhat also they fear this his Graces precipitate humour, and change of humour, hath of pride, to shew his power as great here, as is *Olivares* his there, as also of revenge against him in particular. For were it love to his now much beloved Countrie, they say, there was as much reason for breach both of the Match, and Peace when the Parliament urged it, as there is now.

They say, There is a rumour of his Graces, a match for his *Mary* with the young *Palatine*. It is no *Gorgon*; and will concern his Highnesse, if they that are now our best friends the *Hollanders* should change their Copie.

In this his Highnesse coming off from *Spain*, they say, He hath advised him to no worse then he did himself; for how many did he deflour, abuse, and cousen with marriage, by his grace in Court, and power with your Majestie?

In short, your Subjects that have sence of your estate, do most earnestly beseech your Majestie, to have more especial care of your own preservation, then ordinarily you have, both in respect of the desperate staggering which their Priests now stand in, and of your own *Phaeton* himself, who in truth wanteth nothing of man enough but a good nature, and being in custome to carry all with a high hand, must be desperate if he fail in any *Punto* of his violent will.

We know your Majestie according to the sweetnesse and virtue of your

your Nature, agreeing with Gods blessed Will, hath long preserved your people in all peace and plentie. And all good and sensible people pray you even for Gods sake not to be cousened of your own life and liberty. Oh be not mislead to trouble your own Kingdoms quiet, but that after many and many a happie year you may die happily in peace.

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## *To his Sacred Majestie*, ab ignoto.

*May it please his most excellent Majestie to consider,*

THat this great opposition against the Duke of *Buckingham* is stirred up and maintained by such, who either malitiously, or ignorantly and concurrently seek the debasing of this free Monarchie, which because they find not yet ripe to attempt against the King himself, they endeavour it through the Dukes side. These men though agreeing in one mischief, yet are of divers sorts and humours, *viz.*

1. Medling, and busie persons, who took their first hint at the beginning of King *James*, when the union was treated of in Parliament. That learned King gave too much way to those popular speeches, by the frequent proof he had of his great abilities in that kind.

Since the time of *H.* 6. these Parliamentary discoursings were never suffered, as being the certain symptomes of subsequent rebellions, civil Wars, and the dethroning of our Kings. But these last 20 years most of the Parliament men seek to improve the reputation of their wisdomes by these Declamations, and no honest Patriot dare oppose them, lest he incur the reputation of a Fool, or a Coward in his Countries Cause.

2. Covetous Landlords, Inclosers, Depopulators, and Justices of the Peace, who have got a habit of Omniregencie, and an hope to extend the same against the King in Parliament, as they do on his Subjects in the Countrey. Hereby the King loseth 24000 l. in every whole Subsidie; for *Anno* 1600. it was 80000 l. and now it is but 56000 l. which cometh by the decay of the yeomandry, who were three and four pound men. And these Gentlemen (most of them of the Parliament) do ease themselves to afflict those who are the true Commons, and yet perswade them, that the grievances are caused by the Duke, and the ill government of the King.

3. Recu-

3. Recusents and Church Papists, whose hatred is irreconcileable against the Duke for the breach of the *Spanish* Match. The *French* Lady, though as zealous a Catholique, doth not please him, for they were tyed to *Spain* by their hopes of a change of Religion that way. All the Priests are sent from the *Spanish* Dominions, and the sons and daughters of the Papists remain as hostages of their fidelities in the Colledges and Nunneries of the King of *Spain*. And though the Papists have no place in the house of Commons, yet privately they aggravate all scandals against the Duke, to kindle a separation between the King and his people, and avert them from enabling the King to resist, or be avenged of our great enemy. Remember the course held by these men in the Parliament of undertakers; also Dr. *Egleshams* and all the Priests daily practice libelling against all great men about the King.

4. Needy and indebted persons in both Houses, who endeavour by these Parliamentary stirres not so much the Dukes overthrow, as a rebellion, which they hope will follow if it be not done. This is much to be suspected, as well by their Calumniations against his Majestie, as for their own wants; many of them being outlawed, and not able to shew their heads, but in Parliament time by priviledge thereof. and they know, that there are enough to follow them in the same mischief.

5. Puritans and all other Sectaries, who though scarce two of them agree in what they would have, yet they all in general are haters of Government. They begun in Parliament about *Anno* 23. *Eliz.* and spit their venom not only against the Bishops, but also against the Lord Chancellour *Hatton*, and others, the Queens favourites, and Councellours, as they do now against the Clergie and the Duke. But their main discontentment is against the Kings Government, which they would have extinguished in matters Ecclesiastical, and limited in Temporal. This is a fearful and important Consideration, because it pretends Conscience and Religion, and they now more deadly hate the Duke, because he sheweth himself to be no Puritan, as they hoped he would at his return from *Spain*.

6. Malecontents censured or decourted for their deserts, as the kindred and dependants of the Earl of *Suffolk*, and of Sir *Henry Yelverton*, *Coke*, *Lake*, *Middlesex*, though all of them (the last excepted) were dejected by King *James* without any Concurrencie of the Duke. Others because they are not preferred, as they do imagine that they deserve, as the Lord *Say*, Earl of *Clare*, Sir *John Eliot*, *Selden*, and *Glanvile*, Sir *Dudley Digges*, and the Bishops of *Norwich* and *Lincoln*.

These, and many others, according to the nature of envy, look upon every one with an evil eye, especially upon the Duke; who either hath, or doth not prefer them to those places, or retain them in them, which their ambition expecteth.

7. Lawyers in general, for that (as Sir *Edward Cook* could not but often expresse) our Kings have upholden the power of their Prerogatives, and the rights of the Clergie, whereby their comings in have been abated. And therefore the Lawyers are fit ever in Parliaments to second any Complaint against both Church, and King, and all his servants, with their Cases, Antiquities, Records, Statutes, Presidents, and Stories. But they cannot, or will not call to mind, that never any Nobleman in favour with his Soveraign was questioned in Parliament, except by the King himself in case of Treason, or unless it were in the nonage, and tumultuous times of *Rich.* 2. *Hen.* 6. or *Edw.* 6. which happened to the destruction both of the King and Kingdom. And that not to exceed our own, and Fathers memories, in King *Hen.* 8. time *Wolsies* exorbitant power and pride, and *Cromwels* contempt of the Nobility and the Lawes, were not yet permitted to be discussed in Parliament, though they were most odious and grievous to all the Kingdom. And that *Leicester's* undeserved favour, and faults; *Hatton's* insufficiency, and *Rawleigh's* insolence far exceeded, what yet hath been (though most falsly) objected against the Duke: yet no Lawyer durst abet, nor any man else begin any Invectives against them in Parliament.

8. The Merchants and Citizens of *London* convinced (not by the Duke, but) by *Cranfield* and *Ingram*, to have deceived the King of Imposts and Customs, and deservedly fearing to be called to accompt for undoing all the other Cities and good Towns, and the poor Colonie of *Virginia*, as also for transporting of our silver into the *East-Indies*; these vent their malice upon the Duke in the *Exchange*, *Pauls*, *Westminster-Hall*, with their suggestions, and therein they wound, both to Subjects and strangers the honour of his Majestie, and his proceedings.

9. Innovators, *Plebicolæ*, and King-haters. At the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth* it was a phrase to speak, yea to pray for the Queen and State. This word (*State*) was learned by our neighbourhood and Commerce with the Low-Countries, as if we were, or affected to be governed by States. This the Queen saw, and hated. And the old Earl of *Oxford* his Propositions at her death, they awakened King *James* to prevent this humour, and to oppose the conditions and limitations presented unto him by the Parliaments.

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The Lawyers, Citizens, and Western men (who are most hot infected with Puritanisme) stood strong against him under a colour of Parliaments, and Parliamentary priviledges. His Majestie therefore strengthened himself ever with some Favourite, as whom he might better trust then many of the Nobility tainted with this desire of Oligarchie. It behoveth without doubt his Majestie to uphold the Duke against them, who if he be but decourted, it will be the Corner stone on which the demolishing of his Monarchie will be builded. For, if they prevail with this, they have hatched a thousand other demands to pull the feathers of the Royalty, they will appoint him Councellours, Servants, Alliances, Limits of his expences, Accompts of his Revenue, chiefly if they can (as they mainly desire) they will now dazle him in the beginning of his reign.

10. King *James* and King *Charles* lastly, are the Dukes Accusers; (my meaning is, with all humble reverence to their Honours, and Memories, and to speak in the sence of the House of Commons) both their Majesties are *Conjuncta Persona* in all the aspersions that are laid upon the Duke. For instance, The Parliaments money destined for the Wars, spent in the Treaties, Messages, Embassadours, and Entertainments of the Kings marriage, and the burial of his Father, and the War in the name of the Count *Palatine*, the Breach of both the Treaties, which then Canonized the Duke, but now is made evidence against him; the Honours and Offices conferred upon him by King *James*, That his Majestie might with his own Councels direct their managing, the setting forth of the Navy, though to the Duke's great charge by both their Commandments; the Match with *France*, and generally whatsoever hath not been successeful to mens expectations. All these, though the Acts of the Kings, are imputed to the Duke, who if he suffer for obeying his Soveraigns, the next attempt will be to call the King to accompt for any thing he undertakes, which doth not prosperously succeed as all men would desire it.

If it please his Majestie to remove, and set aside all these disadvantages, He shall find the Charge laid against the Duke will prove very empty, and of small moment. And for them, if his Majestie and the Duke's Grace think it no impeachment to their Honors, all that the Parliament hath objected against the Duke, is pardoned at the Kings Coronation, which benefit every poor Subject enjoyeth. Three things onely excepted which may most easily be answered.

*My Lord,*

IT is intimated to your Lordſhip, firſt, that you would procure his Majeſtie to deſire the Lords to chooſe ſix (or ſo many as you ſhall think fit) of whom they have moſt confidence to attend him to morrow morning, to whom his Majeſtie may be pleaſed to declare; That he hath endeavoured to divert the charges againſt your Lordſhip, becauſe his Majeſtie hath had ſound knowledge, and experience of the ſervice, and fidelity (though in outward ſhew the contrarie might juſtly appear) and becauſe alſo he ſaw, it was urged with a great deal of private ſpleen, and perhaps not without ſome Papiſticall device of troubling his Majeſties buſineſſe in Parliament, but ſeeing no ſuite, or perſwaſion could prevail to appeaſe the diſtempered courſe, his Majeſtie is now forced, and ſo pleaſed to reveal ſome ſecrets, and *Arcana* of State, which otherwiſe in the wiſedom of Kings were unfit to be opened. Here his Majeſtie may let them know, that the King his Father finding the *Palatinate* more then in danger to be loſt, and after his Majeſtie being in *Spain*, and there deluded, and his abode, and return, both unſafe. It was a neceſſity of State to ſweeten, and content the *Spaniards* with a hope of any thing that might ſatisfie, and redeem thoſe ingagements, and therefore willed your Lordſhip to yield diſcreetlie to what you ſhould find they moſt deſired, and this was chiefly the point of religion; ſo as in this and all of the like kind, your Lordſhip (upon his Majeſties knowledge) was commanded, and but the inſtrument truſted by your Maſter in this exigent, or (if you will) extremitie. And this with other more Potent overtures (ſuch as your Lordſhip beſt underſtands) may Cancel all thoſe objections of that nature. Upon this ſame ground, though not in ſo high a degree, the ſending of the ſhips to *Rochel* may be excuſed (and this is not the leaſt fault objected in the opinion of the wiſeſt.) Touching the vaſt creation of Nobility his Majeſtie may ask thoſe ſix Lords (whereof perchance ſome of them may be concerned in this article,) whether they conceive any reaſon of King *James* his doing herein; to which I ſuppoſe, they will ſtand mute. Then his Majeſtie may ſay, I will tell you, and therein diſcover a truth, and a ſecret of State. My Father who was born a King, and had long experience of that Regiment, eſpeciallie more traverſed in this point, then perhaps ever any King, found that this State inclined much to Popularitie, a thing apparent univerſallie in all the Courts, viz. in that of Star-chamber, which was

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at first erected to restrain the insolence of Great men, in great outrages, but now for every pettie offence, the meanest Tennant may be bold to call thither his Lord. A thing also appearing in the sawcie approaches of the Puritans upon the Bishops &c; and plainely in the boldnesse of the house of Commons against the Kings pattents, and edicts, which in all good times (out of their necessity) have been powerful. And especiallie this humour hath been comforted by the sturdie example of the Neighbour States of the Low-countries, as in their insolencies in the *East-Indies* &c. From this place an inticing voice hath sounded in our eares of libertie and freedom, though indeed a feigned voyce, and (but in sound) unsound. I say when the king my Father had well beheld these things, he could not foresee a remedie more proper, or easier, as being unserviceable and in his own gripe, then to inlarge the number of his Nobles, that these being dispersed into several Counties might as lambs of Soveraigntie, in protection of their own degrees, and at their own charge inure the people with respect, and obedience to greatnesse; and yet not to amate, and discourage them, he thought good to raise some neer, or of their own rank, whereby they might see themselves in possibility of the like honour, if either by virtue, wealth, or honestie they make themselves worthie. This I protest was a child of my Fathers best judgment in this poynt, and the Duke but the instrument thereof. And if you say, that there was mony many times given for these Honours, nay if you say, that mony hath been given for places of Clergie, and Judicature; I pray take this of me, that this is so in all other Countries, as in *France*, and *Spain*. And those Councels seem a little to smile at our dulnesse, that we have so lately apprehended their soundnesse herein; for (say they) when men pay well for such places, it is the best kind of security for their honesties, especially when sayling in their dutie, they shall be sure to be as much punished as they were advanced. Howbeit I am not satisfied in this opinion. And if it be said that the King should have had the mony, which the Duke took to his own use; I believe this last is more, then any can prove, neither will I deliver what I know therein. Howsoever, it matters not much being no popular disbursment. Only this I will say, that I know the Dukes particular service, and affection to me, and that he, and his will lay down themselves, and all they have at my Feet. Neither is this bare opinion, since the Duke alone hath disbursed, and stands engaged more for my affaires, and the States, then any Number of Noblemen of *England* whatsoever, and therefore there-

there is reason, that from a King he would receive his own and more.

And now (my Lords) since I have thus far opened a Kings Cabinet unto you at least by the measure of this foot of answer, you may discover, what may be said concerning that great bodie, and bulk of accusations of the Highest kind made against the Duke. I desire you would take it to heart, remembring, that it is your King, that speaketh this, who therefore expects your service, and love herein, and who will requite the same assuredly; hoping you will believe me indeed, and do accordingly indeed, and that you will also rest assured, that my spirit is not so young (though a young King) as that I would bring this testimony in mine own wrong, were not that I say, true in my own knowledge. And being so, you also will grant, that it is not for a King to use his Servant, and Instrument as he doth his Horses, which being by hard riding in his service foundred, and lamed, to turn them off to grasse, or to the Cart. I must therefore in right of the King my Fathers Honour and my own, protect a man (though I have said justly seeming guiltie, yet) in mine own knowledge innocent, and free as I have delivered it; will you then deny the King to favour whom he please, which the King hath never denyed you, that are his subjects? will you controle me your Head and Governor in things wherein your selves have taken liberty uncontrolled? would you that I should require accompt of your liberalitie? nay of all your failings, which are liable to my authority? well commend me to my Lords, and tell them, that if any thing had been formerly done amisse by others, I have power, and will to redresse it, and to prevent the like. I speak it in the word of a King, neither Lords, nor Commons can desire of me any thing that is honest, which I am not ready to give them. Let not therefore the world by these mistakings make Table-talk any longer of your King and his negotiations? nay of his secrets and necessities; for alas what great wrong, or indignity can the Glorie of the State receive, then that the private grudges of subjects (accusing to the ignorant, when in their consciences they could excuse) should be the businesse of our Parliament, and that the King himself should be forced to appear as a partie? No doubt this is a Cocatrice egge, that craftie heads of our enemies seek to hatch, whilest the weightie affaires that in present concern the Honour, and welfare of the King and State, and the peace of all Christendome are by us utterly neglected.

I end, hoping your Lordship (now privy to these things) will be tender of your Soveraigns honour, and will so satisfie, and treat with the rest, that those particular janglings may be by some other course, and in some other place and time discussed and determined, that so our minds and time may be employed in the care of better things, which earnestly invoke our ayd at this instant.

Thus much spoken, or written, or the like, (for I seek but to awaken your Lordships higher spirit and invention) I conceive it may get this effect: That these 6. Lords won by these reasons, and by other the Kings invitations, may deliver to the House, that for their parts, they have received unexpected satisfaction in those greatest points of the accusation against your Lordship, and of such secret nature as are not fit to be published without further deliberation. Wherefore since it pleased their Lordships, to have made choyce of them to be trusted in this imployment, they have faithfully served accordingly, and do upon their Honours freely, and without any ingagement or respect, protest the same. And therefore humbly desire their Lordships, that they would intreat his Majestie to be President in advice with their Lordships: What further were to be done in this private Contention betwixt your Lordship and the Lord *Digbie*; which obtained, something may then follow for your Lordships good, by yeelding up that Cause into the Kings hands. And his Majestie hath great reason to bend it that way, because it is conceived, that the Lords will be loath to admit the King to be supream Judge, and Accuser; which point will much touch his Majestie. And his Majestie were better give some ease to the Lord *Digbie*, then permit that dispute.

And now for my self, I beseech your Lordship to pardon my strange boldnesse; I know I am a mere stranger to you, and if ever you have heard of me, it must be as of a friend of such you then did not love. I know it shewes me a medler in businesse, or an insinuator, which are suspitions, that may distast you, and make you suspect my pretences, though they were not altogether witlesse. I know this disadvantage, and am in my own nature offended for putting my self thus into your notions. But yet I resolved to undergo all this; First, because you made my Brother a Captain in *Ireland*, who had otherwise perished. Next, for the favour you did to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and the retiring of disfavour from my Lord of *Somerset*. And lastly, for your firm hand, that advanced the now Lord Treasurer. To all which Lords I am familiarly known, and bound.

But

But (neereſt to you) your Lordſhip may hear of me from the Lord Treaſurer.

I am confident of your Lordſhips noble interpretation, ſince I ſeek no ends, no acquaintance, no other thanks, being one that have no Court-ſuits to your Lordſhip; but being one that loves not ruines, (which my friends have taſted) nor that the publique ſhould wreſtle with a private Inturn of Spleen. And I offer it but as a ſimplicity, yet with good will enough; for what can a man, that is not privy to the Elements of State, demonſtrate any concluſion thereof; yet I hear ſometimes how the world goes as other men do.

I conceive I have ſaid ſomething to your Lordſhip, and though perhaps ſhort, yet enough to occaſion, and ſtir up your deeper thoughts. I alſo may have deeper, but alſo I know, that little pinnes of wood do ſuſtain the whole building. More I could have ſaid touching the other points, but theſe greateſt elided, the fall of the others may be eaſily directed. What I have ſaid againſt thoſe objections I touched, doth ariſe from grounds of truth, and they muſt win, and prevail, and my conceit is fitted to the Kings part, and to the occaſions now on foot.

I humbly ceaſe your Lordſhip further trouble, and wiſh you all good, deſiring your Lordſhip alſo to pardon my tedious and haſty ſcribled hand.

Your Lordſhips unknown
ſervant,

*Ch. Th.*

*Poſtſcript.*

YOur Lordſhip ſhall be pleaſed to take off ſome part of my boldneſſe, and impute it to the obligation and ſervice I owe this worthy Lady, the Bearer.

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## *To Count* Gondomar.

*My Lord,*

I Thought my hands bound that I could no ſooner have occaſion to write unto you, being forced againſt my will to delay my writing from day to day in expectation of the news of your arrival at that Court, aſſuring my ſelf, that I ſhould then receive from you ſome ground whereupon to write. But after a long expence of time before that I could hear of your arrival, and in the Pacquet that his Majeſties Embaſſadour ſent thereafter, receiving no Letters nor word from you as I expected, I do now by theſe break my long ſilence unto you.

As for news from hence, I can in a word aſſure you, that they are in all points, as your heart could wiſh: for here is a King, a a Prince, and a faithful friend and ſervant unto you, beſides a number of your other good friends, that long ſo much for the happy accompliſhment of this match, as every day ſeems a year unto us, and I can aſſure you in the word of your honeſt friend, that we have a Prince here, that is ſo ſharp ſet upon the buſineſſe, as it would much comfort you to ſee it, and her there to hear it. Here are all things prepared upon our parts; Prieſts and Recuſants all at liberty: all the Roman Catholiques well ſatisfied, and which will ſeem a wonder unto you, our Priſons are emptied of Prieſts and Recuſants, and filled with zealous Miniſters for preaching againſt the Match; for no man can ſooner now mutter a word in the Pulpit though indirectly againſt it, but he is preſently catched, and ſet in ſtraight priſon. We have alſo publiſhed Orders both for the Univerſities, and the Pulpits, that no man hereafter ſhall meddle, but to preach Chriſt crucified; Nay it ſhall not be lawful hereafter for them to rail againſt the Pope, or the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* further then for edification of ours; and for proof hereof you ſhall herewith receive the orders ſet down, and publiſhed. But if we could hear as good news from you, we ſhould think our ſelves happy men; but alas! Now that we have put the ball at your feet, although we have received a comfortable Diſpatch from his Majeſties Embaſſadour there; yet from all other parts in the world, the effects appear directly contrary. For Mr. *Gage* brings us news from *Rome*, that the diſpenſation there is at a ſtand, except a number of new Conditions be granted, which we never dreamed of, and ſome of them can tend to no other end, but to bring our Maſter in jealouſie with the greateſt part of his Subjects; nay

which is ſtrangeſt of all, we find ſome points yeelded unto by us, (which would have given the Pope good ſatisfaction) to be concealed from him by the King your Maſters miniſters there. We were never more troubled to put a good face upon an ill Game, then we were upon *Gage's* arrival here, which in your phraſe is to put a good ſauce to an unſavoury diſh.

For the whole world being in expectation of bringing the Diſpenſation with him, we are now forced to make him give it out here to all his friends, that 'tis paſt in *Rome*, and ſent from thence to *Spain*. And from *Bruſſels* we find, that notwithſtanding, both of the King your Maſters promiſes, and undertaking of the Infanta there, who hath long ago acknowledged to have had power from the Emperour for granting of this long-talked of Ceſſation, yet now after innumerable delayes on her part, *Heidelbergh* is beſieged by Count *Tilley*, and that at ſuch a time, as his Majeſtie cannot imagine what ground or ſhadow of excuſe can be found for his Commiſſion. For the Treaty hath been twice reformed at her deſire, and all the Auxiliaries ſuch as *Brunſwick* and *Mansfelt* have taken another courſe: His Majeſties ſon in law ſtaying privately in *Sedan*, ready to obey all his Majeſties directions; and the places in the *Palatinate*, which are not already in his enemies hands, being onely poſſeſſed by his Majeſties Souldiers. So as now if the War ſhall continue, it muſt be directly between the Emperour, and our Maſter, his Majeſtie having ſent a Commandment to his Embaſſadour at *Bruſſels*, that if *Tilley* will needs go on with that ſiege, that he return hither with all ſpeed. For his Majeſtie in honour cannot endure, that whileſt he is treating for a ceſſation of Arms at *Bruxels*, the Wars ſhould go on in the *Palatinate*, eſpecially when they have no body to invade, but his Majeſties own Subjects and ſervants; And indeed his Majeſtie thinks he is very ill dealt withal, for all that great ſincerity and candour, wherewith he hath conſtantly carried himſelf from the very beginning of this buſineſſe, that no leſſe can ſatisfie the Emperours revenge then the utter extermination of his children both of honour and inheritance, and not without a direct breach of his former promiſe, avowedly ſet down in his laſt Letter to his Majeſtie.

And now let me I pray you in the name of your faithful friend, and Servant, beſeech you to ſet apart all partialitie in this caſe, and that you would be pleaſed indifferently to conſider of the ſtreights we are driven into, if the Emperour ſhall in this faſhion conquer the *Palatinate*, the antient inheritance of his Majeſties children: what can be expected but a bloudie and unreconcileable war between the Emperour,

Emperour, and my Master wherein the King of *Spain* can be an Auxiliarie to the Emperour against any other partie but his Majestie. And therefore as my Master lately offered to the Infanta for satisfaction of her desire, that in case the Auxiliaries would not be contented with reason, but still perturbe the treatie, he offered in that case to assist the Emperour and her against them; so can he in justice expect no lesse of the King your Master, that if the Emperour will contrarie to all promises both by his Letters, and Embassadours, proceed in his conqueſt, and refuse the cessation, that the King your Master will in that case, and in so just a quarrel assist him against the Emperour, in imitation of the King my Masters just and reall proceedings in the businesse from the beginning, who never looked (as you can well be witnesse) to the rising, or faling hopes of his son in Law his fortunes, but constantly keep on that course, that was most agreable to honour and justice, to the peace of Christendom; and for the fastning of a firm & indissoluble knot of amity, and alliance betwixt the king your Master and him, which was begun in the time of the treatie with *France*, and then broken at your desire, that we might imbrace this alliance with you; you are the person, that many times before your departure hence, besought his Majestie once to suffer himself to be deceived by *Spain*. We therefore do now expect to find that great respect to honour in the King your Master, that he will not take any advantage by the changing of fortune, and succesſe of time, so to alter his actions, as may put his Honour in the terms of interpretation. You see how all the rest of Christendom, envie and maligne this match and wished conjunction; How much greater need then hath it of a hastie and happie dispatch? And what comfort can the Prince have in her, when her friends shall have utterly ruined his Sister, and all her babes? you remember how your self prayſed his Majesties wisdom in the election of so fit a Minister, as Sir *Richard Weſton* in this businesse, but you saw what desperate Letters he writes from time to time of their cold and unjust treating with him in this businesse; you could not but wonder at any spark of Patience could be left us here; and to conclude this point in a word, we ever received comfortable words from *Spain*, but find such contrary effects from *Bruxelles*, together with our intelligences from all other parts of the world, as all our hopes are not only cold, but quite extinguished here. Thus far for the By, and yet such a By, as may put by the main, if it be not well and speedily prevented. As to the Main, which is the match, his Majestie, and we all here, thought we had done our part, and put the ball at your

foot, when wee agreed upon the twentie, and five Articles more: whereupon as your self often answered, and assured us the best Divines in *Spain* concluded that the Pope, not only might, but ought to grant a dispensation to this marriage, but now we are surcharged with a number of new Articles from *Rome*, and in the mean time the Dispensation is as far off as ever it was.

His Majestie hopes that you are not ignorant, that the treatie is between him, and your Master; He hath no treatie with *Rome*, neither lyes it in his way to dispute with them upon this question; yet that his readinesse to imbrace your Masters friendship may the better appear, he is contented to yield to so many of their demands, as either his Conscience, Honour, or safetie can permit, if so the King your Master shall think it necessarie. But on the other part we three remember, that when as you first moved this match unto him, and perswaded him to break off with *France*, you then promised, that he should be pressed to nothing in this businesse, that should not be agreeable to his conscience, and honour, and stand with the love of his people. As to the particular Articles new added at *Rome*, I will not clogg this paper with them, which I fear without them, will be too troublesome unto you. For what his Majesties opinion is of them, his Majesties Embassadour there will particularly acquaint you.

But whereas the Pope desires in the end of his Articles, that he may see what *ponum publicum*, the King our Master will grant unto, that may perswade to grant this dispensation, I will remit it to your conscience and knowledge, whether if the favours his Majestie daily grants to those of his religion, and is resolved still to continue, if not to increase them, if they shall by their good behaviour deserve it, be not a real *bonum publicum*, considering that if the match should break off (which God forbid) his Majestie would be importunatly urged by his people (to whose assistance he must have his recourse) to give life and execution to all the penal Lawes now hanging upon their heads.

It only rests now, that as we have put the ball to your foot, you take a good, and speedie resolution there to hasten a happy conclusion of this match. The Prince is now two and twenty years of age, and so a year more, then full ripe, for such a businesse: the King our Master longeth to see an issue proceed from his Loins; and I am sure you have reason to expect more friendship from the posterity that shall proceed from him, and that little Angel, your Infanta then from his Majesties Daughters Children. Your friends here, are all discomforted with this long delay: your enemies are exasperated,

and

and irritated thereby; and your neighbours, that envie the felicity of both Kings, have the more leisure to invent new Plots for the Crosse, and hinderance of this happy businesse; And for the part of your true friend and servant *Buckingham*, I am become odious already, and counted a betrayer both of King and Countrey.

To conclude all with; I will use a similitude of hawking (which you will easily understand, being a great Faulkoner;) I told you already that the Prince is (God be thanked) extreamly sharp set upon this Match; and you know that a Hawke, when she is first dressed, and made ready to flie, having a great will upon her, if the Faulkoner do not follow it at that time, she is in danger to be dulled for ever after.

Take heed therefore, lest in the fault of your delayes there, Our Prince, and Faulcon gentle, (that you know was thought slow enough, to begin to be eager after the Fœminine prey) become not so dull upon these delayes, as in short time hereafter, he will not stoop to the Lure, though it were thrown out to him.

And here I will end to you my sweet friend, as I do in my prayers to God, (*Onely in thee is my trust*,) and say as it is written on the outside of the Pacquets, Haste, Haste, Post-haste.

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## Conde *de* Gondomar *to the Duke*, 13. Febr. 1625.

*Most Excellent Sir*,

AT last Sir, the Earl of *Gondomar* goes for *England*; There will be many good discourses made in *Holland* about this voyage: But the truth is, that the intention of his journey is not to offend any one, but only to desire, and procure peace, and the publique good. And onely with this intent the King my Master Commands me to go thither, and I go with a great deal of joy as well for this as for to kisse his Majesties and his Highnesse his hands, and your Excellencies in particular.

And therefore I do appoint for the field of our Battail your Excellencies Gallerie over the *Thames*, where I hope your Excellencie shall see, that the Earl of *Gondomar* is an honest man, and that he hath been, is, and ever will be, a faithful and true servant and friend

to

to Sir *George Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham*, whom God preserve many happy years.

The Counteſſe my Wife, and my ſelf, kiſſe my Lady the Counteſſe, and my Lady Dutcheſſe their hands.

Your Excellencies

Conſtant and faithful
ſervant,

*Gondomar.*

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## Padre Maeſtre *at* Rome *to the* Spaniſh *Embaſſadour in* England, 12. *June*, 1621.

*My Lord,*

I Have received two Letters from your Lordſhip, the one of the 15th. of *March* brought me by Mr. *George Gage*, and the other of the 30. of *April* which came by the Ordinarie. In both which Letters I have received a ſpecial favour from you, and much comfort. The coming of Mr. *Gage* hath given me infinite contentment, then which there could nothing have happened more fitly and to the purpoſe, for the matter which is in negotiation, nor any man have come hither that could better advance the buſineſſe then he, as well in reſpect of his good affection, as for his wiſdom and dexterity in all things. And if the King of Great *Brittain* will withal help now a little, the buſineſſe will be quickly done, and in a good manner. I beſeech your Lordſhip preach to him a Chriſtian Sermon as is moſt needful: for there comes from thence divers wayes ſuch reports thither, that I am aſhamed, and out of countenance in the ſtreets as I go, and they do me a favour, that they do not ſtone me, knowing that I am treating, and labouring this buſineſſe at the ſame time, when the poor Catholiques are ſo cruelly uſed in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And when I excuſe it, that it is not by the Kings order, but by the abuſe and malice of ſome ill affected Miniſters, it will not be received; neither do they want Replies. Beſides, there is a rumour all over *Rome*, that the King in a Speech which he made at the beginning of the Parliament, affirmed publiquely, *That for all this marriage with* Spain,

Spain, *the Catholique party in* England *should not be in one jott better condition then they are.*

But I cannot be yet discouraged ; My confidence is in the King, and in the desire which I know he hath to procure a good Wife for his Son. And now that the time is come, let him play the part of a Couragious Wooer, and frustrate the intentions and desires of all those, that are adverse to it. It is a comfort unto me, that I do not find here an impossibility ; but that though there be difficulties, yet I find many here that desire to overcome them. And above all, I hope that God will assist this business as his own Cause. I am going to prepare my self for the Congregation of the Cardinals, and a Consultation of Divines, to whom I understand we shall be remitted this next week. I shall give your Lordship an account punctually of all things that happen in those Conferences. Ous Lord, &c.

Your Lordships, &c.

*Padre Maestre.*

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## *Don* Carlos *to the Lord* Conway,
3. September.

*SIR,*

I Have understood by Mr. *Strada* with particular contentment the newes of your good health, which God continue for many years. I see by yours received by *Strada*, what his Majestie hath been pleased to order concerning the ships of the *Indies*, which is as much in effect as could be hoped for from so great a King, so zealous of Justice and Equitie.

In the Conduct of this business, we will observe the order given by his Majestie, in confidence that the Subjects of the King my Master shall obtain their ends, and his Catholique Majestie receive the contentment to know, that the excesses of those that shall be convinced have been punished.

By the last Currier of *Flanders*, we received neither from the Infanta, nor any other person any other newes, then what Mr. *Trumbal* sent by his Letters.

I confesse freely, that the Marquesse, and my self have been much troubled, both of us being exceedingly desirous, that his Majestie should

ſhould receive in every thing (even in words, and formalities) the ſame ſatisfaction, which we hope he ſhall receive in the effects. Nevertheleſſe in diſcharge of her Highneſſe, I will ſay that which is fit for me as I am her ſervant, and which I pray you from me to deliver unto his Majeſtie; but thus underſtood, that it is onely my own particular diſcourſe.

By the diſpleaſure his Majeſtie hath been pleaſed to teſtifie unto me upon many occaſions of the Prince *Palatines* refuſal to ſign, and ratifie the Treatie of ſuſpenſion of Armes; He may be alſo pleaſed to judge how it may have been taken by the King my Maſter in *Spain*, and the Infanta in *Flanders*, and the rather becauſe of the continual reports, that at the ſame time went up and down and increaſed (as ordinraily it falls out) of the deſcent of *Alberſtat* with a mighty Army of 20000 foot, and 6000 horſe, not any more to make war in *Germany*, but to joyn with the Prince of *Orange*, and fall upon thoſe Provinces in obedience to his Catholique Majeſtie, which was no other but directly to aym at the vital parts of the *Spaniſh* Monarchie.

If for theſe juſt fears (which cannot certainly be held vain, being conſidered with thoſe of the year paſt, proceeding from one and the ſame Cauſe, both of which have been ſcattered by the Almighty hand of God, in his ſecret Judgments) it hath not onely been lawful, but alſo neceſſary to conſerve the ancient alliances, and procure new, I leave it to the judgment of every man of underſtanding, not doubting but for this reſpect you will be of the ſame opinion with me: And much more his Majeſtie, whom God hath endowed with ſo great knowledge, and royal qualities, as are known to all the world.

Morover, let us ſee if in the Law of gratitude, the *Infanta* could do leſſe then acknowledge towards the Duke of *Bavaria*, the valour wherewith his Army had reſiſted the pernitious deſigns of *Alberſtat*, having hazarded his own eſtate to hinder the imminent danger of the King my Maſters.

Again let us conſider if the Infanta ſending to viſit, and give him thanks could excuſe her ſelf from giving him all thoſe titles, which the Duke of *Bavaria* gives himſelf, and deſires ſhould be given him. And if he might not, if ſhe had done otherwiſe have thought the ingratitude the greater, then the acknowledgement. And therefore things being in this ſtate, the Infanta could not excuſe her ſelf from ſending to viſite him, ſeeing he had ſuccoured her in a time of need, and in viſiting him to give him that, which he deſired ſhould be given

given him. And the like is to be said for the King my Master in case he hath done the like as Mr. *Trumbal* writes the Infanta should tell him, and with a great deal more reason because the Countries are his own. And therefore since his Majestie of Great *Brittain* is so great a King, and hath so great a reputation of the exact performing of his royal obligations, I doubt not but he will judge, that in this formality, the King my Master, and the Infanta his Aunt, have but acquitted themselves of their obligations. For the rest, if at the conferrence of *Cullen*, which his said Majestie, and her Highnesse have desired, and do yet desire his Majestie of great *Brittain* shall see, that they are wanting on their part to proceed with that sincerity and truth, which they have so often offered, and which the Marquesse of *Inoiosa* doth still offer on the behalf of the King my Master, so that only the Prince *Palatine* make the submissions due to the Emperour as his natural Lord, and resolve to follow the Paternal counsels of his Majestie of great *Brittain*, his Majestie shall then have reason to complain. And in the mean time the Prince *Palatine* should do but well not to entertain those Amities he endeavours to conserve, nor to sollicit those Leagues which he labours to procure, not only with the declared rebells of the King my Master, and of the House of *Austria*, but also with the enemies of all Christendom. I will ingage my head if following this way his Majestie and his son in law find themselves deceived.

You know Sir, that I treat in truth, and freedom, and do therefore hope you will impute my excuses to that, and will not call this libertie of my discourse, rashnesse, but an immortal desire in me in all things to procure the service of our Kings, laying aside all occasions of misunderstandings, now we treat of nothing els, but uniting our selves more by the strickt bonds of love, over and above those of our Alliance.

I do humbly beseech you to say thus much to his Majestie, and to assure him from me, that when he shall be pleased to imploy me in this matter, as in all other, he shall ever find me faithful and real, as I have offered my self, and alwayes continue, being well assured, that even in that I shall serve my Master. And I pray you to believe in your particular that I am, and will be eternallie

Yours &c.



The

## *The Marquesse* Ynoiosa *to the Lord* Conway,

5. September, 1623.

I Answered not long since to both your Letters, and now I will add this, that only the sport, and pleasure that *Don Carlos*, and I consider his Majestie hath in his progresse, may make tollerable the deferring (by reason of that) and not hearing the newes we expect to hear of his Majesties good health. For by that meanes we might not onely satisfie more often our desires in this point (having his Majestie neerer) but also our desire to bring these businesses to an end, which are ordinarily more delayed, and lesse well executed, when they are to passe through the hands of Ministers (though they be very zealous, and well affected to it) as these Lords are with whom we treat here; who are desirous that the King should be known for just, though unnecessarily, when nothing is pretended contrarie to that which is agreed upon. This knowledge whereupon I ground my reasons may perhaps make me (*Sin Embargo*) incurre the Censure of an impatient man; But I am perswaded, that if that which hath been done here, had been setled there by your Honour, and the Lord *Count* of *Carleil* (whose good disposition, and proceeding is as much to be esteemed as it is praysed by *Don Carlos* and my self) we would have made an end, and those things which I have seen, and observed here had not happened unto us. For in the conference, in which my Lord Keeper did assist, it was agreed (as we thought) that his Majestie should give order to the Judges and Justices of Peace, Arch-bishops and Bishops signed with his royal hand under the little Seale within three months, or at the Princesse her arival. He hath persisted afterwards, as also Sir *George Calvert* in that (though it was plain) that his Majestie would give the said warrant, afterwards, there being no tearm nor day appointed. Neverthelesse at last we have condescended, that it should be within six months, or at her Highnesse arrival, if she comes afore that time, that we may shew how happie we think our selves in being Servants to his Majestie, whom God save.

The dispatches that we are to have are contained in the relation here enclosed. I pray you to take order, that those that are to be sent back to that effect, may be subscribed, and Sealed; for I have differred the dispatching of a Currier (with an evident danger that he will now arrive too late, and put in hazard a businesse of mine of consi-

deration,

deration, which obligeth me to diſpatch him) that he may not go without them; And that it may not be an occaſion to doubt of the aſſurance we have given of his Majeſties good will and intention; whoſe Royal hands, I, and *Don Carlos* do intreat your Honour to kiſſe in our name, and to continue us in his Majeſties good Favour, and your Honour likewiſe in yours; for we deſerve it with a particular affection, and equal deſire to ſerve you. God ſave your Honour, as I deſire

Your Honours ſervant,

The Marqueſſe, *Ynoioſa.*

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## *Sir* Arthur Chicheſter *to the Duke, the* 25. January, 1623.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

WHen you went laſt from *White-Hall* I waited on the Prince and you into the Gallery, where your Lordſhip ſpake ſomething unto me which I underſtood not, to wit, *Are you turned too?* As I knew not the ground of the Demand, I could make no preſent anſwer; nor now but by Conjecture. When I turn from the Prince, (whom I know to be the worthieſt of Princes) or from you, (who by your favours have ſo bound me to ſerve you) or from the truth (as I conceive it) God I know will turn from me; until then I humbly pray your Lordſhip to believe that I am your honeſt ſervant.

The Sunday after your Lordſhips departure, the Embaſſadours of the King of *Spain* came unto me under the pretext of a viſit. I have herewith ſent your Grace a brief of what paſſed between us. I judge ſome man hath done me an ill office, by inſinuating me into their good opinions of me; ſure I am, I never ſpake of them, nor of the affaires they have to manage, but what I have ſaid, when the ſelected Councel were aſſembled. I cannot be ſo dull, but to know that they meant your Grace to be the Interpoſer of their deſires, and the Man, whom they wiſhed to be abſent when they have their private audience. They are exceeding Cautelous, and I conceive the late Diſpatch from *Spain* is like a gilded bayt to allure and deceive;

your Lordship perceiving their Malice, will be warie to avoid their Venom. I am

Your Graces

Humble, and faithful
Servant,

*Arthur Chichester.*

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*The Collections of the Passages and Discourses between the Embassadours of the King of* Spain, *and Sir* Arthur Chichester, 18. Jannary, 1623.

*These Passages were sent to the Duke, inclosed in the last foregoing Letter.*

ON Sunday the 18. of this present *January*, the two Embassadors of *Spain* came to visit me at my House in *Drury-Lane*. At their first entrance they took occasion to speak of the profession of Souldiers, and of the *Spanish* Nation, affirming them to be the bravest Friends, and the bravest Enemies. I approved it in the Souldier, and contradicted it not in the Nation.

When they were come into an Inner Room, looking upon the Company as if they desired to be private; I caused them to withdraw, but noting that they had brought an Interpreter with them, I prayed Sir *James Blount*, and *Nathaniel Tomkins* Clark of the Princes Councel, (who doth well understand the *Spanish* tongue) to abide with me.

Being private, they said they came to visit me, because of the good intention, and well-wishing they understood I had to the accommodation of businesses, and because I stood named by his Majestie for the imployment into *Germanie*.

I acknowledged their coming to visit me as a particular Favour, professing my self to be one of those, who was able to do least, but that I must and would in all things conform my self to the will, and good pleasure of the King my Master.

They

They were pleaſed to remember, and to take for argument of his Majeſties good opinion of me, to make me one of the *Junta* (as they called it) of the ſelected Councellours, and his imployment given me the laſt year as his Extraordinary Embaſſadour into *Germany*.

I told them I had been bred a Souldier, as their Excellencies had been, but that I wanted the capacity and abilities which they had, and that for want of Language (not affecting to ſpeak by an Interpreter) I had forborn to wait on their Excellencies, as otherwiſe I would have done.

To that they returned the like Complement, and then ſaid, Their Maſter had ſent a good anſwer touching the *Palatinate*, and they aſſured me, that he would perform what he had promiſed with advantage.

I ſaid if it were ſo, I then hoped all things would ſort to a good end.

They then asked me how his Majeſtie, and the Lords were affected, and whether therewith they were ſatisfied, or no?

I anſwered, That I conceived their Excellencies knew his Majeſties mind as well as the Lords, for that they had ſo lately audience of him.

They ſaid, It was true, they had ſo, but not a private audience; nor could they obtain any, though they had much deſired the ſame, but that others were ſtill preſent.

I ſaid merely that they were two, and I believed that the King their Maſter had ſent as able and experienced Miniſters as he had any, and therefore his Majeſtie might peradventure think fit not to hear them alone.

They ſaid his Majeſtie might alone hear a thouſand Miniſters of any Kings, but if he ſhould be otherwiſe pleaſed, they well liked of the Princes being preſent; but they ſaid there were alſo other great Miniſters of the Kings, who wiſhed not well to their Maſters affairs.

I ſaid, There might therein be a miſtaking, or miſunderſtanding on their part; for if the King their Maſter mean ſo really as they ſaid, I conceived that no body would be willing to remove his Majeſtie from

thoſe

those purposes, and that good affection which he bore unto his dear Brother the King of *Spain*.

The Marquesse said in English, The King was a good King, and the Prince a good Prince, but some of their Ministers they doubted were ill willers to them.

I asked if greater demonstrations of reality could be devised, then had been given on the part of the King and Prince, instancing in the Prince his going in Person into *Spain*.

They confessed it, but as the times now were, they said ill offices were done them.

I assured them, That I neither knew, nor understood of any; neither did I ever hear them spoken of, but with due respect had unto them, as to the Ministers of a great King, and his Majesties dear Brother.

They said their meaning was not, that the ill offices were done to their Persons, but to the great Businesses, which a certain Person had shewed a willingnesse to disturb; but they hoped, that the intended amity between our Masters would hold, and proceed nevertheless.

I professed, that I knew nothing to the contrary, neither understood I the particular at which they aymed.

The Marquesse swore as he was a Christian, he knew that the King his Master did so truly, and really esteem his dear Brother the King of *England*, and the Prince of *Wales*, that if they needed part of his blood, they should have it for their good: But he complained, that they could not have their Messages delivered nor returned from the King of late, but qualified according to the pleasures of others.

I said, They misconceived it, for I thought they had no cause to complain, seeing they now had, or might have (as I supposed) the Kings Ear when they craved it in due, and befitting times.

They seemed to deny it, alledging, That they could not get their Messages and Papers answered as aforetime.

I said, When the Prince was in *Spain*, they had free accesse to his Majestie, whensoever they desired it. Yea

Yea said the Marquesse in Latine *Tunc*; but now, he said, the case was altered.

I said the King had given many testimonies to the world of his willingnesse to comply with their Master, and Them: And if either his Majestie or the Prince seemed now more reserved, and deliberate in their actions then heretofore, it might be that his Highnesse had learned that wary and circumspect proceeding in *Spain*, where they are said to use it in matters of far lesse moment.

They smiled hereat, and prayed me to continue my good intentions, and respects towards them, and to the joynt affairs of both our Masters.

I said, I would alwaies serve the King my Master, with a true and faithful heart, and so far as should be agreeable to his desires, and good liking, I would to my small power be ready to serve them.

In Conclusion they said, They came but to visit me, but being come, they could not choose but say something, and touch upon businesse.

*Arthur Chichester.*

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22. *of May*, 1624.

*Having made visits at sundry times to the* Spanish *Embassadours, I do here under my hand declare, what passed betwixt them and me, so neer as my memory serveth; lest in my absence any such matter should fall in question, I now intending to travel for a space.*

WHen his Highnesse was in *Spain*, being upon my journy in *Scotland*, I went to *Elie*-House to take my leave of *Don Carlos*, where *Vanvail* was present, I expressing much joy of the match, which in my mind would without all question be perfected, did find no such humour, nor inclination on their part, which did much astonish me; for they grumblingly did alleadge, that the King my Master did perform nothing that he promised, or how could any thing be expected the Infanta being here, whereas nothing was performed

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the Prince being in *Spain* ? I besought them to do better offices, then without reason to put jealousies betwixt my Master, and theirs, who would never have sent his son to *Spain* without a real intention. Which onely act was reason sufficient to remove all doubts.

Yet did they still continue their challenge of divers Bracks, specially, anent the sending of ships to *Scotland* to bring away the two *Dunkirkers*, and not perfecting such conditions as were promised to Catholiques. I did intreat them again, that such conceits of my Master might be removed, for they might be confident of full performance of what he had promised, by reason he had never broke his promise to any. I desired them likewise to consider with what love our Prince was gone, and what a stain it should be to the State of *Spain*, if uncourteously he should return with distast; Besides, it might fall out to be the worst act that ever they committed, where anent if they had love to their Master they would prove good Instruments. What was spoke by me in English was related in Spanish to *Don Carlo*, so was it to me what they spoke in Spanish. Sometimes *Don Carlo* spoke in French, so that not a word passed which each man did not know.

I went again after the Treaties were given up, and did remember *Don Carlo* of what I had forespoke, when the Marquesse was present and took the speech; they did demand of me whether I was come of my self, or by Commission, for they professed to account me their friend.

I answered that I came meerly of my self, and was sorrie that by their own deserving, they had procured such alterations, and I thought strange of such demands as they had made at *Hampton Court*, which did both expresse much spleen, and lack of good intelligence. They did avow their demands were reasonable; but, from that time they would make visits to the Duke and love him better then before, because they were in doubt before, but now they know him to be an Enemie. I did answer, that I was sorrie for their proceeding, and was their friend so long as they were friends to my Master.

After a few haughty words, such (as it was a wrong waie to deal with their Master by threatnings, who gave pay daily to 300000. Souldiers that they had followed the wars a long time, and had seen men killed by the Cannon, Musket, Pike, and sword, but never saw men killed with words, they desired me to speak to his Majestie, that they might either be dismissed, or have freedome to go about their businesse with security. They did desire me likewise to speak to his Majestie, that the treatie for the *Palatinate* might continue.

I did demand of them how these two things did agree, both to threaten and intreat? whereupon they passed upon me with odd complaints. I went once more of late to give them a farwel. I said, they proved themselves good Servants to their Master in pressing to raise jealousies in this State, but they were now too well known to do harm. The Marquesse swore, that by this time the Infanta had been here, & the *Palatinate* restored, if the blame had not been on our Part. I did intreat I might be excused not to believe that. I did ask whether they did not condemn their own judgments in accusing the Duke of *Buckingham* of that whereof he was cleared, both by the King, and State. Their answer was, He was cleared by those who were his confiderates, all as guiltie as himself.

I demanded, why they should still expresse their malice against the Duke of *Buckingham*. Did they not think but our Prince was a man sensible of what injuries he had received? their answer was, if the Duke were out of the way, the Prince would be well disposed. They said farther, his Highnesse was an obedient son before the Duke guided him, but since, he was not. So that when we speak of his Majestie, they speak with much respect, but for the Prince did not use them kindly, they did make the lesse accompt of him. So after I took my leave and parted.

*Nithisdail.*

MUch I have omitted for brevitie, wherein they did expresse much respect to his Majestie, much of their threatning to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

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## *The Lord* Nithisdail *to the Duke*, 22 June, 1624.

*My most Noble Lord,*

FInding matters at great uncertainty when I came hither, I resolved to make farther tryal before I should part from hence. What thanks is due to the Embassadours for their paineful, and discreet Carriage can hardly be expressed.

Matters now being drawn to such a conformity (which I confesse I thought impossibilities, though withall I found much respect al-

wayes to the Prince with a ſenſible deſire of the Match expreſſed, both by the King, and thoſe I ſpake withal) our Embaſſadours ſeem ſtill to be diſcontent, that all things are not remitted to our Maſters verbal promiſe, which though it may be aſſurance ſufficient to all Catholiques, who have the ſence to conſider, that it muſt be our Maſters, and the Princes gracious diſpoſition muſt be our ſafety, more then either word or writ: yet the writ being deſired privately (as they pretend) merely to draw the Popes conſent (without the which nothing is to be finiſhed) the difference is not ſo great, their Princely promiſe being given already.

What cauſe of jealouſie the refuſing hereof ſhould procure, you may conſider: beſides, my judgment failes me, if a more eaſie way ſhall be aſſented unto upon this ſide. If the Embaſſadours have beſtirred themſelves to get this out of the publique Articles, I can bear witneſſe. Thus much I dare avow, that neither time nor place have been omitted by them to do good; though I muſt confeſſe, what intelligence I had in the proceeding, hath rather been from the *French* then from them. Their Reaſons (as I conceive) was their doubts, that did bring me hither, having neither Letters from the King, the Prince, nor your Grace.

Whereupon to remove theſe conceits, I ſhewed them, that I did onely take this in my way, intending to go ſee the Jubilees, wherewith though his Majeſtie, nor the Prince, neither yet your Grace were acquainted with at my parting, you will be pleaſed to make my excuſe. I am infinitely beholding to the Embaſſadours noble Courteſie, which I know hath proceeded from that relation which they know I have to you.

My Lord, let the happineſſe which ſhall come to the Prince by matching with ſuch a Lady, as I proteſt before God, hath thoſe perfections, to my thinking, can hardly be equalled, be a means to haſten a happy Concluſion; And let not matter of Ceremonie draw delayes where the ſubſtance is agreed upon. So ſhall all that belong to our Maſter be made happy, in general, and you in particular, for that love which they expreſſe here to your ſelf.

Once more I humbly begg, you will conſider particularly upon each one of the Articles, and I hope you ſhall not find ſuch unreconcileable difference as an affected Puritan may pretend. Whereupon if I have looked more with eyes of a Papiſt then was fitting, it is my lack of judgment, and not of zeal to my Maſters Honour, which of all earthly things ſhall be preferred. Beſeeching God to give a hap-

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y succesſe hereunto, with a ſound recovery of your own health, I humbly take my leave.

Your Graces

Faithful ſervant,

*Dated at* Compion.

*Nithisdail.*

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## *Sir* Tobie Mathew *to the King of* Spain.

D*On Tobea Mathei Cavallero Ingles y Catholico Romano* beſeecheth your Catholique Majeſtie with all humility and reverence, to give him leave to ſpeak theſe few words unto you.

He underſtandeth that the *Theologos* have perſiſted preciſely upon the *Voto*, which they gave before, and he findeth clearly that the Prince conceiveth, that he can by no means ſubmit himſelf thereunto with his Honour. And beſides, my Lord the King hath expreſly required him to return with all poſſible ſpeed, in caſe that *Voto* ſhould not be qualified. And it is certain that he will depart for *England* within very few daies: And whoſoever ſhall inform your Majeſtie, that the Treatie of this marriage may be really kept on foot after the departure of the Prince upon theſe terms, doth deceive your Majeſtie through the ignorance wherein he is of the State of *England*. So that the Prince departing thus, the Catholique Subjects of all my Lord the Kings Dominions are to be in lamentable caſe. For although the Prince did yeſterday vouchſafe to have Compaſſion of me in reſpect of the grief wherein he ſaw I had upon theſe occaſions, and to ſay, That although the marriage were broken, yet he would procure that his Catholique Subjects ſhould not fare the worſe for that; yet I know that it is morally impoſſible for that honourable deſign of his to take place in reſpect of the People, and the importunitie and malice of the Puritans, and eſpecially becauſe it will now be a caſe of meer neceſſitie for my Lord the King, to run in a courſe of very ſtraight Conjunction with them of his Parliament, that he may be able the better to ſerve himſelf of them in other occaſions: from which Parliament, as now the caſe will ſtand, what Catholique can expect any other then the extreamitie of rigour?

In conſideration whereof I caſt my ſelf with a ſad heart at the feet of your Majeſtie, beſeeching you, that you will take into your royal

remembrance the love, which you owe, and procure to paie to our holy Mother, the Church, and that some course may be taken, and with speed (for otherwise it will be too late to give the Prince some foot of ground upon which he may be able to stand in such sort, as that without losse of honour, and breach of that word, which he hath given to the world, and without prejudice to that obedience, which he oweth to the least commandement of the King his Father; his Highnesse may be inabled to comply with the incomparable affection which he beareth the Infanta your Majesties Sister. And that by meanes hereof the two Crowns may be kindly in perfect union, and the Catholique religion may be highly advantaged, not only in the Dominions of my Lord the King, but in many other parts of Christendom, into which the Authority of these Dominions doth flow.

For my part, I take the eternall God to witnesse, whom I procure to serve, and who hath given me a heart, which disclaimeth from all other interesses then to serve God, and my King, that I conceive my self not to comply with a good conscience without laying this protestation under the Eye of your Majestie, that if the Catholique subjects of the King my Lord shall grow liable to persecution, or affliction by occasion of breaking this Match, through the disgust of the King my Lord and his Councel, or through the power, which infallibly the Puritans assembled in Parliament will have with him upon this occasion, that blood, or miserie whatsoever, it may partly be required at their hands who have advised your Majestie not to accept of those large conditions for Catholiques which my Lord the King and the Prince have condescended to, and of that more then moral Securitie which they have offered for the performance thereof.

And on the other side, I undertake to your Majestie, under the pain of infamie, in case that be not made good which here I affirm, that if your Majestie will be pleased to give some such ground to the Prince, as whereupon he may with Honour stay, and perfect the Treatie of the Marriage by any such way, or means, as may occur to your Majesties royal wisdom, the whole bodies of the Catholiques in England both religious, and secular, shall acknowledge it as a great blessing of God, and shall oblige themselves to pray incessantly for your happie Estate &c.

*Sir*

## Sir Tobie Mathew *to the Dutchesse of* Buckingham,
### 9. June 1625.

*Madam*,

THere was no cause till now, why I should trouble your Ladyship with presenting my unprofitable service to you: but now I shall venture to do it, by reason of the good newes I shall send with it.

For our Queen arrived here yesterday, and I was glad at the heart to see her such, as she had seemed; she is more grown then I had thought, being higher by half the head then my Ladie Marquesse. And whatsoever they say, believe me, she sits already upon the very skirts of womanhood. Madam, upon my faith she is a most sweet lovely Creature, and hath a countenance which opens a window into her heart, where a man may see all Nobleness and Goodness; and I dare venture my head (upon the little skill I have in Physiognomie) that she will be extraordinarily beloved by our Nation, and deserve to be so; and that the actions of her self, which are to be her own, will be excellent. Me thought I discerned in her countenance a little remnant of sadness, which the fresh wound of parting from the Queen Mother might have made, yet perhaps I was deceived. Her Aattyre was very plain, for so Great a Queen can be thought to have nothing mean about her. But I hope that amongst many other blessings, which God will have provided for us by her means, her example will be able to teach our Countrie wit in this kind.

I had the happiness to see, and hear her at a short distance, by the Commandement which my Lady of *Buckingham* laid upon me to interpret for her, and believe me, she is full of wit, and hath a lovely manner in expressing it. But I confesse I was sorrie with all my heart, to hear that her courage was so great, as to carry her instantly (after my Ladie of *Buckingham* had taken her leave for that time) to Sea in a poore little boate in the company of her brother, whom yet, I have not had the honour to see. I dare give my word for her, that she is not afraid of her own shadow, who could find in her heart to put her self at the first sight, upon an element of that danger, and disease for meer pastime; Unless it were perhaps that she might carrie some Steel about her, and that there is some

Adamant

Adamant at *Dover*, which already might begin to draw her that way.

I am extreamly ſorrie, that we have loſt the hope of ſeeing the two other Queens, for if they had come, we might have had beautie here as well in the preterperfect, and in the preſent tenſe, as now we have in the future.

But the Queen Mothers indiſpoſition hath arreſted her at *Amiens* in puniſhment of that malice, wherewith ſhe diſſembled it too long at the firſt, through the extream deſire ſhe had of coming hither.

Our Queen received my Lady of *Buckingham* with ſtrange courteſie and favour, and now there is no remedy but that the King will needs defray and treat her after a high manner. And I have been told that *Mounſieur* will needs deſcend ſo much as to viſit her in her lodging; and the Dutcheſſe of *Chevereux* (being that great Princeſſe, as ſhe is, both by match, and bloud) will perforce give precedence not onely to my Ladie of *Buckingham*, but to my Ladies her daughters alſo: And I aſſure my ſelf, that a leſſe puiſſant example then this will ſerve to convert our Great Ladies, even to exceed in *England* towards the Ladies which are ſtrangers, and do but come, and go.

But the while this Court doth ſo apply it ſelf to do my Lady of *Buckingham* all imaginable honour, I look on it ſo, as that I am no way diſcouraged thereby from bearing devotion to the bleſſed Virgin, when I ſee that men, who are ſick of love towards the Son, are put even by a kind of Law of nature into pain, till they revenge themſelves upon the Mother. I beſeech Jeſus, &c.

*From* Bulloign. ❧

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*Dr.*

## *Dr.* Sharp *to King* James.

### *The Complaint of* Europe *our Mother, aged, and oppreſſed,*

TO whom? To the Kings and Princes of *Europe*. Of whom? Of the Pope of *Rome*. For what matter? For cauſing by his Catholique League ſo much bloud to be ſpilt within theſe few yeares in *Europe*. To this effect, as that excellent Poet ſpeaks, with a little change of his words,

*Quis non Europæo ſanguine pinguior*
*Campus ſepulchris impia prælia*
*Teſtatur? auditumq; Turcis*
*Europæ ſonitum ruinæ?*
*Qui gurges aut quæ flumina lugubris*
*Ignara belli? quo Mare Civicæ*
*Non decoloravere cædes?*
*Quæ Caret ora cruore noſtro?*

And what further danger is it like to breed? Even to bring the *Turk* into *Auſtria*, *Italy*, *Germany*, into *Vienna*, and into *Rome* it ſelf, as it hath brought him into *Pannonia*, and of late into *Pollonia* to the great danger of all Chriſtendome. Which danger ſhe doth foreſee, and lament, and telleth, That no *European* King hath ſought to compound theſe bloudy home-quarrels but the King of Great *Brittain*. She moſt humbly deſires the reſt of the Princes, that they would Commiſerate her moſt afflicted eſtate; her Cities taken, her houſes ſpoiled, her children murthered. her Matrons and Virgins defloured, her waies full of Thieves, her Seas of Pyrates, all the helps of life taken from her in many parts, her flocks and herds ſcattered, her Tillage ceaſed, her Trade decayed, the Lawes ſilent, Learning fallen, good manners ruined, neither fear of God left, nor care of men, that all things ſeem to tend to the firſt Chaos, &c. And therefore ſhe doth beſeech the Princes to whoſe truſt God hath committed, not to whoſe power he hath permitted his two Wards, two Twins, the Common Wealth, and the Church as to Guardians, that they will look better to their charge.

And firſt, not ſuffer the Common Wealth of Chriſtendom by their armes (at the Popes ſecret inſtigation) to be deſtroyed, and to this

this end she first useth the example of good Heathen Emperours to perswade them as *Augustus*, *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Antoninus*, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Alexander Severus*, *Probus*; that they will settle peace at home, and by joynt Forces make War abroad upon the Common enemy of their Kingdomes, and so make the Common-Wealth to Honour them, being made by them, rich in wealth, strong in power, famous in glory, honest in manners, the felicity of every earthly Common-Wealth.

Now for the other Ward, or Twin, the Church, the Heavenly Common-Wealth, because she hath before professed, that as she had been long a Pagan, so now by the Grace of God, hath long been a Christian, and did take this to be her greatest honour, to be the harbour of the Christian Church, she stirres them up to be more careful by the example of the best Christian Emperours, *Constantine*, *Jovinian*, *Gratian*, *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, *Honorius*, *Charlemaign*, and his Sons *Lotharius*, and *Lodovicus*, to defend her from heresies within, and from violence without.

And now she begins to tell them, That as one walking with others in the Sun; not thinking on it, must needs be Sun-burned; so she walking with her reformed children in this new-risen Sun of the Gospel of Christ, did feel her self coloured (as it were) with the Spirit of Christ, by observing the differences between the two Churches with great indifferencie.

Here because she hath before challenged the Pope and the Jesuites of cruelty, and perswading first, that as men they should spare humane bloud.

Secondly, as *Europeans* they should spare *European* blood.

Thirdly, as Christians they should spare Christian blood.

She is first thus answered by the Pope speaking for himself, and his Jesuites, That they are not the authors of shedding Christian blood, but hæretical blood: And that her reformed sonnes (as she terms them) are not Christians, because they be no Catholiques; And therefore Hereticks to be taken away by death, according to the sentence of St. *Paul*, *Hæreticum hominem post unam aut alteram admonitionem devita*; *Hoc est de vita tolle*, as Cardinal *Allen* doth expound it, and according to the Decree of the Councel of *Lateran*.

And where I pray you was this your Reformed Church before *Luther*? And as for my Jesuites you call them bloudy, even as you call your Physitians bloodie, who for driving away a Pestilential Feaver, do take more corrupt and putrified blood from the party then they would.

And

And thereupon, he doth twitt *Europe* as an old doting *Sibylla*, in her youth, being the Concubine of one *Taurus*, whom she feigned to be *Jupiter*, to cover her fault, with the greatnesse of her lover, who did also give her the name of this divided World, that by the honour of her title, she might excuse the shame of her fact; And bytes the fond Oratour, that put this person upon her, a whelp of *Luthers*, that makes this Minion to accuse him before the Princes of Homicide, or an insensible piece of Earth to plead his Cause.

To which *Europe* answereth,
First, for her self;
Then for the Church.

This Summe I thought good to present to your Majestie, if it please your judgment, I shall bring the whole work to your Majestie when I am recovered.

And thus craving pardon of your Majestie for troubling your greater thoughts, though this tend to the good of Christendome which you intend, I rest

Your Majesties

Most humble Chaplain,

*Leonel Sharp.*

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## *Dr.* Sharp *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

*May it please your Grace,*

IT is not my purpose to advise, but to attend what others shall determine of the Match of the *Palatinate*; but if that be broken off, and this not restored according to promise, every one may conceive that Peace must give place to War abroad; but with whom, and where, and how it is to be made, it is for an higher Councel, then for any private man to resolve.

Peace were best, if it had *Nihil insidiarum*, as *Tully* saith; but it is to be feared that the malice of the Catholique League doth, and will hinder the work of the Kings most Noble and Christian heart, and then it will be a War wrapt in the name of Peace.

A just War is the exercise of Faith, as *Peter Martyr* well collects

out of those Wars which those Worthie Kings and Princes *Heb.* 11. fought for their God and his *Israel*: so war is just which is made for the maintenance of Gods true religion, and for the safety of the Common Wealth, either for the keeping of that we have, or recovering of that we have lost.

Every one therefore doth rejoyce to see the King and his Subjects so joyned in love together, and in the purpose of this defence, every one I mean that is a true Christian, and good subject; and do wish that two things presently were added, care at home to Coupe up all false-hearted Subjects, that are known, and provision to meet with the secret, and open practises of such forraign Enemies, as are like to abet them

The good policies of the former reign in such times is the best president for this, at this time. The heads were then committed *liberali Custodia*, divided from their inferiour parts, the Papists disarmed, their clawes pared, that they might not hurt us, the lawes executed upon the Jesuites and Priests, fire-brands of sedition, and rebellion withal: Or if not blood drawn of them, yet close imprisonment, or banishment enjoyned them..

Large subsidies granted to prepare the Navie, and pay the armies. And a great while no war proclaimed, but brave Adventurers sent forth as to *Portugal*, the *Groine*, to the *West-Indies*, &c. And before Letters of repriſal granted to the Marchants to make up their losses, a *Rowland*, for an *Oliver*, because they had granted Letters of Mart against us. By this meanes Carricks were brought in, the treasure of their *West-Indian* mines laid for at their return, so to make war upon them with their own mony, till they had made the enemie bankerout, and to break with their banquers of *Auspurg*, and *Genua*, that he was not able to pay his Souldiers, and garrisons; and still the Low-countries strongly assisted, and war made upon the enemie there, or at home, at his own doores, which was more Noble, gainful and safe for us; for we still had peace and plenty at home, though war abroad.

*Ausburg.*

I know not how the case stands now between us, and the *Spaniards*, but me thinks it should not be very well, when nothing will satisfie him, but the head of him, that spake the truth for the good of the King and kingdom. Certainly if we break with him, as they which sit at the Helm know what is best to do, he is readie to strike, and will peradventure strike quickly before we be fully prepared, therefore our preparations had need to be more speedie, & thorough, lest we fall into the snare. While they were treating of peace in 88.

they,

they did even then invade us. I pray God they have not used this treatie of marriage to as bad a purpose; for it seemes they never did intend it, but for delayes, and to make it serve their turn, they have plainly abused us in the *Palatinate* thereby. But I can say nothing for the present, yet what is to be done, it is proper to an higher judgment; onely I tell what was then, when we were enemies.

I remember in 88. waiting upon the Earl of *Leicester* at *Tilbury Camp*, and in 89. going into *Portugal* with my Noble Master the Earl of *Essex*, I learned somewhat fit to be imparted to your Grace.

The Queen lying in the Campe one night, guarded with her armie, the old Lord Treasurer *Burleigh* came thither, and delivered to the Earl the examination of *Don Pedro*, who was taken, and brought in by Sir *Francis Drake*, which examination the Earl of *Leicester* delivered unto me to publish to the armie in my next sermon. The sum of it was this.

*Don Pedro* being asked what was the intent of their coming, stoutly answered the Lords, What? But to subdue your Nation, and root it out. *Don Pedro's confession.*

Good, said the Lords, and what meant you then to do with the Catholiques? He answered, We meant to send them (good men) directly unto Heaven, as all you that are Heretiques to hell. Yea but said the Lords, what meant you to do with your whips of cord, and wyer? (whereof they had great store in their ships) What? said he, We meant to whip you Heretiques to death, that have assisted my Masters Rebels, and done such dishonours to our Catholique King, and people? Yea, but what would you have done (said they) with their young Children? They (said he) which were above seven yeares old, should have gone the way their fathers went, the rest should have lived, branded in the forehead with the Letter *L.* for *Lutheran*, to perpetual bondage.

This I take God to witnesse I received of those great Lords upon examination taken by the Councel, and by commandement delivered it to the armie.

The Queen the next morning rode through all the Squadrons of her armie, as Armed *Pallas* attended by Noble Footmen, *Leicester*, *Essex*, and *Norris* then Lord Marshal, and divers other great Lords. Where she made an excellent Oration to her armie, which the next day after her departure, I was commanded to redeliver to all the Armie together, to keep a Publique Fast.

*Her words were these.*

MY loving people, we have been perſwaded by ſome, that are careful of our ſafety, to take heed how we commit our ſelf to armed multitudes for fear of treachery: but I aſſure you, I do not deſire to live to diſtruſt my faithful, and loving people. Let Tyrants fear, I have alwayes ſo behaved my ſelf, that under God I have placed my chiefeſt ſtrength, and ſafeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my ſubiects. And therefore I am come amongſt you as you ſee, at this time, not for my recreation, and diſport, but being reſolved in the midſt, and heat of the battaile to live, or die amongſt you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my Honour, and my blood even in the duſt. I know I have the bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and Stomach of a King, and of a King of *England* too, and think foul ſcorn that *Parma* or *Spain*, or any Prince of Europe ſhould dare to invade the borders of my Realm, to which rather then any diſhonour ſhall grow by me, I my ſelf will take up arms, I my ſelf will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of everie one of your virtues in the field. I know alreadie for your forwardneſſe, you have deſerved rewards and crownes, and we do aſſure you in the word of a Prince, they ſhall be duly paid you. In the mean time my Lievetenant General ſhall be in my ſtead, then whom never Prince commanded a more Noble or worthie ſubject, not doubting but by your obedience to my General, by your Concord in the Camp, and your valour in the field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous victorie over thoſe enemies of my God, of my Kingdomes, and of my People.

This I thought would delight your Grace, and no man hath it but my ſelf, and ſuch as I have given it to, and therefore I made bold to ſend it unto you, if you have it not already.

I would I could perſwade your Grace, either to read your ſelf, or to command your Secretarie to gather out of the Hiſtorie of *Spain* tranſlated into Engliſh towards the end five or ſix leaves, which hath matter of great importance fit for the Parliament, eſpeciallie for two points; the one concerning the ſetled intention of the State of *Spain* againſt *England*, whenſoever they can get an opportunity; the other concerning the main reaſons of ſtate, which moved the Queen, and Councel, then to take upon her the protection of the Low-countries.

They

They were of two sorts, the first inherent in the Person of the Prince then being, which died with her, (as some think) the Quarrel being then between the Queen, and King of *Spain*, *Philip* the second, which are said to be buried in their graves; the other inherent in their estates, which live with them, and remain in the heart of the State of Spain against us, whosoever is their King.

And this appeareth by a large Disputation of State had before the King of *Spain*, and blab'd out by their Chronicler in many words, wherein *pro et contra* two do argue. The one, who proves that the *Netherlands* their Rebels are first to be conquered, that it may serve them as a rise to the Conquest of *England*, and the reasons for that project. The other, who proves, that the *English* are first to be conquered, the supporters of those their Rebels, and for a rise to the Empire of Christendome, and the reasons for the project, and specially for that it is more easie now for the disuse of armes in *England*; for that *England* is not now that *England* which it hath been, &c.

And the mean, how they may win themselves into us by a Treatie of Marriage, as *Mariana* blabs it out in general, that which the Prince hath tryed, and your Grace hath uttered in Parliament in special, that *Colloquia de Contractibus*, are with them *Mera ludibria parata tantum Regum animis*, *Ne noceant distinendis*, *dum ea quæ ipsi intendunt*, *perficiantur*. Which *Guicciardine* also doth in general affirm, That the *Spaniards* bring more things to passe by Treaties, and subtilties, then by force of Armes.

And that you may truly understand the full intention of the *Spaniard* to the state of this Kingdom, and Church, I would your Grace would read a notable Discourse of the late most Noble Earl of *Essex*, made by the Commandment of Queen *Elizabeth*, and debated before her Majestie, and her Councel concerning this point, Whether Peace or War was to be treated with *Spain*? The Lord *Buckhurst* speaking for a Treatie of Peace, to the which the Noble Queen, and her old Lord Treasurer inclined: The Earl speaking for War, because no safe peace could be made with that State for 3. special Reasons, which are in that Treatise set down at large, which is not fit for me yet to deliver by writing, but there you shall find them. Your Grace may have the book of divers Noblemen your friends. If you have it not (if I may understand your pleasure) I will get it for you. It was of that effect, that it brought the Queen, and Treasurer contrary to their purpose to his side, for the very necessity of the common safetie.

Your

Your Lordſhip having angred them, and endeared your ſelf to us, you had need to look to your ſelf; you are as odious to them as ever the Earl of *Eſſex* was.

The Jeſuite *Walpool* ſet on one of the ſtable (*Squire*) one well affected to my Lord, to poyſon the reſts of his Chair. And ſeeing they ſtrike at the Miniſters, which deal effectually for his Church, (witneſſe worthy Doctor *White*) what will they do to ſuch Pillars of State as you are? The Lord preſerve your Grace, and watch over you. And thus I reſt

Your Grace his moſt humble
at Commandment,

*Leonel Sharp.*

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## *The Lord* Cromwell *to the Duke*, 8. Septemb. 1625.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

I Am now returned from mine own home, and am here at *Fulham* neer Mr. *Burlemachi*, making my ſelf ready to attend your Command in the beſt manner my poor fortunes will give me leave, and with what ſpeed I may. Some things I have ſent to *Plymouth*, and ſome Gentlemen, ſo as when I come there, I hope to find that your Lordſhip hath appointed me a good ſailing ſhip, and one, that ſhall be able to play her part with the beſt and proudeſt enemy, that dare look danger in the face.

Though your Grace hath placed a Noble Gentleman in the Regiment was intended to my Lord of *Eſſex*, yet I will not deſpair of your favour, or that you will not give me ſome taſte of it, as well as to any other. I will ſtudy to be a deſerving Creature, and whether you will pleaſe to look on me with an affectionate eye or no, I will love, honour, and ſerve you, with no leſſe truth, and faith, then thoſe you have moſt obliged. What concerns me, I will not here ſpeak of for fear I offend. My prayers ſhall ever attend you, and my curſes thoſe, that wiſh you worſe then their own ſoules. Divers I do meet, that ſay your Grace hath parted with your place of the Maſterſhip of the Horſe, which makes the world ſuſpect, that ſome diſfavour your Lordſhip

Lordſhip is growing into: And that this prime feather of yours being loſt, or parted with (be it as it will) it will not be long ere the reſt follow.

They offer to lay wagers, the Fleet goes not this year, and that of neceſſitie ſhortly a Parliament muſt be, which when it comes, ſure it will much diſcontent you. It is wondered at, that ſince the King did give ſuch great gifts to the Dutcheſſe of *Chevereux*, and thoſe, that then went, how now a ſmall ſumme in the Parliament ſhould be called for at ſuch an unſeaſonable time: And let the Parliament ſit when it will, begin they will, where they ended. They ſay the beſt Lords of the Councel knew nothing of Count *Mansfelts* journey, or this Fleet, which diſcontents even the beſt ſort, if not all; They ſay it is a very great burthen, your Grace takes upon you, ſince none knowes any thing but you. It is conceived, that not letting others bears part of the burthen you now bear, it may ruine you, (which heaven forbid) Much diſcourſe there is of your Lordſhip here, and there, as I paſſed home, and back, and nothing is more wondered at, then that one Grave man is not known to have your Ear except my good, and Noble Lord *Conway*. All men ſay, if you go not with the Fleet you will ſuffer in it, becauſe if it proſper, it will be thought no act of yours; and if it ſucceed ill, they ſay it might have been better, had not you guided the King. They ſay your undertakings in the Kingdom, and your Engagements for the Kingdome, will much prejudice your Grace.

And if God bleſſe you not with goodneſſe as to accept kindly, what in dutie and love, I here offer; queſtionleſſe my freedom in letting you know the diſcourſe of the world, may much prejudice me. But if I muſt loſe your favour, I had rather loſe it for ſtriving to do you good in letting you know the talk of the wicked world, then for any thing elſe, ſo much I heartily deſire your proſperitie, and to ſee you trample the ignorant multitude under foot.

All I have ſaid is the diſcourſe of the world, and when I am able to judge of your actions, I will freely tell your Lordſhip my mind. Which when it ſhall not be alwaies really inclined to ſerve you, may all noble thoughts forſake me. Becauſe I ſeldom am honoured with your Ear, I thus make bold with your all-diſcerning eye, which I pray God may be inabled with power and ſtrength, daily to ſee into them that deſire your ruine. Which if it once be, I will never believe, but ſo good a King will conſtantly inable you daily with power to confound them.

Many men would not be thus bold and faucie. If I find you diſtaſte

me

me for my respect to you. I will respect my poor self (who ever hath honoured you) so much as hereafter to be silent. So I kisse the noble hands of your Grace.

Your Lordships servant,
during life,

*Tho. Cromwell.*

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## *Sir* Robert Philips *to the Duke of* Buckingham, 21. August, 1624.

*May it please your Grace,*

BEfore the receipt of that Dispatch, with which you were pleased to honour me from *Apthorp*, dated the last of *July*, I was fully determined at your return to *Woodstock*, to have presented your Grace my most humble and faithful service, and by that means to have obtained the knowledge in what state and condition of health you had passed this part of the progresse. Your former weaknesse, together with the dangerous temper of the season, giving me cause both to doubt, and pray against the worst; But I found my self then to be more strictly obliged to the performance of this dutie, when I received from your Grace so clear, and abundant a testimonie, as well of your good opinion, as of the trust you reposed in me. Obligations certainly of that nature, and of so large an extent as do with reason deprive me of all degree of libertie, and justly subject me to a perpetual state of servitude, and obedience to all your Graces Commandements.

I have diligently perused my Lord of *Bristols* answer, which it pleased your Grace to communicate unto me. And although it become me not, neither will I presume to give my opinion of the strength, or weaknesse thereof, yet will I take the liberty to say thus much, That I find in his case that to be verified which I have observed at other times, (to wit) That when able and prudent men come to act their own Parts, they are then for the most part not of the cleerest sight, and do commonly commit such errours, as are both discernable and avoidable, even by men of mean abilities.

Being now fallen to speak of this Lord, I humbly beseech your Lordship to give me leave plainly and briefly to set before you some Cogitations of mine own, touching his present occasion.

First,

First, that it may be maturely considered, Whether the tendring him any further charge, unto which he may be able to frame a probable satisfactorie answer, will not rather serve to declare his innocencie, then to prepare his Condemnation, and so instead of pressing him, reflect back with disadvantage upon the proceeding against him.

Secondly, That your Grace would be pleased to consult with your self, whether you may not desist from having him further questioned, without either blemish to your Honour, or manifest prejudice to the service: Considering that you have (to your perpetual glory) already dissolved and broken the Spanish partie, and rendred them without either the means, or the hope of ever conjoyning in such sort together again, as may probably give the least disturbance or impediment to your Graces waies and designs.

And lastly, Although his Lordship in sundry places of his answer, especially in the latter part, doth seem directly to violate the rule of the * prudent Marriner, who in foul weather, and in a storm, is accustomed (to prevent shipwrack) rather to pull down, then to set up his sailes. Nevertheless as this case stands, it deserves to be thorowly pondered, which of the two waies will most conduce to your Graces purpose, and is likely to receive the best interpretation and success, either to have him dealt with after a quick and round manner, or otherwise to proceed slowly and moderately with him, permiting him for a time to remain where he is, as a man laid aside, and in the way to be forgotten. A state of being (if I mistake not his complexion) which will be by him apprehended equivalent to the severest and sharpest censure, that possibly can be inflicted on him.

* Provident.

Thus have I over-boldly adventured to present unto your Grace, these few Queries and Proposals, which they might be both inlarged, and more forcibly urged; yet to avoid the being too tedious, I have chosen to omit the further insisting upon them, till such time, as I may have the honour and felicitie of being neer your person. At this present it shall suffice, humbly to beseech your Grace, to be assuredly perswaded, that what I have now delivered in this subject, doth not proceed from any over-indulgent respect I bear either to the person, or fortune of my Lord of *Bristol*; though I should not be sorry, that like a prudent man he might by his discreet application to your Grace, render himself capable to be again readmitted to your love and favour. But the motive which hath induced me principally to use this plainnesse and libertie, is the Consideration, how importantly (as I conceive) the well ordering and disposing this particular, doth

concern your Graces service. Unto the advancement and furtherance whereof, if I may be able now, or at any time to contribute the least proportion, I shall esteem my self most happie, and more then abundantly rewarded, in case that my right humble endeavours in that kind may receive from your Grace a favourable and acceptable construction.

I will conclude this Letter with a twofold prayer; first to you for my self, that your Grace will be pleased to pardon this boldnesse. Next to God for you, that he will give you health, and length of daies for his Majesties service, and the good and honour of this Common-wealth. I humbly crave leave to remain

Your Graces

Most obedient and devoted servant,

*Rob. Philips.*

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## *The Earl of* Middlesex *to the Duke.*

*Right Noble, and my most honoured Lord,*

I Have received divers Letters from your Lordship since your going from *Theobalds*, which though they concern several men, and in sundry kinds, yet they all conclude upon diminution of his Majesties estate, contrary to your general ground, when his Majestie delivered me the Staffe, and contrary to your Lordships private directions given me at *Theobalds*, with which I did your Lordship the right to acquaint the King.

I have of late had cause to take into consideration the miserable condition of my present estate, who since I received the staffe, have led such a life, as my very enemies pity me, which I foresaw, the distraction of the Kings estate, and burthen of that place, would of necessitie throw upon me. Yet my dutie, love and thankfulnesse to his Majestie, and my love and thankfulnesse to you, contrary to my own judgment, and advice of my friends, made me undertake it, little expecting these Crosse accidents, which have lyen heavy upon me, and more troubled me, then the continual cares and vexations of my place.

I do most freely and willingly acknowledge one man cannot be more bound unto another, then I am to your Lordship; and if I do not make a thankful return, let me be held an ungrateful Monster, which is the worst of Villains.

I have been so ambitious as to desire to extend my gratitude so far, as that the King may have cause to thank you for preferring me, and that your Lordship may blesse the time you did it. To effect that, I shall delight to live a miserable life for a time. The course which must of necessitie be held to do it, I will acquaint your Lordship with very shortly, which I hope you will be pleased to approve, and assist me in. And then I will expresse my thankfulnesse to you that way: If that course shall not like you, I will not onely deliver you up my places, but whatsoever I hold from the King, and live privately upon mine own estate. For I will never sell so good and gracious a Master, nor so noble and constant a friend ruined, and undone. God blesse you, and send you your hearts desire. As for my self, I never desired to quit the World, and all the fooleries in it, till now.

Your Lordships

Faithfullest servant, and
Kinsman,

*Middlesex.*

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*The Earl of* Middlesex *to his Majestie,*
26. April, 1624.

*Sacred Majestie, and my most gracious Master,*

YOur goodnesse is such to me your oppressed servant in this my time of persecution, as I know not how to expresse my thankfulnesse otherwise then by pouring forth my humble and heartie prayers to the great God of heaven and earth, to grant your Majestie all happinesse here, and everlasting happinesse hereafter.

Between 5. and 6. of the clock upon Saturday in the evening, I received my Charge from the Lords assembled in Parliament, with an Order, by which I am commanded to make my appearance at the Bar upon Thursday next by 9. of the clock in the morning

with my answer: And in the mean time to examine my witnesses.

This Charge of mine hath been in preparing, by examining of witnesses upon oath, and otherwise, 23. daies. And hath been weighed by the Wisdom of both Houses, and doth concern me so neerly in point of honour, and faith to your Majestie to answer well, as I value my life at nothing in comparison of it.

I may grieve, though I will not complain of any thing my Lords shall be pleased to Command; but do hope, that upon a second consideration they will not think three daies a fitting time for me to make my Answer, and to examine witnesses in a cause of such importance, and so neerly concerning me, when twenty three daies hath been spent almost from morning until night in preparing my Charge.

I know the House (whose Judgment I shall never desire to wave) is the proper place for me to move to be resolved herein, and therefore shall upon Wednesday morning make my humble motion there to have 7. daies longer time, as well to make my answer, and appearance, as to examine my witnesses, which are many, and upon several heads.

But because the Prince his Highnesse, and many of the Principal Lords are now with your Majestie at *Windsor*, my most humble suit to your Majestie is, That you would be pleased to move them on my behalf, to yield me so much further time, that my Cause may not suffer prejudice for want of time to make my just defence, that which I have propounded being as moderate as is possible.

With my most humble and heartie prayer to Almightie God for continuance of your health with all happinesse, I humbly kisse your Royal hands, and will ever rest

Your Majesties most
humble, &c.

*Middlesex.*

*The*

## *The Earl of* Carlile *to his Majestie*, 14. February. 1623.

*May it please your most Excellent Majestie,*

THough my present indisposition deprives me of the Honour to attend your Majestie with the rest of the Commissioners, with whom your Majesty was pleased to associate me; yet I most humbly beseech your Majestie to give me leave in all humility to represent unto your Majestie, what my heart conceiveth to be most for your Majesties service in the present conjuncture of your affaires. During this time of my distemper, I have been visited by divers Gentlemen of quality, who are Parliament-men, none of those popular, and plausible Oratours, but solid, and judicious good patriots, who fear God, and honour the King. Out of their discourses I collect, That there are three things, which do chiefly trouble your people.

The first, that for the subsidies granted, the two last Parliaments, they have received no retribution by any bills of Grace.

The second, that some of their Burgesses were proceeded against after the Parliament were dissolved.

And the third, that they misdoubt, that when they shall have satisfied your Majesties demands and desires, you will nevertheless proceed to the conclusion of the Spanish match. It would be too much importunity to trouble your Majestie with the several answers which I made to their objections, and would be too great presumption in mee to advise your Majesties incomparable wisdome what should be fittest to be done for your Majesties honour, and the contentment of the people; yet if it would please my Lord the King to give his humblest Creature leave to give vent to the loyal fervour of his heart, restlesse, and indefatigable in continual meditation of his Gracious Masters honour and service, I would thus with all humble submission explain my self. That there is nothing which either the enemies of this State, or the perverse industry of false-hearted servants could invent more mischievous, then the misunderstandings which have grown between your Majestie, and your people: nothing that will more dishearten the envious Maligners of your Majesties felicity, and incourage your true hearted friends, and Servants, then the removing of those false feares, and jealousies, which are meer imaginarie Phantasmes, and bodies of ayr easily dissipated, whensoever it shall please the sun of your Majestie, to shew it self clearly in its native brightnesse, lustre, and goodnesse.

God

God and the World do know the ſcope, and the end of all your Majeſties pious affections, and endeavours to have been no other, then the ſetling of an univerſal peace in Chriſtendom; (a felicity only proper for your Majeſties time, and only poſſible to be procured by your incomparable goodneſſe, and wiſdom) but ſince the malice of the Divel, and deceitful men, have croſſed thoſe fair wayes wherein your Majeſtie was proceeding, abuſing your truſt, and goodneſſe, (as Innocencie, and goodneſſe are alwayes more eaſily betrayed then wilineſſe, and malice) you muſt now caſt about again, and ſail by another point of the compaſſe, and I am confident your Majeſtie will more ſecurely, and eaſily attain, your Noble and pious end, though the way be different.

The meanes are briefly theſe three.

Firſt let your Majeſties enemies ſee, that the Lion hath teeth, and clawes.

2. Next, imbrace and invite a ſtrict, and ſincere friendſhip, and aſſociation with thoſe whom neighbourhood and alliance, and common intereſt of ſtate and religion have joyned unto you.

3. And laſt of all, caſt off, and remove jealouſies, which are between your Majeſtie and your people.

Your Majeſtie muſt begin with the laſt, for upon that foundation, you may afterwards ſet what frame of building you pleaſe. And when ſhould you begin (Sir) but at this overture of your Parliament by a gracious, clear, and confident diſcovery of your intentions to your People. Fear them not (Sir) never was there a better King, that had better ſubjects, if your Majeſtie would truſt them. Let them but ſee, that you love them, and conſtantly rely upon their humble advice, and readie aſſiſtance, and your Majeſtie will ſee, how they will tear open their breaſts, to give you their hearts, and having them, your Majeſtie is ſure of their hands, and purſes. Caſt but away ſome crums of your Crown amongſt them, and your Majeſtie will ſee thoſe crums will make a miracle, they will ſatisfie many thouſands. Give them aſſurance that your heart was alwayes at home, though your eyes were abroad; invite them to looke forward, and not backward, and conſtantly maintain, that with confidence you undertake, and your majeſtie will find admirable effects of this harmonious concord. Your Majeſtie as the head directing, and your people as the hands and feet, obeying and co-operating for the honour, ſafety, and welfare of the bodie of the State. This will revive, and reunite your friends abroad, and diſmay, and diſappoint the hopes of your enemies, ſecure your Majeſties perſon, aſſure your eſtate, and make your memorie glorious to poſterity.

Pardon

Pardon I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſtie, this licentious freedome, which the zeal of your ſafetie and ſervice, hath extorted from a tongue-tyed man, who putteth his heart into his Majeſties hand, and humbly proſtrateth himſelf at your Royal feet, as being

Your Majeſties

Moſt humble, moſt obedient obliged Creature, Subject, and Servant,

*Carlile.*

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## *The Earl of* Carlile *to the Duke, the* 20. *of* November, 1625.

*My moſt Noble dear Lord,*

SInce my Laſt to your Lordſhip by Mr. *Endimion Porter*, there hath not happened any matter of great moment, or alteration here, ſaving the reſolution (which his Majeſtie hath taken by the advice of his Councel) for the diſarming of all the Popiſh Lords. In the execution whereof there fell out a brabble at the Lord *Vaux* his houſe in *North-hamptonſhire*, wherein there were ſome blowes exchanged between the ſaid Lord, and Mr. *Knightly*, a Juſtice of the Peace, who aſſiſted the Deputie Lievtenant in that action. Whereof complaint being made, his Majeſtie was pleaſed himſelf in Councel to have the hearing of the buſineſſe, and upon examination to refer the judgement thereof to the Star-Chamber the next Term. But at the iſſuing out of the Councel Chamber, the Lord *Vaux* taking occaſion to ſpeak to Sir *William Spencer*, (who with the reſt had given information in favour of Mr. *Knightly*,) told him, that though he neglected his reputation before the Lords, yet he doubted not, but he would have more care of his oath when the buſineſſe ſhould come to Examination in the Star-Chamber. Herewith Sir *William Spencer* finding his reputation challenged, preſently complained, and thereupon the words being acknowledged, the Lord *Vaux* was committed priſoner to the Fleet.

In the diſarming of the Lords-Recuſants, there was as much reſpect had of ſome, who have relation to your Lordſhip, as you your ſelf would deſire.

The

The Papists in general here do give some cause of jealousie by their Combinations and Murmurings, wherein it is suspected, that they are as fondly, as busily encouraged by the pragmatical *Mounsieurs*. But his Majesties temper and wisdom will be sufficient to prevent all inconveniencie, which their follie or passion may contrive. There is one Sir *Thomas Gerrard* a Recusant brought up hither out of *Lancashire*, being accused of some treacherous design against his Majesties Person. *Rochel* is so straightly blocked by Sea and Land, as no Intelligence can be sent into the Town. We have not as yet any clear Categorical answers touching the restitution of our ships. As soon as any thing more worthy of your Lordships knowledge shall occur, you shall not fail to be advertised from him that is eternally vowed

Your Graces

Most faithful friend, and most humble servant,

*Carlile.*

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## *The Earl of* Carlile *to the Duke.*

*My most Noble dear Lord,*

I Must ever acknowledge my self infinitely obliged to your Lordship for many Noble favours; but for none more, then the freedome, and true cordial friendship expressed in your last Letter touching my son; And I shall humbly beseech your Lordship in all occasions to continue that free and friendly manner of proceeding, which I shall ever justly esteem as the most real testimonie of your favour towards me. Your Lordship will now be pleased to give me leave with the same freedom and sinceritie to give your Lordship an account, that it is now 4. moneths since the Count of *Mansfelt* made the proposition to me, to nominate my son to be one of his Colonels, as he did likewise to my Lord of *Holland* for his Brother Sir *Charles Rich*; which at the first (I must deal plainly with your Lordship) I took for a piece of art, as if he knowing, that next to the benefit and assistance he received from your Lordships favour and protection, we were the most active instruments imployed in his businesse, and therefore he sought

ſought to ingage us ſo much the farther by this intereſt. But afterwards I found, that under the ſhadow of this Complement put upon me, he had a deſire to gratifie Sir *James Ramſey*, whom he deſigned to be my ſon Lievtenant, having regard to his former deſerts, and the courage and ſufficiencie he hath found in him. I profeſſe unto your Lordſhip ſincerely, that he received no other encouragement, or acceptance from me then a bare negative; Inſomuch as he afterwards ſent a Gentleman to tell me, That he perceived whatſoever he ſhould expect from me in the furtherance of his buſineſſe, muſt be onely for the reſpect I bare to my Maſters ſervice, and nothing for love of his perſon, ſince I accepted not the proffer of his ſervice. My Lord of *Holland* can juſtifie the truth of this aſſertion, who alone was acquainted with that which paſſed: for I proteſt upon my ſalvation, that I neither ſpake of it to any creature living, not ſo much as to my ſon, neither have I written one word thereof to the Count *Mansfelt*, neither knew I any thing of his proceedings, till by the laſt Currier Mr. Secretarie was pleaſed to acquaint me with the nomination of my ſon. If I had ſeriouſly intended any ſuch thing, I want not ſo much judgment and diſcretion, as not firſt to diſcover my deſire to my gracious Maſter, humbly craving his leave, and allowance: And I ſhould not have failed to have recourſe to your Lordſhips favourable aſſiſtance therein. And thus (my Noble Lord) have I given you an account what entertainment I gave to the Count *Mansfelts* Complement. And I will be bold alſo to give your Lordſhip this further aſſurance, that no particular intereſt, or conſideration of mine own ſhall have power to alter my conſtant courſe of ſerving my gracious Maſter faithfully, and induſtriouſly. And ſo humbly ſubmitting all to his Majeſties good pleaſure, and your Lordſhips wiſdom, I remain eternally

Your Graces moſt faithful friend,
and humble ſervant,

*Carlile.*

*Poſtſcript.*

I Moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhip that this unfortunate Complement put upon my ſon, may be no prejudice to the deſerts of Sir *James Ramſey*.

*My Noblest Lord,*

I Find the Queen Mother hath the onely power of governing in this State, and I am glad to find it so, since she promises, and professes, to use it to do careful, and good offices in the way of increasing the friendship that is between us, and this State, and likewise to relieve, and assist the united provinces, the which they are preparing to do fullie, and bravely; for she hath now a clear sight of the pretentions of the King of *Spain* unto the Monarchie of Christendom; during the absence of the King, who went out of this town earlie the next day after I arrived here (before I was prepared to attend him) I have been often at the *Louure*, where I had the honour to entertain the Queen Mother. She was willing to know upon what terms stood our Spanish alliance; I told her that their delayes had been so tedious, that they had somewhat discouraged the King, and had so wearied the Prince, and State, which the dilatorie proceedings in it, as that Treatie (I thought) would soon have an end; She streight said of marriage, taking it that way; I told her I believed the contrarie, and I did so the rather, because the Spanish Embassadour hath given it out since my comming, that the Alliance is fully concluded, and that my journey had no other end, then to hasten his Master unto it, only to give them Jealousies of me, because he at this time feares their dispositions stand too well prepared to desire, and affect a conjunction with us. And truly his report, and instruments have given some jealousies to the persons of power in this State, especially since they find I can say nothing directly unto them; yet thus much I have directly from them, *Mounsieur de Vievielle*, and others, (but he is the chief guider of all affaires here) That never was the affection of any State so prepared to accept all offers of amitie and alliance, so we will cleerly, and as disingaged persons seek it, as is this; but as a wise minister he saies, that until we have whollie, and truly abandoned the treatie with *Spain*, they may lose the friendship of a brother in law, that is alreadie so, in hope of gaining another that they may fail of. But when we shall see it reallie by a publique Commission, that may declare all dissolved, that touches upon the way of *Spain*, we shall then understand their hearts not to be capable of more joy, then that will bring them. And the Queen Mother told me she had not lost those inclinations, that she hath heretofore expressed to desire her Daughter may be given to the Prince, with many words of value unto the King, and person of the Prince, and

more

more then this ſhe could not (ſhe thought) well ſay, it being moſt natural, for the woman to be demanded and ſought. It is moſt certain, that under-hand *Spain* hath done all that is poſſible to procure this State to liſten to a croſſe-marriage, but here they are now ſo well underſtood, as this baite will not be ſwallowed by them. This I have from a grave, and honeſt man, that would not be brought to juſtifie it, therefore he muſt not hear of it. It is the *Savoy* Embaſſadour, that is reſident here, a wiſe, and a Gallant Gentleman, who vowes this to be moſt true. So general a deſire was never expreſſed, as is here for alliance with us: and if the King and Prince have as many reaſons of State at this time, beſides their infinite affection here, to have it ſo continued, let it be roundly, and clearly purſued, and then I dare promiſe as reſpective, and ſatisfactorie a reception, as can be imagined, or deſired. And if it were not too much faucineſſe for me to adviſe, I could wiſh that the propoſitions of a league, and marriage may not come together, but may be treated apart. For I doubt whether it may not be thought a little diſhonourable for this King to give his ſiſter conditionallie, that if he will make war upon the King of *Spain* his brother, we will make the alliance with him; on the other part, if the league ſhould be propounded here, with all thoſe reaſons of State, that are now preſſing for them to make it, they have cauſes to doubt, and ſo have we too, that we may both be interrupted in that; for certainly the King of Spain, will (if he can poſſibly) pleaſe one ſide, the which they think here may be us, with the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and we may likewiſe fear may be them, with the rendring of the *Valtoline*, theſe being the only open quarrels we muſt ground upon. Now as long as theſe doubts may poſſeſſe us both, this will prove a tedious, and jealous work of both ſides; But if we fall ſpeedily upon a treatie, and concluſion of a marriage, the which will find (Iam perſwaded) no long delayes here: neither will they ſtrain us to any unreaſonableneſſe in conditions for our Catholiques (as far as I can find) then will it be a fit time for to conclude a league, the which they will then for certain do, when all doubts, and feares of fallings off, are by this conjunction taken away, and the neceſſity of their own affaires, and ſafety will then make them more deſire it then we, and ſo would they now, if they could think it ſo ſure, and ſo honourable for them. For the King of Spain hath ſo imbraced them of all ſides, as they fear, and juſtly, that he will one day cruſh them to their deſtruction. My Lord, I do not preſume to ſay any thing immediately to the King, thorough your hands, this I know will paſſe unto him, and if he ſhould find any weakneſſe in

this that I have preſumed to ſay, let the ſtrength of your favour exerciſe thoſe accuſtomed Nobleneſſes that you have alwayes expreſſed unto

Your Graces moſt humble and obliged Servant,

*Kenſington.*

*Poſtſcript.*

WIthin theſe few dayes your Grace ſhall hear again from me, for as yet I have not ſeen the King, no otherwiſe then the firſt night I arrived here. This night he is come unto the Town again.

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*The Lord* Kenſington *to the Prince*, 26. February, 1624.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſſe,*

I Find here ſo infinite a value of your Perſon, and virtue, as what Inſtrument ſo ever (my ſelf the very weakeſt) having ſome commands (as they imagine) from you, ſhall receive exceſſe of honours from them. They will not conceive me, ſcarce receive me, but as a publique Inſtrument for the ſervice of an Alliance, that above all the things in this world, they do ſo earneſtly deſire. The Queen Mother hath expreſſed, as far as ſhe thinks is fit for the honour of her Daughter, great favour and good will in it. I took the boldneſſe to tell her (the which ſhe took extreamly well) that if ſuch a propoſition ſhould be made, your Highneſſe could not believe, that ſhe had loſt her former inclinations, and deſires in it; She ſaid, your truſt of her ſhould find great reſpect; there is no preparation I find towards this buſineſſe but by her, and all perſwaſions of amitie made light, that look not towards this end. And Sir, if your intentions proceed this way, as by many reaſons of State, and wiſdom there is cauſe now rather to preſſe it, then ſlacken it) you will find a Ladie of as much Lovelineſſe and Sweetneſſe to deſerve your affection, as any creature under Heaven can do. And Sir, by all her faſhions ſince my being here, and by what I hear from the Ladies, it is moſt viſible to me, her infinite value, and reſpect unto you. Sir, I ſay not this to betray

tray your belief, but from a true observation, and knowledge of this to be so: I tell you this, and must somewhat more, in way of admiration of the person of Madam, for the impressions I had of her were but ordinary, but the amazement extraordinary to find her, as I protest to God I did, the sweetest Creature in *France*. Her growth is very little, short of her age; and her wisdom infinitely beyond it. I heard her discourse with her Mother, and the Ladies about her, with extraordinary discretion, and quickness. She dances (the which I am a witness of) as well as ever I saw any Creature; They say she sings most sweetly, I am sure she looks so. Sir, you have thousands of servants here, that desire to be commanded by you, but most particularly the D. of *Chevereux*, and Mounsieur *Le Grand*, who seek all opportunities to do you service, and have Credit and power to do so. Sir, if these that are strangers are thus ambitious of your Commands, with what infinite passion have I cause to beg them, that am your Vassal, and have no other glory but to serve you; as your Highness, &c.

*Kensington.*

*Postscript.*

SIr, The obligations you have unto this young Queen are strange, for with that same affection, that the Queen your sister would do, she asks of you with all the expressions that are possible of joy, for your safe return out of *Spain*, and told me, that she durst say, you were wearie with being there, and so should she: though she be a *Spaniard*, yet I find she gives over all thought of your Alliance with her sister. Sir, you have the fortune to have respects put upon you unlookt for; for as in Spain the Queen there did you good offices: so I find will this sweet Queen do. Who said, She was sorry, when you saw them practise their Masques, that Madam her sister (whom she dearly loves) was seen at so much disadvantage by you, to be seen afar off, and in a dark room, whose person and face hath most loveliness to be considered neerly. She made me shew her your Picture, the which she let the Ladies see with infinite Commendations of your Person, saying, She hoped some good occasion might bring you hither, that they might see you like your self.

The

*My Lord,*

YEsternight being Sunday, I arrived safe here at *Paris*. I was informed as soon as I came, that the King was resolved after sight of the Queens Masque (that was to be performed that same night,) that he would go a private journey for 5. or 6. daies to *Shautelie*, a house of Mounsieur *de Memorancies*.

Being desirous therefore to kisse his hands before his going, and to see the Court in that glory and lustre, as must for certain be found upon such an extraordinary occasion, I went to the *Louure* to the D. of *Chevereux* Chamber, where I found him and his Ladie apparrelling themselves for the Masque, and in such infinite riches of Jewels, as I shall never be a beholder of the like worn by Subjects. I had not been there above an hour, but the Queen and Madam came thither, where they staid a great while. And it was observed, that Madam hath seldom put on a more cheerful then that night. There were some that told me, I might guesse at the cause of it. My Lord, I protest to God, she is a lovely, sweet, young Creature. Her growth is not great yet, but her shape is perfect, and they all swear, that her sister the Princesse of *Piemont* (who is now grown a tall and a goodly Ladie) was not taller then she is at her age. I thought the Queen would have put a fashion of reservation upon me, as not pleased with the breach, and disorder of the Spanish Treatie; but I found it far otherwise. She is so truly *French*, as (it is imagined) she rather wishes this alliance, then with her own sister. The King (that was so early to go out of the Town) took his rest, while the Ladies were making themselves ready; but as soon as he waked, he sent for me, and purposed to have received me as an Embassadour. But I intreated the D. of *Chevereux* before I went, to let him understand, that I came as an humble and thankful servant onely to kisse his Majesties hands, and had no other end then to do him service. He then received me with much freedom and cheerfulnesse, with many questions how the King is satisfied with his Present by Mounsieur *de Bonevan*, who when I related the Kings liking, and value of it, he was infinitely pleased. He commanded me to attend him to the Masque, which was danced by 16. of the greatest Princesses of *France*, St. *Luke* only being by the Queen received amongst them, to put a singular honour, and value upon her. The King with his Brother had danced a Masque the last Tuesday, with the same number of persons of the best quality; who this night were to cast Lots, who should dance with the sixteen Ladies,

Ladies, they onely being allowed to dance with them. And all those were so infinitely rich in Jewels, (embroiderie of gold and silver being here forbidden) as they had almost all imbroidered their cloathes as thick with Diamonds, as usually with purle.

I cannot give your Lordship any particular account of my service in any thing, yesternight being an unproper time for any such thing: But I am advised by the Prince *Jenvile* to stay here till the Kings return, and I shall understand how all things stand, and that no mans affection is so straight and true for the service of the King and Prince as his is, who of himself falls into passionate wishes for an Alliance, but tells me in much libertie, they have been informed the cause and plot of my journey was to set an edge upon Spain, rather to cut off their delaies, then to cut the throat of the businesse. But I gave him great satisfaction in that point.

My Lord, these are passages of my first nights being here, matters of ceremonie; and yet I omit much of that. I thought these too slight to trouble his Majestie, or the Prince with, yet I thought it fit since this Messenger goes, to let you see this outward show, and face of this Court, to have as much sweetnesse, smoothnesse, and clearnesse towards our designs as is possible. My next Letters shall inform you of a further search made by me, the which I am confident will be of the same nature. And I conceive it the rather, because I find them in a great alarum at the newes, that they have received from *Leige*, that the King of Spain makes a Fort upon the ruine there to command both that, and the Town. This they say hath made them more clearly see his vast ambition to inlarge his Monarchie, and do all speak the careful and honest language of our Lower house men how it may be prevented.

I have said enough, the Messenger I dare say thinks too much; yet this I will add, That I will study to make it appear to the world, and your self, by a thankful heart, and to God himself in my prayers for your Lordship, that I am

Your Lordships

Most devoted, and most humble servant,

*Kensington.*

*Postscript.*

*Poſtſcript.*

IF the *French* Embaſſadour, or my Lord of *Carlile* wonders I have not written unto them, I beſeech your Lordſhip, let them know this Meſſenger is not of my ſending and in ſuch haſte as he cannot be ſtayed.

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## *The Lord* Kenſington *to the Prince.*

*May it pleaſe your Highneſſe,*

I Cannot but make you continual repetitions of the value you have here, to be (as juſtly we know you) the moſt Compleat young Prince and perſon in the world. This reputation hath begotten in the ſweet Princeſſe Madam, ſo infinite an affection to your fame, as ſhe could not contain her ſelf from a paſſionate deſiring to ſee your Picture, the ſhadow of that perſon ſo honoured, and knowing not by what means to compaſſe it, it being worn about my neck; for though others, as the Queen and Princeſſes would open it, and conſider it, the which ever brought forth admiration from them, yet durſt not this poor young Ladie look any otherwiſe on it then afar off, whoſe heart was nearer it then any of the others, that did moſt gaze upon it. But at the laſt (rather then want that ſight the which ſhe was ſo impatient of) ſhe deſired the Gentlewoman of the houſe where I am lodged, that had been her ſervant to borrow of me the picture in all the ſecreſie that may be, and to bring it unto her, ſaying, She could not want that Curioſitie as well as others towards a perſon of his infinite reputation. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw the party that brought it, ſhe retired into her Cabinet, calling onely her in; where ſhe opened the picture in ſuch haſte, as ſhewed a true picture of her paſſion, bluſhing in the inſtant at her own guiltineſſe. She kept it an hour in her hands, and when ſhe returned it, ſhe gave with it many praiſes of your perſon. Sir, this is a buſineſſe ſo fit for your ſecreſie, as I know it ſhall never go farther, then unto the King your Father, my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, and my Lord of *Carliles* knowledge. A tenderneſſe in this is honourable; for I would rather die a thouſand times, then it ſhould be publiſhed, ſince I am by this young Lady truſted, that is for beautie and goodneſſe an Angel.

I have received from my Lord of *Buckingham* an advertiſement, that

that your Highneſſe opinion is to treat of the General league firſt, that will prepare the other.

Sir, whatſoever ſhall be propounded will have a noble acceptation; though this give me leave to tell you, when you are free, and by the next newes we ſhall know you to be, they will expect, that upon thoſe declarations they have here already made towards that particularitie of the Alliance, that your Highneſſe will go that readier and nearer way to unite and faſten by that knot the affection of theſe Kingdomes.

Sir, for the general they all here ſpeak juſt that language that I ſhould, and do unto them of the power and uſurpation of the *Spaniards*, of the approaches they make to this Kingdom, the danger of the *Low-Countries*, the direct Conqueſt of *Germany* and the *Valtoline*. By which means we have cauſe to joyn in oppoſition of the Ambitions, and mightineſſe of this King. The which they all here ſay cannot be ſo certainly done as by an Alliance with us. This they ſpeak perpetuallie, and urge it unto my conſideration.

Sir, unleſſe we proceed very roundly, though they be never ſo well affected, we may have interruptions by the arts of Spain, that make offers infinite to the advantage of this State, at this time. But they hearken to none of them, untill they ſee our intentions towards them. The which if they find to be real indeed, they will give us brave ſatisfaction.

But Sir, your Fathers and your will, not my opinion muſt be followed; and what Commandments your Highneſſe ſhall give me, ſhall be moſt ſtrictly obeyed by the moſt devoted,

Your Highneſſe

Moſt dutiful and humbleſt
ſervant,

*Kenſington.*

## *The Lord* Kensington *to the Duke, the* 14. *of* March, 1624.

*My Lord,*

I Have already acquainted your Grace how generally our desires are met with here, much more cannot be said then I have already for that purpose. There was never known in this Kingdome so intire an agreement for any thing, as for an Alliance with *England*, the Count of *Soysons* onely excepted, who hath had some pretensions unto Madam, but those are now much discouraged, upon a free discourse the Cardinal of *Rochfalcont* made unto the Countesse his Mother, telling her, That if she or her son believed, or could expect, the King would give him his sister in marriage, they would (as he conceived) deceive themselves: for he imagined upon good grounds, that the King would bestow his Sister that way, that might be most for her honour and advancement, and likewise for the advantage of his Crown and Kingdom; and he professed for his part, although he much honoured the Count as a great Prince of the bloud, yet was he so faithful unto his Master, as he would advise him to that purpose.

The Queen Mother and Mounsieur *Le Grand* have advised me to say something unto the King concerning my businesse. I told them, I could say nothing very directly unto him, and yet would I not so much as deliver my opinion of the King my Masters inclinations to wish an alliance with him, unlesse I were assured, his answers might make me see his value, and respect unto him. They then spake unto him, and assured me, I should in that be satisfied. Having that promise from them, I told the King, that I had made this journey of purpose to declare unto him my humble service and thankfulnesse for all his Honours and favours, the which I thought I could not better expresse, then by informing his Majestie, that our Prince whom he had ever so much valued, would be as I conceived free, and dis-ingaged from our Spanish Treatie, by reason that the King could not find them answer his expectation in those things that made him principally desire their Conjunction; the which your Lordship seeing you have exercised your interest and credit with the King your Master, and the Prince to convert those thoughts towards his Majestie, from whom, you were perswaded nothing but truth and honour would be returned, the which at this time more then ever, would be an infinite advantage to both these Kingdoms, and that I believed if his Majestie

she would shew a disposition, as affectionate to receive Propositions to this purpose, as the King my Master had to make them, a long time would not passe before the effects of this might appear, the which would shew the report raised here of the ends of my coming to be false and me to be free of all other designs, then those which I had expressed unto him. He told me, that he had not heard, that the Spanish Match was yet broken, the which justly might give him cause to be reserved; yet thus far he would assure me in the general, That whatsoever should be propounded unto him from the King of Great *Brittain*, he would most heartily and affectionately receive it: but this was with such a fashion of Courtesie, as shewed that he desired cause to have said more, and I am fully satisfied not onely from him, but the Queens, and most of all of Madam her self, who shewes all the sweetnesse and contentment that may be, and likewise from all the Officers of the Crown, and State, that they can desire nothing equal with this alliance. A better and more large preparation then this my instructions cannot make, and I wonder to see it thus fair, considering the hinderances and defacings the *Spanish* Embassadour desires to cast upon it, who besides the *Rodomontado's* and threatenings of the preparations of his Master, doth here take a contrary, but cunning way, letting them know, that the Prince cannot have two Wives, for their Infanta is surely his, onely to create a jealousie and shieneſſe in them towards me, that he suspects labours to do offices that are not to his liking.

You will therefore I hope speedily put this State out of these doubts, and clearly and freely proceed with them. Upon my credit and reputation, they are all of that disposition, that we can wish them to be, and it appears by their tender care of the States, and their resolution to ayd them: And likewise in sending Captain *Coborn*, that came from the Duke of *Brunswick* to demand a supplie of men, who is returned with answer unto him, that he shall have double what he required, and great satisfaction to the Count *Mansfelt*, that sent a Gentleman hither, to let the King know, he was not yet in such disorder, but that he could assemble his Troops to such a number, as might do his Majestie good service, if he would be pleased to take him into his protection and favour.

And the King hath sent a Gentleman of the Religion a *Sedanois* to *Leige*, to give information to this State of the proceedings of the *Spaniards* there, and to be ready to receive (if the Town shall seek it) the protection of them. But these passages I am sure you continually understand from our Embassadour, the which makes me omit

many particularities in this kind that I could inform you of. I have sent this Bearer of purpose, the which I beseech your Grace return with some speed, and with him the resolutions of our dear and Sacred Master, whom God ever blesse and keep to our glorie and comfort.

My Lord I am

The humblest and most obliged of all your Graces servants,

*Kensington.*

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## *The Lord* Kensington *to the Secretary the Lord* Conway.

*Right Honourable,*

ACcording to his Majesties order which your last of April the 14. derived unto me, I have represented such reasons to the King, and his ministers of State here, against the sending of any person, in what quality soever, to the Duke of *Bauiers*, as they acquiesce in them; speciallie for that they come commanded under his Majesties desire, which they professe to be very willing to comply with, not only in this, but in any other occasion wherein his Majestie may directly, or indirectly be any way interessed.

I took the same opportunity of preparing the way a little farther to a formal treaty of alliance, by feeling once again their pulse in matters of religion, and find, that it beats so temperately, as promises a very good Crisis of any thing that may concern that particular.

I dealt plainely with the Marqueſſe *de la Veiville* touching the course that his Majestie may be driven to hold against Jesuites and Priests, of banishing them the Kingdom; and of quickning the lawes against the other Catholiques, as well out of necessity of reducing them within the bounds of sobriety and obedience, as of keeping good intelligence with his Parliament, without which he could not possibly go thorough with such a weighty work, as he is now to undertake. He approved of the course for the ends sake; under hope notwithstanding that his Majestie would not tie his own hands from

from ſome moderate favour hereafter, which is all they pretend unto, and deſire it may flow from the mediation of this State upon an alliance here, for the ſaving of their honour, who otherwiſe will be hardly reputed Catholiques.

In repreſenting a facility in theſe things, I leave no other difficulties to be imagined.

Their good inclination to the match in general they are willing to demonſtrate, (as by many other evidences, ſo), by the care, they are now under of lodging, and defraying my Lord of *Carlile*, and my ſelf in a more ſplendid and Magnifique manner, then ever yet they did any Embaſſadour whatſoever, for ſuch is the language that *Ville-anx Cleres* holds to me upon that ſubject.

The Count of *Soiſſons* ſees it, and ſtormes, and manifeſts his diſcontent towards me (who am the inſtrument) more fellie then diſcreetly. I encountred him the other day, and gave him the due that belonged to his rank, but inſtead of returning me my ſalute, he diſdainfullie turned back his head. I was ſomewhat ſenſible thereof, and I told *Mounſieur de Grandmont* of it, and as he, and I were diſcourſing of it the day following, *Soiſſons* offered himſelf full butt upon us a ſecond time. I again repeated my courteſie, and he is childiſh in civility. *Grandmont* found it ſtrange, and intimated to the Marqueſſe *de la Valette* a familiar, and confident of the Counts both my obſervation, and his own diſtaſte of ſuch an uncivil kind of proceeding. *Valette* conveyes the ſame to *Soiſſons* himſelf, who anſwered that he could not afford me a better countenance, not for any ill will he bore unto my perſon, but to my errand and negotiation; which (were it not in the behalf of ſo great a Prince) went ſo near his heart, as he profeſſed, he would cut my throat if he could. Nay, were any Prince of *Savoy*, *Mantova*, or *Germany* here in perſon to ſollicit for themſelves in the like nature, he would hazard his life in the cauſe. Such is the language that deſpaire brings forth, which put me into an expectation of no leſſe then a challenge to decide the quarrel. And I once verily believed it ſent, for the Count *de Lude* came very ſoberly to me, and told me, he had a meſſage to deliver me from a great Perſonage, which he intreated he might do without offence.

I deſired him to ſpeak freely what it was, and from whom He told me he was ſent by the Count of *Soiſſons*, and I preſently replyed that nothing ſhould come amiſſe from him. In concluſion the errand was to ſignifie an extream liking, that the Count took to one of my Horſes, which he was deſirous to buy of me upon any rate. I anſwered

ed, that if the Count would expresse to me his desire himself, and receive him of guift, he should be at his service, otherwise he should remain still as he was. Since that I have met him, & been prevented with a very courteous salute from him. I have been thus ample in these particular passages betwixt the Count and my self, that by the trouble you find in his disconsolate breast, you may judge of the constancie of Madams heart towards our Prince, upon whom assuredly it is most strongly set, (as she continually expresses upon all occasions.) Yesterday I had the honour to entertain her two hours together, and received so many testimonies of respect, as witnessed very warm affections towards the Personage I did represent. Amongst other discourse, She fell to speak of Ladies riding on horseback, which she said was rare here but frequent in *England*, and then expressed her delight in that exercise.

There is lately arrived here a French Genleman (*Duport* by name) with commission from the King of *Bohemia* to sollicit this Kings favour (in consequence of his Majesties generous, and Gracious declaration in his behalf) for the recovering of his rightful inheritance, to intreat that *Baviers* may no wayes be countenanced in his unjust pretensions, and to crave (in this his extreamity) a reimbursement of the remainder of that sum, which his father lent to *Henry* the fourth in the times of his necessities, which may arise to the sum of 30000 Crownes; the facilitating of this negotiation is recommended unto me, who contribute what I can to the good successe thereof. There hath happened here this last Munday a dispute between the Marquis *de Courtenvant* one of the first Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, and the Colonel *de Ornano* (*Mounseiurs* Governour) about a lodging, which this pretended unto as most convenient for him, in regard that it adjoyned to that of *Mounseiurs*; but the other claimed a right unto it by a former assignation, and possession. *Ornano* at the first prevailed, till the other complained to the King, who commanded the Colonel to quit the lodging to him; which his people refusing (out of a presumption perhaps, that the commandement was rather formal then real) the King sent 3. or 4. of his guard to reiterate the commandement, and in case of refusal to obey, to cast out all the stuff, and to kill all such as should oppose. Thus *Courtenvant* got the day; perhaps by *Vievilles* recommendation in opposition of *Toiras*, between whom, there hath been lately a little contestation upon this occasion. *Vieville* being desirous to strengthen himself, and to stand upon the surest bottom he could, endeavoured to joyn a confident of his in equal commission with the *Garde des Seaux*, that so he might

in

in time work it out, and prevail himſelf of that office at his devotion. The *Garde des Seaux* finding feeble reſiſtance in himſelf, addreſſed his courſe to *Toirax* to ſeek under his Covert ſhelter from that diſgrace, and injurie. *Toirax* undertakes his defence; *Vieville* expoſtulates the matter with him, and alleadges many reaſons to juſtifie his intentions, which the other gainſaying, with ſome little warmneſſe, hath occaſioned by that heat, a coldneſſe of affection between them ever ſince, and that ſo far forth, as it hath grown to be notorious.

To the ſame original, I reduce the Cardinal *de Richlieus* introduction into the Councel of the Cabinet by the favour of *Vieville* (being made alſo an Inſtrument thereunto by the Queen) that by making his own partie ſtrong in Councel, he may the more eaſily cruſh any adverſarie, that ſhall grapple with him. Yeſterday he was admitted; ſo that now that Councel is compoſed of the Queen Mother, the Cardinal *de la Rouch-foulcant*, *Richlieu*, the Conſtable *Vieville*, and the *Garde des Seaux*.

Before I had finiſhed this Letter, I had occaſion to viſit the Conſtable, to whom I uſed the ſame language, that formerly I had done to *la Vieville*, and with the like approbation. And when I touched upon the point of diſpenſation, how it might be paſſed over, he aſſured me in general, that ſuch was the diſpoſition of this King, and State to give the Prince content, as he might be (in a manner) his own Carver how he pleaſed.

This is the account I can give you of the publique: but how ſhall I expreſſe the deep ſenſe I have of my obligations to your favour in particular? ſhall I multiply in thanks? It is too ordinary a payment for ſo many Noble expreſſions of your love. I will rather endeavour by my deeds conſtantly and continually to witneſſe unto you, that I intirely reſt

Your moſt faithful and moſt
Humble Servant,

*Kenſington.*

The

*My most dear, and Noble Lord,*

BEsides that joynt Letter to your Lordship from my Colleague, and my self, I think fit to add this particular account of what passed yesterday at *Ruel* betwixt Queen Mother, and me; whither going to give her double thanks; as for the libertie, she had given me of accesse at all times to Madam, to entertain her henceforth with a more free, and amorous kind of language from the Prince; so for having so readily condescended to an humble suit of mine in the behalf of my Lord of *Carlile* for a favourable Letter for him to your Lordship; she was pleased to oblige me farther in telling me she did it meerly for my sake. I redoubled my thanks, and added, that I knew your Lordship would esteeme it one of the greatest happinesses that could befal you to have an occasion offered, whereby you might witnesse, how much you adored her Majesties royal virtues, and how infinitely you were her Servant, readie to receive law from her, whensoever by the least syllable of her blessed Lips or Penn, she should please to impose it. And this I did (as on the one side to gratifie my Colleague, who would be infinitely sensible of the disgrace he apprehends in the misse of the *Ribbon*, being thus brought upon the Stage for it) as also to help to mesnage that your Gratious favour which *Mounsieur de Fiatts* to my Lord represents unto him, by giving you meanes withal to oblige this sweet & blessed Queen, who hath your Lordship in a very high account, and would be glad to find occasions how she may witnesse it. The mention of my Lord of *Carlile* upon this occasion refreshed her remembrance of the late falling out betwixt the Cardinal and him; and though she were sufficiently informed of the particulars by the Cardinal himself, yet she would needs have a relation from me, who in a merrie kind of fashion obeyed her command, and salved every thing the best I could. She would needs know my opinion of the Cardinal, who so magnified to her his wisdom, his courage, his courtesie, his fidelity to her service, his affection to our businesse as pleased her not a little. Neither did my heart and my tongue differ, for I esteem him such. This discourse she left to fall upon a better subject, the Prince, concerning whose voyage into Spain, the censure of *Italie* (she said) was, that two Kings had therein committed two great errours. The one in adventuring so precious a pledge to so hazardous an enterprise, the other in badly using so brave a guest. The first, Madam, (answered I) may be excused from the end, the common good of all Christendom,

dom, which then standing upon desperate tearmes, had need of a desperate remedie. The second had need of a better advocate then I, to put any colour of defence upon it.

But his Highnesse had observed as great a weaknesse and follie as that, in that after they had used him so ill, they would suffer him to depart, which was one of the first speeches he uttered after he was entred into the ship. But did he say so? said the Queen. Yes Madam I will assure you (quoth I) from the witnesse of my own eares. She smiled, and replyed, Indeed I heard he was used ill. So he was (answered I) but not in his entertainement, for that was as splendid as that countrie could afford it, but in their frivolous delayes, and in the unreasonable conditions, which they propounded, and pressed (upon the advantage they had of his Princely Person.) And yet (smilingly added I) you here (Madam) use him far worse. And how so? presently demanded she? In that you presse (quoth I) upon that most worthie, and Noble Prince, (who hath with so much affection to your Majesties service, so much passion to Madam sought this Alliance.) The same, nay more unreasonable conditions then the other, and what they traced out for the breaking of the match you follow, pretending to conclude it very unseasonablely in this Conjuncture of time, especiallie when the jealousies, that such great changes in state, are apt to beget, are cunningly fomented by the Spanish Embassadour in *England*, who vaunts it forth, that there is not so great a change in *La Vievilles* particular person, as there is in the general affections, which did but follow before the stream of his Greatnesse and credit.

Thus casting in the Kings mind the seed of doubts, whereunto the *Conde de Olivares* in Spain hath been willing to contribute by this braving speech to our Royal Masters Embassadour there, That if the Pope ever granted a dispensation for the match with *France*, the King of Spain would march with an armie towards *Rome* and sack it. *Vrayement nous l'en empescherons bien* (promptly answered She) *Car nous lui taglierons assez de besongne ailleurs. Mais qu'est-ce qui vous presse le plus.* I represented unto her the unfitnesse of the seventh Article (even qualified by that interpretation, that it is) and the impossibility of the Jast which requires, and prescribes an oath. And desired that the honour of the Prince (with whom she pretended a will to match her Daughter) might be dearer to her, then to be ballanced with that, which could add nothing to their assurance. I also humbly besought her to imploy her Credit with the King her son, her authority to the Ministers for a reformation of those two Articles

especially, and a friendly, and speedy dispatch of all.

And if we must come to that extreamitie, that more could not be altered, then already was, yet at least she would procure the allowance of this protestation by the King our Master, when he should swear them, that he intended no further to oblige himself by that oath, then might well stand with the safety, peace, tranquility, and conveniency of his State. This shee thought reasonable, and promised to speak with the King and Cardinal about it. And if you speak as you can (replied I) I know it will be done, Though when all is done, I know not whether the King my Master will condescend so far yea, or no. Here I intreated I might weary her Majestie no further, but take the libertie she had pleased to give me in entertaining Madam with such Commandments as the Prince had charged me withall to her. She would needs know what I would say. Nay then (smiling quoth I) your Majestie will impose upon me the like Law that they in *Spain* did upon his Highnesse. But the case is now different (said she) for there the Prince was in person, here is but his Deputie. But a Deputie (answered I) that represents his person. *Mais pour tout cela* (*dit elle*) *qu' est ce que vous direz? Rien* (*dis-re*) *qui ne Soit digne des oreilles d'vne si vertueuse Princesse. Mais qu' est ce?* redoubled she? Why then Madam (quoth I) if you will needs know, it shall be much to this effect; That your Majestie having given me the libertie of some freer Language then heretofore, I obey the Prince his Command, in presenting to her his service, not by way of Complement any longer, but out of passion, and affection, which both her outward, and her inward beauties (the vertues of her mind) so kindled in him, as he was resolved to contribute the uttermost he could to the Alliance in question, and would think it the greatest happinesse in the world, if the succesſe thereof might minister occasion of expressing in a better, and more effectual manner his devotion to her service; with some little other such like amorous Language. *Allez, Allez, Il n'y a point de danger en tout cela* (smilingly answered she) *je me fie en vous, je me fie en vous.* Neither did I abuse her trust, for I varied not much from it, in delivering it to Madam, save that I amplified it to her a little more, who drank it down with joy, and with a low Curtesie acknowledged it to the Prince; adding, that she was extreamly obliged to his Highnesse, and would think her self happie in the occasion, that should be presented of meriting the place shee had in his good Graces.

After that, I turned my speech to the old Ladies that attended, and told them, That sith the Queen was pleased to give me this liberty, it would

would be henceforth fit for them to ſpeak a ſuitable Language. I let them know that his Highneſſe had her Picture, which he kept in his Cabinet, and fed his eyes many times with the ſight, and contemplation of it; ſith he could not have the happineſſe to behold her perſon. All which and other ſuch like ſpeeches, ſhe (ſtanding by) took up without letting any one fall to the ground.

But I fear your Lordſhip will think I gather together too much to enlarge my Letter thus far: but it is, that by theſe Circumſtances your Lordſhip may make a perfect judgment of the iſſue of our negotiation, which I doubt not but will ſucceed to his Majeſties, his Highneſſe, and your Lordſhips contentment: And ſo yeeld matter of triumph to you, and infinite joy to me

Your Lordſhips

Moſt humble, moſt obliged, and moſt obedient ſervant,

*Kenſington.*

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## *The Lord* Kenſington *to the Duke.*

*My moſt dear Lord,*

THis Bearer your Couſen's going is in ſuch haſte, as what you receive from me muſt be in very few words. I was yeſterday with the Marqueſſe *de Vieville*, whom I find cordial to do good offices between ours, and this Kingdome; and he aſſures me by all the promiſes and proteſtations that may be, he will ever uſe his credit and power to do ſo, knowing theſe Kingdoms can (as the King of Spain's power and ambition increaſes) have no true ſafetie and good, unleſſe we joyn in friendſhip and alliance. He is very free to me, telling me, That to prevent this, the King of Spain offers now the largeſt conditions of ſatisfaction and friendſhip that can be imagined, but their thoughts here are wholly bent towards us; And although as yet, the King cannot with honour or wiſdom ſay more then he hath done, yet we may be aſſured when we are free, to be ſatisfied in all we can deſire.

This day I underſtand the Earl of *Argile* is like lightning paſſed by

for *Spain*, and by a special Command from the King it is to put us in more terrour; That he will use his service in *Scotland*, where I believe he hath little credit and power to offend us. But howsoever they omit nothing that may dishearten us, but we are of too noble and constant a temper, either to fear their cunning or power.

My Lord, give me leave to beseech you, not to defer our businesse, for never can this State be found so rightly and truly inclined in love and affection towards us. And the rather hasten it, because all the art that may be is daily used from *Spain* to prevent us, and if we go not roundly and clearly with them here, they may have jealousies and discouragements that may change them: Take them therefore now, when I dare promise they are free, very free from those thoughts. My Lord, pardon the haste of this Letter, that hath no more time given me but to tell you, that you never can have any servant more devotedly yours, then is

Your Graces

Most obliged and most
humble servant,

*Kensington.*

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## *The Earl of* Holland *to the Duke.*

*My dearest Lord,*

WEE have made a final conclusion of this great Treatie. Upon what terms the dispatch at large will shew your Grace: We have concluded honourably, that which we could not do safely; for to receive words, that obliged not, would have appeared an unwise, and unperfect Treatie of our part, and no way worthy of the greatnesse of our Master, nor the passion of his Highnesse, the which now hath a brave expression, since his Mistresse is only considered, and desired, and the only object of our Treatie. But I must tell you, that since we have proceeded thus, they say, they will out-go us in the like braverie, doing ten times more then we expect, or they durst promise, fearing the World would conceive all their doings conditionally; the which would be dishonourable for Madam. But that being safe, they now say their interest is greater then ours for the recovering of the *Palatinate*, and they will never abandon us in that action.

action I hope we shall shortly have the honour and happinesse to see you. Grace here; where you will be (as justly you deserve) adored. You must make haste, for we are promised our sweet Princesse within six weeks. I beseech you let me know your resolution, that I may contrive which way I may best serve you against your coming. I have carefully laboured according unto your Commands in that which the Marquesse *de Fiat*. You may assure him of a speedie and good successe in it, the which he will more fully understand, when Mounsieur *de la Ville-aux-Clercs* shall be in *England*. He begins his journey from hence within 3. daies. He is worthy of the best reception that can be given him, having throughout all this Treatie carried himself discreetly and affectionately. I beseech you put the Prince in mind to send his Mistris a Letter: And though I might as the first Instrument imployed in his amours, expect the honour to deliver it; yet will I not give my Colleague that cause of envie. But if his Highnesse will write a private Letter unto Madam, and in it expresse some particular trust of me: And that my relations of her, have increased his passion, and affection unto her service, I shall receive much honour, and some right, since I onely have expressed what concerned his passion and affection towards her. If you think me worthy of this honour, procure a Letter to this purpose, and send it me to deliver unto her, and likewise your Commands, the which I will receive for my greatest comforts: living in unhappinesse untill I may by my services expresse how infinitely, and eternally I am.

Your Graces

Most humble, and most obliged
and devoted servant,

*Holland.*

*Postscript.*

THe Presents that the Prince will send unto Madam, I beseech you hasten.

*The*

*May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſtie,*

WE are in all the pain that may be, to know what to anſwer to the malicious and continual complaints made by *Blanville* of wrongs and violences done him, even to the aſſaulting of him in his own lodging, the which he hath repreſented with ſo much bitterneſſe, as it took great impreſſion here in the hearts of all, eſpecially of the Queen Mother, whom yeſterday I ſaw in the accuſtomed priviledge hath ever been given me, to have at all times my entrance free into the *Louure*. And I the rather went, becauſe I would not ſhrink at all their furies and clamours, and it came to ſuch a height, as Petitions were given by Madam *de Blanvile*, that ſhe might for the injuries done to her husband his Embaſſadour, have ſatisfaction upon our perſons. But ſhe was (as ſhe deſerved) deſpiſed for ſo paſſionate a follie, yet was it in conſideration (as I ſuſpect) by a word that the Queen Mother uttered in her paſſion to me, who with tears before all the World, being accompanied by all the Princeſſes and Ladies, told me, (but ſoftlie) That if your Majeſtie continued to affront, and ſuffer ſuch indignities to be done to the Embaſſadour of the King her Son, your Majeſtie muſt look that your Embaſſadours ſhall be uſed *a la pareylie*. I confeſſe this ſtirred me ſo much, as I told her, That if the intentions of your Majeſtie were no better conſidered by the King here, your Majeſtie commanding us for the good and happineſſe of his Kingdom, to endeavour to bring, and give him (the which we have done) the greateſt bleſſing in this World, Peace in his Countrie, then to be ballanced with a perſon, that in requital hath ſtirred up, and dailie deſires to do it, diſputes, and jarres, even between your Majeſtie, and the Queen, we had reaſon to believe your Majeſtie moſt unjuſtly, and moſt unworthily requited. And it might take away upon any ſuch occaſion, the care, that otherwiſe you would have had to do the like. And for my part, it took from me all deſire ever to be imployed upon any occaſion hither, where our Actions, that their acknowledgments have been acceptable but a few daies paſt, are now of ſo little conſideration, as we are of no more weight, then the unworthieſt Miniſter that ever was imployed. Upon that I found, ſhe was ſorrie for having expreſſed ſo much. But this day we had from her a more favourable audience, and from the King the effects and circumſtances of that which we have in our Diſpatch preſented unto my Lord *Conway*.

Sir,

Sir, the malice of this *Blanvile* is so great unto your worthie servant my Lord Duke, as he hath written a private Letter unto the King, the which I saw by the favour of a friend, that he is in a condition of danger to be ruined by the furie and power of the Parliament. And to confirm him in that opinion, hath sent all the passages amongst them that concern my Lord Duke; adding to that, of great factions against him at the Councel Table, and naming some Lords, the which makes me see, he hath intelligence with all those, that he believes may contribute any thing towards the mischieving of him. But those that know the magnanimitie and nobleness of your Majesties heart, know that so noble a vessel of honour and service as he is, shall never be in danger for all the storms that can threaten him: when it is in your Majesties hands not onely to calm all these tempests, but to make the Sun, and beams of your favour to shine more clearly upon his deservings then ever, the which upon this occasion your courage and virtue will no doubt do, to the encouragement of all deserving, and excellent servants, and to his honour and comfort that is the most worthie that ever Prince had: And so affectionate, that the world hath no greater admirations, then the fortunes that the Master and servant have run together. And certainly our good God will ever preserve that affection, that in so many accidents, and one may say afflictions, hath preserved your Persons.

Sir, this boldness, that I take, proceeds not from the least doubt these foolish rumours give me of changes, but out of a passionate meditation of those accidents, that your courage and fortune hath carried you through, blessing God for your prosperitie, the which will be by his grace most glorious, and lasting, according to the prayers of

Your Majesties

Most humble, and most obedient
Subject, and servant,

*Holland.*

*Paris* $\frac{3}{13}$. *March*, 1625.

*The*

## *The Earl of* Holland *to the Duke.*

*My dear Lord,*

THis Messenger is so rigid, and such an enemie to all *Jantileise*, as by him I will not send any news in that kind; but when the little *Mercurie* comes, you shall know that which shall make you joy, and grieve that you cannot injoy what your fate and merit hath so justly destined unto you. We have such daily alarums here out of *England* from *Blanvile*, of the beating of his servant, and at the last the danger, that of late he himself hath been in, of being assassinated in his own house; for the first word that his servant said unto the King, and the whole Court was, The Embassadour had run such a hazard of his life, as no man that heard him believed he had escaped with lesse then 5. or 6. wounds. Insomuch as your friend *Bonteve* asked, *Fait vn belle fine*: And this hath so animated this Court, being (as your Lordship knowes) apt upon all occasions to be fired, and stirred up, as the King hath been moved to forbid us our entries, and liberties here. And yesterday Madam *de Blanvile* did openly petition the King to imprison us for the wrongs and injuries done unto her husband, and his Embassadour, that she feared was by this time dead. But that had no other effect but to be laught at. I never (I confesse) saw the Queen Mother in so much distraction and passion, for she never speaks of her Daughter but with tears, and yesterday with some heat and bitternesse to me about it: the Circumstances I have taken the boldnesse to present unto his Majestie. That which distracts me infinitely, is to hear, that they do traduce you, as the cause of all these misfortunes, and that you stirre up the King to these displeasures. And so much impression it hath made into the Queen Mother, as this day at the audience she told me, That you had made the marriage, and were now, as she imagined, and was informed, resolved to destroy your work. I asked her what particularitie could make her say, and believe so against the general, and continual actions and endeavours, that the whole world ought to be satisfied of your infinite care, and affection, to fasten and tye together a good, and constant intelligence and friendship between these Crowns. She told me, that you intreated Madam *de St. George* to do some service for you to the Queen, the which she did, and instead of giving her thanks, you threatned the sending of her away. I told her, Though I had as yet heard nothing of this particularitie, yet I knew your nature to be so generous, as you would never do any action unjust. I told her, that she

she must distinguish between what you say as Commanded by the King, and what you say of your self: for if it be his pleasure to make the instrument to convey his will upon any occasion of his displeasure, you are not to dispute, but to obey his Command in that, and in all other things. I told her farther, that I saw the continual malice of the Embassadour, that invents daily injuries and falshoods of your Lordship, to unload himself from his insolencies and faults; but I hoped that nothing should light upon your Lordship, but what you deserved, the which to my knowledge was more value and esteem, then any man in the world could, or can ever merit from this Kingdome. And I desired her, not to entertain the belief of these things too hastily, until we had newes out of *England*, that we knew would contradict all these malitious discourses. And I must tell your Grace, that by a friend (whom I am tyed not to name) I was shewed the private Lettter that *Blanvile* wrote to the King, in the which he sent him the whole proceedings of the Parliament; and concludes they will ruine you, naming great factions against you, and as it were a necessitie to destroy you. But I hope he, and the whole world here will fall, before any misfortunes should fall upon so generous, and so noble a deserver of his Master, and so excellent a friend and Patron unto

Your Graces

Most humble, and most obedient servant,

*Holland.*

*Postscript.*

THough the Embassadour deserves nothing but contempt and disgrace as *Blanvile*, yet I hope as Embassadour he shall receive (for publique Honours and accustomed respect to Embassadours) all possible satisfaction, and it will be conceived a generous action.

*My dearest Lord,*

ALL the joy I have, hath such a flatness set upon it by your absence from hence, as I protest to God, I cannot relish it as I ought; for though beautie and love I find in all perfection and fulnesse, yet I vex, and languish to find impediments in our designs and services for you: first in the businesse, for I find our mediation must have no place with this King concerning a Peace. We must only use our power with those of the Religion, to humble them to reasonable Conditions, and that done, they would as far as I can guesse have us gone, not being willing that we should be so much as in the Kingdom, when the Peace is made, for fear the Protestants may imagine, we have had a hand in it. For our Confederation, made by you at the *Hague*, they speak so of it, as they will do something in it, but not so really or friendly as we could wish. But for these things, you allow me, (I trust) to refer you to the general Dispatch: I come now to other particulars; I have been a careful Spie how to observe intentions, and affections towards you. I find many things to be feared, and none to be assured of a safe and real welcome. For the ⚓ continues in his suspects, making (as they say) very often discourses of it, and is willing to hear *Villanes* say, That ♡ hath infinite affections, you imagine which way. They say there is whispered amongst the foolish young Bravado's of the Court, That he is not a good *Frenchman* that suffers ⚓ to return out of *France*, considering the reports that are raised, many such bruits flie up and down. I have since my coming given Queen Mother by way of discourse occasion to say somewhat concerning your coming, as the other night when she complained to me, That things were carried harshly in *England* towards *France*; I then said, That the greatest unkindnesse and harshnesse came from hence, even to forbid your coming hither, a thing so strange, and so unjust, as our Master had cause, and was infinitely sensible of it. She fell into discourse of you, desiring you would respect, and love her daughter; and likewise that she had, and would ever command her to respect you above all men, and follow all your Councels (the matter of her Religion excepted) with many professions of value and respect unto your Person; but would never either excuse what I complained of, or invite you to come upon that occasion.

sion. But though neither the busineſſe gives me cauſe to perſwade your coming, nor my reaſon for the matter of your ſafetie; yet know you are the moſt happie, unhappie man alive, for ♡ is beyond imagination right, and would do things to deſtroy her fortune, rather then want ſatisfaction in her mind. I dare not ſpeak as I would, I have ventured I fear too much, conſidering what practiſes accompany the malice of the people here. I tremble to think whether this will find a ſafe conveyance unto you. Do what you will, I dare not adviſe you; to come is dangerous, not to come is unfortunate. As I have lived with you, and only in that enjoy my happineſſe, ſo I will die with you, and I proteſt to God for you, to do you the leaſt ſervice, &c.

*Poſtſcript.*

HAve no doubt of the partie that accompanied me, for he is yours with his ſoul, and dares not now (as things go) adviſe your coming.

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*Mr.* Lorkin *to the Duke, the* 30. *of* Auguſt, 1625.

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

FRom an honeſt and truly devoted heart, to receive the ſacrifice of moſt humble thanks, which come here offered for that exceſſe of favour, which I behold in thoſe gracious lines, that you are ſo nobly pleaſed to honour me withal; and which derive unto me farther, the height of all contentment, his Majeſties gracious acceptance of my poor endeavours; which howſoever they cannot ſhoot up to any high matter from ſo low an earth, yet (in their greateſt force) are eternally vowed (with the price of my deareſt blood) as to his Maſters faithful ſervice in the firſt place, ſo to your Graces in the next; who have received I doubt not ere this, what my former promiſed in the *Savoyard* Embaſſadours behalf, and that as well from his own pen, as mine. But this State is very *Euripus*, that flowes, and reflowes 7. times a day, and in whoſe waies is neither conſtancie, nor truth. The changes your Grace will find in my Letters to my Lord *Conway*,

whereunto I therefore make reference, becauſe I ſuppoſe, there will be but one Lecture thereof to his Majeſtie, and your ſelf.

There in likewiſe your Grace will ſee a ſuddain comandement laid upon *Monnſieur de Blanvile premire Gentilhome de la chambre du Roy* ſpeedily to provide himſelf to go extraordinary Embaſſadour into *England*. The cauſe thereof I rove at in my diſpatch, taking my aime from two darke ſpeeches to Queen Mother, and the Cardinal. I have ſince learned the interpretation of the riddle, not from the Cardinals lips (who yet being ſounded by me, pretended a further end then *Ville-aux-cleres* had done, viz; to entertain good intelligence betwixt the Queen of *England*, and your Grace, and to do you all the beſt offices, and ſervices that are poſſible;) but from the Duke *de Chevereux*, who (whatſoever pretexts may be taken) makes the true ends of that Voyage to be, firſt, to try whether this man can mend what (they conceive here) the Duke hath marred, in ſhewing himſelf more a ſervant to the King of *England*, then to his own King and Maſter. Secondly, to ſpie and diſcover what he can; and (according as he ſhall find cauſe) to frame Cabals, and factions, whereunto he is eſteemed very proper, being charactarized with the marks of a moſt ſubtile, prying, penetrating, and dangerous man.

And therefore as an Antidote againſt the poiſon he brings, the Duke gives this Caveat aforehand, That every one keep cloſe, and covert towards him, and avoid familiaritie with him, though (otherwiſe) he wiſhes a kind and honourable entertainment.

Thus much I received from the Dukes own lips yeſternight; (*Bonocil* being witneſſe, perhaps Counſellour of all that paſſed) he promiſed a memorial in writing this day, which I have attended till this evening, and even now receive it.

I have not touched the leaſt ſyllable hereof to my Lord *Conway*, becauſe I think both your Graces, and the Duke *de Chevereux's* will may concur in this, that theſe things be not ſubject to many eyes.

Even now the *Savoyard* Embaſſadour ſends an expreſſe Meſſenger unto me to haſten to *Fountain Bleau*. Perhaps it may be to facilitate the Treatie with *Rochel*, by either ſome Letter, or Journey of mine thither.

But upon the conference I have had with the Duke *de Chevereux*, I ſhall temporiſe, till I hear his Majeſties pleaſure, or ſee good evi-

dences

dences of generous effects like to ensue. Being desirous to shape my course so, as may be most acceptable to his Majestie, and pleasing to your Grace, whose virtues I adore, in qualitie of

Your Graces

Most humble, most faithful, and most obedient servant,

*Tho. Lorkin.*

*Postscript.*

THe Duke *de Chevereux* expects the Cypher from your Grace, if I be not deceived.

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## *Mr.* Lorkin *to the Duke* 17. September, 1625.

*May it please your Grace,*

TO read and consider two contrary advertisements; the one given me on Munday evening by *des Porches*, who repeating what he had told me before, (*D'avoir destrompé la Royne mere en mil, et mil choses*) assured me, that her thoughts were now so far changed from what they were, as she remitted every thing to his Majesties pleasure to do what he list, (provided, that he attempted not upon the conscience of the Queen her Daughter, which was the only point she was tender in, and scrupulous) that she had written a very sharp Letter, full of good lessons, and instructions to her, that she had as clear a heart to your Grace, as was possible; had sent for *Blanvil* expressely to alter his instructions, and that howsoever he (like a hollow-hearted man) had uttered in confidence to a friend of his, That he would perswade the Queen of *England* to put on a reconciled countenance for a time, till the way should be better prepared to give your Grace a dead lift, yet the Queen Mothers intentions were assuredly sincere and good. The *Savoyards* Embassadours voyage was not then resolved, but his Secretarie prepared to make it in his room. Of whom *Pocheres* (by the way) gave this touch, That there was a great correspondence between *Madamoiselle de Truges*, and him (contracted upon occasions of frequent visits, that had passed betwixt her Mother, and the Embassadour) and that therefore a careful eye was to be had of him. Another

Another (who must be nameless) sent for me yesterday in the forenoone to tell me, that *Pere Berule's* errand hither was only to make out-cries against the decree or proclamation against the Catholiques, and to accuse your Grace as the Principal, if not the only author, who was now of a seeming friend become a deadly foe. That the Earl of *Arundel* had (out of his respect unto this State) purposely absented himself, that he might not be guilty of so pernicious a Councel. That your Grace and my Lord of *Holland*, had both but very slippery hold in his Majesties affections; that if this King would imploy his credit as he might, it would be no hard matter to root you both out thence, that there were good preparatives for it alreadie, and that my Lords *Arundel*, and *Pembroke* would joyn hands and heads together to accomplish the effect. Whereupon *Blainville* was sent for back to be more particularly instructed in the waies how to compasse it; and would speedily post away in diligence. The same party added, that the propositions which the Marquesse *de Fiatt* had made bout the League, and Fleet, were before *Brule's* arrival somewhat well tasted, but since slighted, as those, that became cheap (by their offer to divers others, as well as them) that the said Marquesse should have visited *Blainville* at *Paris*, and sounded him about his errand after this manner.

First, whether he had order to disnestle Madam *de* St. *George*? Whereto the answer was, No; and that it was against all reason of State so to do; and when the other replyed, that the world was come to a bad passe, if reason of State descended as low as her, *Blainville* remained silent.

Secondly, whether he had commission to introduce the *Dutchesse* of *Buckingham* and the Counteesse of *Denbigh* into the Queenes bedchamber. Answer was made, that it was a nice, and tender point, and if that were once condescended to, they would be continually whispering in the Queenes ear, how dear she would be to the King her Husband, how plausible, and powerful among the people, how beloved of all, if she would change her religion, against which they were in conscience here bound to provide, and therefore conclude with a refusal of that likewise.

Thirdly, whether he carried any good instructions about an offensive, or defensive league whereunto the negative was still repeated; but that he carried brave offers for the entertainment of *Mansfelt*. And when the Marquesse replied, that if that were all the contentment he carried, he feared she would find but a very cold welcome; the other added, that perhaps he might be an Instrument to make the

the Queen and Duke friends. This were good (quoth the Marqueſſe) if the Queen had not as much need of the Dukes friendſhip, as the Duke of hers, and upon theſe terms they parted. The ſame lips that utterred all this, gave caution likewiſe againſt the *Savoyard* Embaſſadour, as a cunning, deep, hollow-hearted man. And being felt by me, how his pulſe beat towards *Porcheres*, told me he was a mercenarie man, and no wayes to be truſted. In the iſſue of all this, his Councel was, That your Grace would conſider well your own ſtrength, and what ground you have in his Majeſties favour, If it be ſolid, and good, then a Bravado will not do amiſſe (may be powerful here, to make them to ſee their own errour, and to walk upright) ſo it end with a good cloſe: but if your ſtation be not ſure, then he Counſels to prevent the ſtorm; for to break with all Spain, *France*, Puritanes, Papiſts, were not wiſdom; And deſires that by any meanes you inſtantly diſpatch a Currier to me to repreſent the true ſtate of things at home, and how you deſire matters ſhould be ordered for your ſervice here abroad, ſo that there may be fabriqued a more ſolid contentment to your Grace whoſe, hands I moſt humbly kiſſe in quality of

Your Graces

Moſt humble, moſt faithful, moſt obedient, and moſt obliged Servant,

*Tho. Lorkin.*

*Poſtſcript.*

IF my ſtay be intended long, it will be neceſſary that I uſe a Cypher, which I humbly beſeech your Grace to ſend me, or to give me leave to frame one as I can.

As I was cloſing up my Letter, Mr. *Gerbier* arrived, who hath been ſomewhat indiſpoſed in his health by the way, but now is reaſonably well God be thanked. His coming is very ſeaſonable, and I aſſure my ſelf will be uſeful.

By the diſcourſe, I have had with Mr. *Gerbier*, I ſee a little clearer into the ſtate of things here, and think *Porcheres* his advertiſement may be truer, as being perhaps grounded upon knowledge, the other ſpringing only upon conjecture, built upon *Berule's* clamours, and overtures, and the ſuddain ſending for *Mounſieur Blawville* back. Your Grace will ſee day in all ſhortly. But aſſuredly the latter advice comes from a heart that is affectionately devoted to your Graces ſervice.

vice. This Bearer will kisse your Graces hands from the Authour; and thereby you will know his name, which he stipulated might not come in writing.

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## *The Lord* Herbert *to his Majestie.*

*My most Gracious Soveraign,*

NOw, that, I thank God for it, his Highnesse according to my continual prayers, hath made a safe, and happie return, unto your Sacred Majesties presence, I think my self bound by way of Compleat obedience to these Commandements I received from your Majestie, both by Mr. Secretary *Calvert*, and my Brother *Henry*, to give your Majestie an account of that sense, which the general sort of people doth entertain here concerning the whole frame and Context of his Highnesse voyage. It is agreed on all parts, that his Highnesse must have received much contentment, in seeing two great Kingdomes, and consequently in enjoyning that satisfaction, which Princes, but rarely, and not without great peril, obtain. His Highnesse discretion, diligence, and Princely behaviour every where likewise is much praised. Lastly, since his Highnesse journey hath fallen out so well, that his Highnesse is come back, without any prejudice to his person, or dignity, they say the successe hath sufficiently commended the Councel. This is the most common censure (even of the biggest party, as I am informed) which I approve in all, but in the last point, in the delivery whereof I find something to dislike, and therefore tell them, that things are not to be judged alone, by the successe, and that, when they would not look so high as Gods providence, without which no place is secure, they might find even in reason of State, so much, as might sufficiently warrant his Highnesse person, and liberty to return.

I will come from the ordinary voice to the selecter judgement, of the Ministers of State, and more intelligent people in this Kingdom, who, though they nothing vary from the above recited opinion, yet as more profoundly looking into the state of this long treated of Alliance betwixt your Sacred Majestie, and Spain, in the persons of his Highnesse, and the Infanta, they comprehended their sentence thereof (as I am informed) in three Propositions.

First, that the protestation which the King of Spain made to his Highnesse upon his departure, whereby he promised to chase away, and

and disfavour all those, who should oppose this marriage, doth extend no further, then to the said Kings Servants, or at furthest, not beyond the temporal Princes, his Neighbours, so that the Pope being not included herein, it is, though his consent must be yet obtained, and consequently, that the businesse is in little more forwardnesse then when it first began.

Secondly, that the Pope will never yield his consent, unlesse your Sacred Majestie, grant some notable priviledges and advantage to to the Roman Catholique religion in your Sacred Majesties Kingdomes.

Thirdly, that the said King of Spain would never insist, upon obtaining those priviledges, but that he more desires, to form a party in your Sacred Majesties Kingdomes, which he may keep alwaies obsequious to his will, then to maintain a friendly correspondence between your Sacred Majestie, and himself. I must not in the last place omit to acquaint your Sacred Majestie, very particularly, with the sense which was expressed by the *bons Francois*, and bodie of those of the Religion, who heartily wish, that the same Greatnesse which the King of Spain doth so affect over all the world, and still maintaines even in this country, which is to be Protector of the Jesuited, and Bigott partie, your Sacred Majestie would imbrace, in being defender of our faith. The direct answer to which, though I evade, and therefore reply little more, then that this Counsel was much fitter, when the union in *Germany* did subsist, then at this time? Yet do I think my self obliged to represent the affection they bear unto your Sacred Majestie. This is as much as is come to my notice, concerning that point, your Sacred Majestie gave me in charge, which therefore I have plainely layd open, before your Sacred Majesties eyes, as understanding well, that Princes never receive greater wrong, then when the Ministers, they put in trust, do palliate and disguise those things, which it concerns them to know. For the avoiding whereof let me take the boldnesse to assure your Sacred Majestie, that those of this Kings Councel here, will use all meanes they can, both to the King of Spain, and to the Pope (In whom they pretend to have very particular intereſt) not only to interupt, but if it be possible to break off you Sacred Majesties Alliance with Spain. For which purpose the Count *de Tilliers* hath strict command, to give al punctual advice, that accordingly they may proceed. It rests, that I most humbly beseech your Sacred Majestie to take my free relation of these particulars in good part, since I am of no faction, nor have any passion, or interest; but faithfullie to perform that service,

and dutie which I owe to your Sacred Majestie, for whose perfect health, and happinesse, I pray with the devotion, of

Your Sacred Majesties most obedient, most Loyal, and most affectionate Subject and Servant,

*From* Merton *Castle the* 31. *of* October, 1623. Stil No. *Herbert.*

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## *Mr.* Edward Clark *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

I Have been hitherto very unfit (by reason of my sicknesse) to give your Lordship any account of my time at *Madrid.* So that without your Lordships favourable construction, I may be thought forgetful of the trust committed to my charge, and the rather, in that as yet your Lordship hath only heard what I have done, but not why. I presume I have faithfullie followed the Princes direction, and on such probable inducements, as will I hope both in your Highnesses and your Lordships opinion plead my excuse at least. The verie day the Prince arrived at St. *Anderar*, my Lord of *Bristol*, seeing me verie weak, told me he was verie sorrie, I was not able to perform the journie for *England*, for that now there was an extraordinary occasion of a dispatch, not only in respect of the ratification come the night before; but because also they were almost come to a final conclusion of all articles, which were to be engrossed, and signed the next day. Hereupon I was inquisitive to know what assurance he had the Ratification was come: He answered, that, that verie day, he had been summoned to attend the *Junto*, and that there they had earnestlie pressed him, that the Articles might be speedilie drawn up, and signed, since they had now received full warrant to authorize them to proceed; And that the next day was appointed accordingly. Thereupon unwilling to omit the present opportunitie, conceiving withal the purpose of the Princes Letter to be, either to expresse his Highnesse further pleasure before the meeting of the *Junto*, or to prevent the concluding of some other particular Article they might otherwise fall upon: I delivered his Letter to his Lordship (pretending it came to my hands amongst other Letters that same day) I found him exceedinglie troubled in reading it, nor did he forbear to tell me, it must for a time be concealed; for he feared

feared, if they should come to the knowledge of it they would give order to stay the Prince. Upon these motives, and in this manner I parted with it, wherein I humbly submitting my self to his Highnesse Construction, I remain

Your Graces humblest servant to command,

*Madrid*, 1. Octob. 1623.

*Ed. Clark.*

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## *Mr.* Edward Clark *to the Duke.*

*My Lord,*

THe Infanta's preparation for the *Disposorio* was great, but greater sorrow (good Ladie) to see it deferred. It hath bred in them all some distraction. The multitude know not what to conjecture, what to say, but cry *Piden el Palatinato.* They confesse the demand just, but unseasonable, and do publish, that (the *Disposorio* past) the Infanta on her knees should have been a suitor to the King to restore it, making it thereby her act, and drawing the obligation wholly to her. I must confesse, I want faith to believe it, and the rather, because I see it reflect secretly, and malitiously upon your Lordship, who are made the authour of all the impediments that happen, not by your enemies onely, but by those that should suppresse it. Which troubles me so much, that I hasten all I can my return, since I know no other then to be

Your Graces faithfulservant,

*Madrid*, 6. Sept. 1623.

*Edw. Clark.*

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## *Sir* Anthony Ashley *to the Duke.*

*May it please your good Lordship,*

IF any thing had happened worth your knowledge, I had either come or sent to *Theobalds* in your absence, being ascertained that your Lordship had been already particularly informed of what passed in the Higher House betwixt the Earl of *A.* and the *L. S.* which is the onely thing of note, and is thought will beget some noveltie.

Your Lordship may be most assured, that your Adversaries con-

tinue their meetings and conferences here in *Holborn*, how to give his Majeſtie ſome foul diſtaſte of you, as making you the onely authour of all grievances and oppreſſions whatſoever for your private ends. And I hope to be able within few daies (if promiſe be kept) to give you good overture of a mutual oath taken to this purpoſe amongſt them.

The rumour lately ſpread touching his Majeſties untimely pardon of the late Lord Chancellours Fine and Impriſonment, with ſome other favours intended towards him, (ſaid to be procured by your Lordſhips only intimation) hath exceedingly exaſperated the rancor of the ill affected, which albeit it be falſe, and unlikely, becauſe very unſeaſonably; It doth yet ſerve the preſent turn, for the increaſe of malice againſt you. I can but inform your Lordſhip of what I underſtand, you may pleaſe to make uſe thereof as your ſelf thinketh beſt.

I moſt humbly intreat your good Lordſhip to keep Letters of this nature either in your own Cabinet, or to make Hereticks of them: for I am well acquainted with the diſpoſition of ſome Pen-men in Court. Upon Meſſage even now received of my poor Daughters ſuddain dangerous ſickneſſe, I am conſtrained unmannerly to poſt unto her, being the onely comfort I have in this world, and do purpoſe God willing a ſpeedie return. In the mean time, and even with my heartie prayer I commend your good Lordſhip to Gods merciful and ſafe keeping. This 12th. of *May*, 1621.

Your honourable good Lordſhips
faithfully devoted,

*A. A.*

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## *Sir* Wa. Rawleigh *to the Duke*, 12. *Aug.*

IF I preſume too much, I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to pardon me, eſpecially in preſuming to write to ſo great and worthie a perſon, who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late, but moſt happie had I been, if I might have diſproved that villanie againſt me, when there had been no ſuſpition, that the deſire to ſave my life, had preſented my excuſe.

But my worthie Lord, it is not to excuſe my ſelf that I now write: I cannot; for I have now offended my Soveraign Lord: for all paſt, even

even all the world, and my very enemies have lamented my losse, whom now if his Majesties mercie alone do not lament, I am lost. Howsoever, that which doth comfort my soul in this offence is, that even in the offence it self, I had no other intent then his Majesties service, and to make his Majestie know, That my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth, and which with one Ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured, or to have died; being resolved (as it is well known) to have done it from *Plymouth*, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not onely to recover his Majesties gracious opinion, but to have destroyed all those malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that Gentleman whom I so much trusted, (my Keeper) and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but testifie, and wherein if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witnesse: Yea that Gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards *London*, I desired to save no other Treasure, then the exact description of those places in the *Indies*. That I meant to go hence as a discontented man, God I trust, and mine own Actions will disswade his Majestie. Whom neither the losse of my estate, thirteen years imprisonment, and the denial of my pardon could beat from his service, nor the opinion of being accounted a fool, or rather distract, by returning as I did, ballanced with my love to his Majesties person, and estate, had no place at all in my heart.

It was that last severe Letter from my Lords for the speedie bringing of me up, and the impatience of dishonour, that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment, never to recover my reputation lost, which strengthened me in my late, and too late lamented resolution, if his Majesties mercie do not abound: if his Majestie do not pitie my age, and scorn to take the extreamest and utmost advantage of my errours: if his Majestie in his great charitie do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-saving-natural impulsion, without all ill intent, and those of an ill heart; and that your Lordship, remarkable in the world for the Nobleness of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my Intercessour, whereby your Lordship shall bind an hundred Gentlemen of my kindred to honour your memorie, and bind me for all the time of that life which your Lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper, and over-bind me to remain

Your most humble servant,

*W. Rawleigh.*

Sir

## *Sir* Henry Yelverton *to the Duke*, 15. March, 1623.

*May it please your Grace,*

MY humble heart and affection hath wrote many lines, and presented many Petitions to your Grace before this time, though none legible but one sent by my Lord *Rochford*, within five daies after your most welcomed arrival from *Spain*.

I have learned the plain phrase of honest speech. My Lord, I have honoured your name long, and your own virtue much. I never found misfortune greater then this, that still sailing after you in all humble desires of dutie, I was still cast behind you. I excuse nothing, wherein your Grace may judge me faultie, but will be glad to expiate my errours at any price.

Your noble heart (I hope) harbours no memorie of what did then distaste you. Your own merits which have so much ennobled you, will be the more compleat, if I may but merit your forgetfulnesse of wrongs past. If I seek your Grace before I deserve it, enable me I beseech you to Deserve, that I may seek. If any, on whom you have cast your eye most, endear himself more to your service, then I shall; let me not follow the vintage at all. Till this day I feared the rellish of sowr Grapes, though I have sought you with many broken sleeps. But this Noble Earl, whose honour for this work shall ever with me be second to yours, hath revived me, with the assurance of your gracious pardon, and libertie to hope, I may be deemed your servant.

I protest to God, it is not the affluence of your honour makes me joy in it, nor the power of your Grace, that trains me on to seek it, but let the trial of all your fortunes speak thus much for me, that I will follow you, not as *Cyrus* his Captains and Souldiers followed him, the one for spoil, the other for place: but if with safetie to your Grace, though with peril to my self, I may serve you, let me die if I do it not, rather then want any longer, what my humble love ever led me to, and I still affect the honour

To be yours,

*Henry Yelverton.*

Sir

*Right Honourable,*

WIth what affection I have ſerved your Grace, I deſire rather it ſhould be read in my actions, then my words, which made me ſparing in my laſt relation to touch thoſe difficulties, wherewith my Letters have been checkt, that they might the more fully ſpeak themſelves. I ſhall not ſeek to gloſſe them now, but as they have been, leave them to your Graces acceptance, which I preſume ſo noble, that ſcandal or detraction cannot decline it. It were an injurie of your worth, which I dare not attempt, to inſinuate the opinion of any merit by falſe colours, or pretences, or with hard circumſtances to endear my labours, and might beget ſuſpition, ſooner then aſſurance in your credit, which I may not hazard. My innocence I hope needs not theſe, nor would I ſhadow the leaſt errour under your protection. But where my ſervices have been faithful, and not altogether vain, directed truly to the honour and benefit of your place, onely ſuffering upon the diſadvantage of your abſence, I muſt importune your Grace to ſupport my weakneſſe, that it may cauſe no prejudice of your rights and liberties, which I have ſtudied to preſerve, though with the loſſe of mine own. My inſiſtance therein hath expoſed me to a long impriſonment, and great charge, which ſtill increaſeth, and threatens the ruine of my poor fortunes, if they be not ſpeedily prevented. For which, as my endeavours have been wholly yours, I moſt humbly crave your Graces favour both to my ſelf, and them; In which I am devoted

Your Graces thrice-humble
Servant,

*J. Eliot.*

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## *The Earl of* Oxford *to the Duke.*

*My Lord,*

I Cannot but believe that I have had ſome undeſerved ill offices done me unto your Lordſhip, otherwiſe I ſhould not find this difficultie in being preferred, if not afore, at leaſt equally in ballance with my Accuſers. It is common unto all mens underſtanding, that it is not the

the guilt of the accuſed, but the legal and juſt proceeding, which cleares the Kings honour, and this I do, and ever will acknowledge to have been held towards me. Neither was it ever known, that the Kings Grace, the more it came ſweetned with his favour, did leſſen or diminiſh his honour, but rather ſeemed as a luſtre to make his goodneſſe ſhine brighter, and oblige the Receiver in a more ſtrict Tye of gratitude. My Lord, it cannot wrong you to oblige me to your ſervice, nor add reputation to you throw me upon Rocks. I appeal to the King, and your own Conſcience, whether ever I have harboured any treaſonable thoughts, either againſt his Majeſtie, or his iſſue, that ſhould make me uncapable of receiving his grace, without imputation to thoſe faithful and dutiful reſpects, with which I have ever ſerved his Majeſtie; If it ſhall pleaſe him to line me out my path to death (the period whither we muſt all travel to) by impriſonment, I ſhall be far from repining at the ſentence, but with all humbleneſſe, will undergo it, and employ my heartieſt prayers for the long continuance of his honour and happineſſe.

I beſeech your Lordſhip receive my Character of what I am, and have ever been towards you, not from Conjectures and reports of others, but from my own mouth, and actions. For yet I have reaſon to ſuſpect your opinion of me, elſe ſure I ſhould have found better fruits of your power. I was alwaies (as much as lay in me) deſirous to outſtrip, rather then come ſhort of any in doing you ſervice, and the ſame affections ſtill remain with me, of the truth of which I pray you be confident.

To this onely I will add one requeſt more, which is, That ſince your Lordſhip is pleaſed to mediate with his Majeſtie for my freedom, you will procure it ſo free from rubs, as that my obligation may be the greater, which I will ever willingly and faithfully pay unto your Lordſhip in all reſpects, like him, who truly is

Your Lordſhips, &c.

*H. O.*

*The*

*My Lord,*

THough you may judge what pleasure there is in the conversation of a man in the distemper you see your Brother in; yet the dutie I owe to a husband, and the affection I bear him, (which sickneſſe shall not diminish,) makes me much desire to be with him, to adde what comfort I can to his afflicted mind, since his onely desire is my Companie. Which if it please you to satisfie him in, I shall with a very good will suffer with him, and think all but my dutie, though I think every wife would not do so. But if you can so far dispense with the Lawes of God, as to keep me from my Husband, yet aggravate it not by restraining from me his means, and all other contentments, but which I think is rather the part of a Christian, you especially ought much rather to studie comforts for me, then to adde ills to ills, since it is the marriage of your Brother makes me thus miserable. For if you please but to consider not only the lamentable estate I am in, deprived of all Comforts of a husband, and having no means to live of: besides falling from the hopes my fortune then did promise me, for you know very well I came no beggar to you, though I am like so to be turned off.

For your own honor, and Conscience sake, take some course to give me satisfaction, to tye my tongue from crying to God, and the world for vengeance for the unworthy dealing I have received. And think not to send me again to my Mothers, where I have stayed this quarter of a year, hoping (for that my Mother said you promised,) order should be taken for me, but I never received pennie from you. Her confidence of your Nobleneſſe made me so long silent; but now believe me, I will sooner begg my bread in the streets to all your dishonours, then any more trouble my friends, and especially my Mother, who was not onely content to afford us part of the little means she hath left her, but whileſt I was with her, was continually distempered with devised Tales, which came from your Familie, and withal lost your good opinion, which before she either had, or you made shew of it; but had it been real, I cannot think her words would have been so translated, nor in the power of discontented servants Tales to have ended it.

My Lord, if the great honour you are in, can suffer you to have so mean a thought as of so miserable a creature as I am, so made by too much Credulitie of your fair promises, which I have waited for performance of almost these five years: And now it were time to de-

spair, but that I hope you will one day be your self, and be governed by your own noble thoughts, and then I am assured to obtain what I desire, since my desires be so reasonable, and but for mine own. Which whether you grant or no, the affliction my poor husband is in, (if it continue) will keep my mind in a continual purgatorie for him, and will suffer me to sign my self no other, but

Your unfortunate Sister,

*F. Purbeck.*

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## *Dr.* Donne *to the Marquesse of* Buckingham,
13th. Septemb. 1621.

*My most honoured Lord,*

I Most humbly beseech your Lordship to afford this ragg of paper a room amongst your evidences. It is your evidence not for a Mannour, but for a man. As I am a Priest it is my sacrifice of prayer to God for your Lordship; and as I am a Priest, made able to subsist, and appear in Gods service by your Lordship, it is a sacrifice of my self to you. I deliver this paper as my Image; and I assist the power of any Conjurer, with this imprecation upon my self, that as he shall tear this paper, this picture of mine, so I may be torn in my fortune, and in my fame, if ever I have any corner in my heart, dispossessed of a zeal to your Lordships service. His Majestie hath given me a royal Key into your Chamber, leave to stand in your presence, and your Lordship hath already such a fortune, as that you shall not need to be afraid of a suitor, when I appear there. So that I protest to your Lordship, I know not what I want, since I cannot suspect, nor fear my self for ever doing, or leaving undone any thing by which I might forfeit that title, of being alwaies

Your Lordships, &c.

*J. D.*

*Dr.*

*My Honoured Lord,*

ONce I adventured to say to the Prince his Highnesse, That I was sure he would receive a book from me, the more gratiously, because it was dedicated to your Grace: I proceed justlie upon the same confidence, that your Grace will accept this, because it is his by the same title. If I had not overcome that reluctation, which I had in my self of representing devotions, and mortifications to a young and active Prince, I should not have put them into your presence, who have done so much, and have so much to do in this world, as that it might seem enough to think seriously of that. No man in the bodie of storie, is a full president to you, nor may any future man promise himself and adæquation to his precedent, if he make you, his. Kings have discerned the seeds of high virtues in many men, and upon that Gold, they have put their stamp, their favours upon those persons: But then those persons have laboured under the jealousie of the future Heire; And some few, have had the love of Prince, and King, but not of the Kingdom, and some of that too, and not of the Church; God hath united your Grace so to them all, that as you have received obligations from the King, and Prince, so you have laid obligations upon the Church and state. They above, love you out of their judgement, because they have loved you: and we below, love you out of our thankfulnesse, because you have loved us. Gods privie Seal is the testimonie of a good conscience, and his broad-Seal is the outward blessings of this life. But since his Pillar of fire, was seconded with a Pillar of Cloud, and that all his temporal blessings have some partial Eclipses, and the purest consciences some remorses: so though he have made your way to Glorie, Glorie; and brought you in the armes and bosome, of his Vicegerent, into his own arms and bosome, yet there must come a minute of twilight in a natural death. And as the reading of the actions of great men, may assist you for great actions, so for this one necessarie descent of dying, (which I hope shall be the onely step of *Lownes*, that ever you shall passe by, and by that late) you may receive some Remembrances, from the Meditations and Devotions of

Your Graces Devouteſt Servant,

*J. Donne.*

*My Noble Lord,*

I Find that all my Lord of *Briſtols* actions are ſo much extolled, that what you command me to ſay is hardly believed. I will ſay no more in it, but leave the reſt to Mr: *Greihams*, only this, that you have written much to the King in ſome mans behalf, and Mr. *Greſley* hath a 100. a year given him during his life, all which I think is without your knowledge; And Mr. *Killegrew* hath the like, that came for your ſake after the other was granted. Mr. *Greihams* can tell you how that came. My Lord of *Southampton* hath offered his ſon to marrie with my Lord Treaſurers Daughter, and tells him this reaſon, that now is the time he may have need of friends, but it is refuſed as yet; the event I know not what that will be.

I have ſpoken to the King of all that you gave me in command, and he doth proteſt, that what he hath done, was meerly for your ſake, and indeed he is very careful of all your buſineſſe, as if you were here your ſelf; but yet for Gods ſake make what haſte you may home for fear of the worſt. For the carriage of Captain *Hall*, I will not trouble you, till you come home, only this by the way, that my Lord Treaſurer hath it; but upon what tearms I know not nor indeed deſire you ſhould be troubled with it. Sir *George Goring* came home but this laſt night, and is gone to the Court, and deſires to be excuſed for writing to you. My Ladie *Hatton*, and my Ladie *Purbeck* came home with him from the Hague.

My Lord of *Arundel* hath not been at Court ſince the death of his ſon. I fear the newes, that *Charles Gleman* did ſhew you was true. For I can aſſure you Marqueſſe *Hamilton* was much troubled till I had ſpoken with him. There be ſome have done no good offices betwixt you. Pray have a care of the Letter, I mean the man Mr. *Gleman* did ſhew you, and keep as many friends as you may. I have ſpoken with no man, but my Lord Keeper who is yours, or not his own as he ſweares. And Mr. ſecretarie *Conway* is yours bodie, and ſoul; I never heard of the like of him, for he flies at all men, that be not yours. Here is much admiration, that they hear not from you, but I thank God, the King is not troubled at it, for I do aſſure him, that it is the better, that he heares not from you: for now he may be confident, that you keep your day in comming away, which doth much pleaſe him. I will write nothing of my own buſineſſe, though there be nothing done in it, but do hope, that you will not ſee your Servant periſh.

If I be too tedious, I pray pardon mee, it is my love that makes me ſo, and yet I have an humble ſuite unto you, which is to begg at your hands for patience; for now is the time to ſhew it or never; for all the eyes of the world are upon you and this is the time to win Honour, and fame; and for Gods-ſake carrie the buſineſſe with patience betwixt my Lord of *Briſtol*, and you; for here be thoſe that do laugh in their ſleeves at you both. I beſeech you let me hear from you, what you will command me, for I will do nothing (as near as I can) but what will give content: For you have that power in me, that you need but ſay, and it is done (if it lie in my power) ſo ſhall you ever command

Your faithful, and obedient Servant,
till death,

*London* 1. *Septemb.* 1623.

*Jo. Hipſley*

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## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Marqueſſe of* Buckingham.

*Right Honourable,*

BY the diſpatch of the fourteenth of this preſent (which I ſent by *Jonſon* the Poſt) I advertiſed your Honour at large in the two ſeveral Letters of the occurrents of theſe parts, and therewith ſent a copie of my ſecond propoſition which I made the day before in the Aſſemblie of the States General touching the buſineſſe of *Cleves*, and *Juliers* in conformitie to your Honours Letters of the 30th. of the laſt.

The anſwer thereunto was deferred until yeſterday, and then brought me only by word of mouth from the States by *Mounſieur Magnus* of *Zealand*, and *Mounſieur Zuleſtein* of *Utrecht*, and was to this effect, That the States having ſent my former propoſition of the third of *December* to their ſeveral provinces, from which this latter did differ in ſubſtance, ſave onely in reſpect of the time for the reſtitution of the Townes, which was prolonged for the ſpace of a month, all they could do according to the conſtitution of their government, was to ſend this my ſecond propoſition likewiſe unto their provinces, which they had done the day after I made the ſame, and until they receive more expreſſe order from their principals, they were to reſt upon their former anſwer. Wherein they declared their good

good intentions to accommodate this buſineſſe, ſo it might be with ſafetie to themſelves, and ſatisfaction of their neighbours. And herein they were to expect the reſolution of the Elector of *Brandenbergh*, from whom the time did not yet ſerve to know his mind. Mean while they humbly beſeech his Majeſtie to make a gracious conſtruction of their proceedings.

I was the day before with Mounſieur *Barnevelt*, (who is Preſident this week) to ſollicite their anſwer, who excuſed himſelf upon the ſmalneſſe of their number, many of the States being abſent, and of two Provinces all the Deputies: So as to give a determinate reſolution according as was required, they could not: And to make anſwer in general terms, ſince his Majeſtie reſted not ſatisfied with the former, he doubted another of the ſame kind would not pleaſe him. So as it ſeems this Meſſage in place of an anſwer in writing, proceeded of his Councel.

By diſcourſe both with him, and thoſe which came unto me, upon this ſubject, I find their diffidence of the purpoſe of the *Spaniard* rather increaſed then otherwiſe, upon the news of Leavies intended on the Arch-Dukes ſide, to the number of 9000 foot, and 1000, or 1200 horſe; and their delay in taking a determinate reſolution, no way diſſwaded, but rather counſelled by all other Princes, who have intereſt in this buſineſſe. Their Embaſſadour at *Paris* having advertiſed them by reiterated Letters, That *Don Pedro di Sarmientos* his offer to his Majeſtie touching the execution of the Treatie of *Zanten* is abſolutely diſavowed by both the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. And this *French* Embaſſadour *Mounſieur du Maurier*, having made it appear unto them, that at *Bruſſels* they have the ſame conceit of it, as a thing done without authoritie. Beſides, the Princes of the Union have written lately expreſſe Letters to the States, wherein they perſwade them to extraordinarie vigilance upon the *Spaniards*, and particularly in this buſineſſe of *Cleves*, and *Juliers*, the tranſlated Copies of which Letters, I ſend your Honour herewith. And the Prince of *Brandenbergh* being young himſelf, and having his Councel divided in opinion, doth nothing abſolutely without reference to this State, and he when I put them in mind, how they themſelves were the authors and framers of the Treatie of *Zanten*, they ſtick not to ſay plainly, *Tempora mutantur, et nos*: ſo as I am daily more and more confirmed in my former opinion, That there is no way left to accommodate this buſineſſe, but by a private agreement between the Princes Pretendents. But *Strickius*, the Agent of *Brandenbergh*, being abſent at *Cleves*, I do not hear how this Negotiation proceeds.

Amongſt

Amongst the particularities which passed in discourse between *Mounsieur Magnus*, and my self, I insisting upon restitution of the Townes as the meanes to prevent an imminent war upon the quarrel, He asked to whom they should restore them, unlesse the Princes were agreed, and that they might know, which of the Princes should receive him, and whom they should have for their neighbour. Whereby it appeares, this course will on this side remove all difficulties.

It is advertised hither, by *Mounsieur Langrack*, the States Embassadour at *Paris*, that the apprehension they had in the Court, to have this businesse ended without the French Kings intervention, caused *Mounsieur de Refuges* to be summoned to make an other journey expressely hither, in regard he had formerly the managing thereof, Notwithstanding thta *Mounsieur de la Nove* was already named for this extraordinarie Embassage: But *Refuges* excusing himself upon his indisposition, sent all his memorial of what passed, when he was here in the treatie of *Zanten*, with his private opinion upon the whole matter to serve as an instruction to *la Nove*.

By the other Letters of the 28. of this present *Stil No.* *Mounsieur Langrack* hath given this State many important advertisements, as first, that he hath obtained of the *French* King a continuance of the succours of the 3. Regiments of foot, and 2. Troops of horse of that Nation for one year longer, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Spaniſh*, and Arch-Dukes Embassadours, who advised the recalling of them upon occasion of the present troubles in *France*. That there is order given and assignation for 120000 Crownes towards the arrearages of their pay. That a resolution is taken in that Court by the advice of the new Councellours, contrarie to the opinion of the old, to prosecute the Princes by war, and maintain the Kings authority henceforward by force. That to this effect the King desires the State should perform their promises of sending towards the river of *Burdeaux* 5. men of war. That he likewise requires of them in conformitie of the last treaties betwixt the Crown, and this Star, an assistance of men to the number of the *French*, which are here in service, under some good Commander; But the *French* themselves, the King will not have, for fear, when they shall come into *France*, of their revolting to the Princes. That he demands free passage through these Countries down the *Mause*, and the *Rhene* of 3000. Souldiers, with their armes, which are leaved by the Count *John Giacomo Belioyoſa* in *Luke-Land*, and thereabouts, and shipping to transport them into *France*.

All

All theſe particulars were moved unto him (as he writes) by the Marſhal *de Anchre*, to which he adds, That the King is ſo much incenſed againſt the Duke of *Bovillon*, for ſeeking to this State for protection, by theſe Letters whereof I advertiſed your Honour in my laſt, that there is a reſolution taken to declare him *Criminel de leſe Majeſtate*.

Theſe *Graunter* are ſo ſcantie (the continuance of the *French* Troops in the ſervice of the State, being but for a year only, and the payment of them arriving only to the tenth part of what is alreadie due) that they here interpret them to proceed from the *Marſhal de Ancre Pour tenir* (as they ſay) *le bee en Leau*, and the demands are ſo large and extravagant, that they are thought *iniquum petere, ut æquum ferant*; Whereby on the one ſide to keep this State in devotion to the *French* King, and on the other to prevent the like requeſts of the Princes: for there is ſmall appearance, they will give paſſage to ſo many men through their Countries armed, and commanded by an *Italian*, who hath born armes againſt them, and is married into the Arch Dukes Countrie. And when it comes to queſtion of ſending forces of their own thither, it is like they will find as good excuſes for that point, as they have hitherto done for the ſending of the ſhips, now three months ſince promiſed, and ſtill ſolicited: For howſoever the chief Perſons here have been long particularly intereſted and ingaged (as your Honour knowes) by neer dependance on this Crown, I find them of late very much alienated in conſideration that it is ſo much governed by Spain, which in the end they apprehended will turn to the ruine of this State.

In *France* they are jealous of this coldneſſe, and have of late expoſtulated the matter with *Mounſieur Langrack*, as if they here did incline to the Princes, there being, a bruite raiſed in *Paris*, that Count *Maurice* would go in Perſon to their aſſiſtance; whereof the Queen Regent was very ſenſible; but I do not find here, that there was any ground for that report.

Here hath been lately a fame ſpread, and nouriſhed by ſuch as deſire to weaken the correſpondence betwixt his Majeſtie and this State, that his Majeſtie is in neer terms of matching our Prince with Spain. Which report is now the more credited, by an adviſo out of Spain from a ſecret Miniſter, this State entertaines, under colour of ſolliciting Merchants cauſes. That this match hath been there, by order of the King of Spain debated in the inquiſition, and judged neceſſarie in regard it would ſerve for introduction of Poperie into *England*.

This

This I find to be the *Remora* of my chief affaires with this State, my pressing the restitution of the Townes in *Cleves* and *Juliers* being thought by many of these jealous people to hang on this thread, as a thing very acceptable, and agreeable at this time to the King of Spain, and much advantagious in this present conjuncture to his affaires; and my insisting upon sending of Commissioners to his Majestie in the businesse of our Merchants, they applie the same way, as if the opinion which would be conceived of this Embassage, (howsoever Merchants affaires were pretended, the chief intent was to play *Davus in Comadia*) should according to the use of *Nitimur in Vetitum*, rather kindle, then quench the desire of the *Spaniard*, and draw the match to a more speedie conclusion.

At my last being with *Mounsieur Barnevelt*, I did expostulate the States delay of sending Commissioners to his Majestie upon this occasion, as neither answereth to Sir *Noel Caron's* word and promise to his Majestie, nor to that, which from his mouth, I did advertise your Lordship of the States inclination in general, and the resolution in particular of those of *Holland*. To which he answered me, That with much difficultie and opposition, he had obtained the assent of *Holland*, and that now the matter rested with *Zealand*, but he doubted, that his Majesties restoring the old Company of Merchants, would make a stay of any farther proceeding, as now lesse requisite, howsoever, that Sir *Noel Carone* had advertised, that notwithstanding this change, he thought the sending of Commissioners very necessary.

The Questions here about Religion, rest in the same state as I advertised your Lordship in my last, the Assembly of *Holland* being separated untill the end of *February stil. no.* when they are to meet again. Mean while a provisional order is taken, that the *Contra-Remonstrants* shall continue their preaching in our English Church, which they have accommodated with Scaffolds, to make it more capable of their number.

There was much question in this Assemblie, whether his Excellencie should be present, or no: but in the end he was called by the major part of voices, contrary to Mounsieur *Barnevelt's* opinion, and his authoritie over-swayed the matter in favour of the *Contra-Remonstrants* for the continuance of their preaching, which it was proposed to hinder by some violent Courses.

By example of this place, there is the like provisional order taken for preaching at the *Brill*, and *Rotterdam*, and certain of the Burghers are established in *Tergow*, who were put from their Trade and Commerce, for their expostulating with the Magistrate upon this quarrel.

I have been spoken unto by divers particular persons well affected in this cause, to procure a Letter from his Majestie to his Excellencie, whereby to comfort and encourage him in his Zeal for the maintenance of the true doctrine, and the professours thereof, against these Novellists and their opinions. Which I most humbly refer to his Majesties wisdom, (in case he judge this office necessarie) whether it be fit to be done by Letter or Message, the former of which, will be of greater vertue, but the latter lesse subject to crosse construction of the Arminian faction, which your Honour knowes how potent it is here amongst those who have chief rule in this State. Thus I humbly take leave, ever resting

Your Lordships most faithfully to be commanded,

*Hague* this 24. Febr. 1616. *Stil. Vet.*

*Dudley Carleton.*

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## *Sir* Dudley Carleton *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

*My most honourable Lord,*

IMmediately upon receipt of your Lordships Letter concerning Sir *John Ogle*, I moved the Prince of *Orange* not onely for his leave for Sir *John* to go into *England*, but likewise for his Letters of recommendation, whereby to give your Lordship subject, upon some such testimonies of his Excellencies good satisfaction, to set him upright in his Majesties favour, both which he granted unto me: though against the first, he alledged the absence of all the *English* Colonels; and touching the latter, he called to mind old matters; which notwithstanding (upon what I undertook for Sir *John's* future intentions) he was content to forget. I did once again upon Sir *John's* instance, put his Excellencie in mind of his dispatch, wherein I found no difficultie. Since I find Sir *John* hath changed his purpose of going, and his excuse will be made at his intreatie by his Excellencie, who hath since let me know, Though he would not deny me his leave, yet he is better content (in regard he is so slenderly accompanied with Colonels, in a time when the State hath need of their service with his stay. So as Sir *John* hath the obligation to your Lordship of a favourable recommendation, and for his not prevailing himself of his leave when it was granted, I must leave to himself to render a reason. For my part, having

having accomplished what I had by your Lordships Letter, to be agreeable both to his Majesties pleasure, & your Lordships, I thought it my dutie to advertize, That there is an ancient difference between Sir *Horatio Vere*, and Sir *Edward Cecyl*, about the extent of their Commands; whereupon followeth a great inconveniencie to the dishonor of our Nation, (which as it appears when they were last in the field before *Reez*) are divided hereby, and march, and lodge in several bodies, and quarters. Much endeavour hath been formerly used in these parts to reconcile them, but all in vain, by reason of some ill Instruments, who wrought upon both their discontents to set them farther asunder. Now, they are both in *England*, and are both written for, to come over; It were a work worthy of your Lordship to make them understand one another better, and what they will not yeeld to of themselves, to over-rule by his Majesties authoritie. I may not conceal from your Lordship, that I am intreated by the Prince of *Orange* himself to do this office, both with his Majestie, and your Lordship, wherein he would not be seen himself, because having dealt between them fruitlesly heretofore, he doubteth of the like successe now. But when their agreement shall be made, he will acknowledge his obligation to your Lordship, and for the better proceeding therein, I sent your Lordship a Copie of an order formerly set down betwixt them, with the translate of Sir *Horacio Vere's* Commission, (both which I had of his Excellencie) and likewise the beginning, and proceeding of their difference, as I have collected the same in brief out of other mens reports.

The projects I sent your Lordship with my last, of a *West-Indian* Companie having been proposed to the States of *Guelderland* for their ratification (who have the leading voice in the Assemblie of the States general, and were ever least forward in that businesse) hath thus far their allowance, that they will concur therein with the rest of the Provinces. But withal I do understand, they have given their Deputies secret charge not to give way thereunto, in case they find it prejudicial to the Truce. Which makes the matter evident, that the project of the Company (though it be never so advanced) will stand or fall, according to the proceeding of the Truce. The expiration whereof approaching so neer, and here being advertisements from *Paris*, that a *French* Gentleman one *Belleavium* (who was lately imployed hither to the Prince of *Orange* about the difference betwixt him, and the Prince of *Conde*) had secret instructions to sound the States, how they stood affected to the renewing thereof. I have

uſed all diligence to know how far he went; and am well informed he hath done nothing therein of Conſideration: onely this paſt between him, and his Excellencie.

He telling his Excellencie from *Mounſieur Deſdigueres*, and ſome of the *French* Kings Councel, how acceptable the extraordinarie Embaſſage intended from hence will be in that Court, and thereupon perſwading a ſpeedie imbracing the opportunitie.

From whence (ſaid his Excellencie after his round manner) cometh this alteration?

To ſpeak plainly (ſaid he) they fear in *France* you will renew the Truce without them, and therefore by your Embaſſadours, they would interpoſe themſelves.

Here are good advertiſements both from *Bruxels* and *Paris*, that the *Spaniards* intent is not to renew the Truce, but to have a Peace propoſed with theſe plauſible conditions; That the King of *Spain* will pretend nothing in the Regiment of theſe United Provinces, nor require any thing of them in the point of Religion, but leave all in terms as it now ſtands, with recognition onely of ſome titular Soveraigntie, which he cannot in honour relinquiſh.

This is already propoſed to *France*, as a glorious work to eſtabliſh a ſettled Peace in theſe parts of the world, but with this condition, That if it be not imbraced here, then *France* ſhall refuſe to give this State any further ſupport, or countenance, of which it is here believed, that *Spain* hath already obtained a firm promiſe in that Court. And that either the like overture is already made, or will be within few daies to his Majeſtie.

Under which doth lie hidden many myſteries much to the advantage of the *Spaniard*, and prejudice of this State: for the very propoſition of a new Treatie will diſtract them here very much, in regard of their unſettledneſſe, and aptneſſe upon any diſpute to relapſe into faction, beſides many Conſiderations of importance belonging properly to the Conſtitution of their Government, but the acceptation of the old, by renewing of the Truce upon the former terms, for ſo many years, more, or leſſe, as ſhall be thought fitting, will (in my poor opinion (which notwithſtanding is not ſlenderly grounded) take place, without much difficultie. The importance of this buſineſſe, hath made me give your Lordſhip this trouble, and your Lordſhip may be pleaſed to let his Majeſtie underſtand as well that little as is done by *Mounſieur Belleavium*, as what they here conceive

conceive to be further intended by the *Spaniard.* So I most humbly take leave, ever resting

Your Lordships

*Hague this* 10th. of June, 1620.

Most faithful servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

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## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

*Most Honourable,*

NOt to give your Lordship the trouble of often Letters, I render an account of his Majesties Commandments by the same hand I usually receive them. One I had lately by an expresse Letter from his Majestie, accompanied with another from your Lordship, touching my Lord of *Buckleugh*, to demand full satisfaction of the States, for all his Lordships pretentions, and to that effect to procure Instructions and Commission to be sent to Sir *Noel Carone* to end this businesse.

To which effect I have moved both his Excellencie and the States, and whilest they were treating thereof, Colonel *Brogue* arrived here out of Scotland: with whom they are now handling to put him to Pension, and to give my Lord the Command of his Regiment in lieu of his Pretensions. Which when they come to calculate, my Lord will find a short reckoning of them, and to send accounts out of their accountants hands, and refer them to others, they will never be moved.

Wherefore if the course they now take can be gone thorough with (which Colonel *Brogue* doth most unwillingly hear of) it will be then in my Lords choice, whether he will remain satisfied, or not. And within few daies I hope to return my Lords Secretarie with advertisement of what is done. Mean time I assure your Lordship nothing is omitted in my endeavours to procure him that, which may be most to his contentment.

In the present condition of publique affaires, your Lordship knoweth well how at this instant we have all *buone Parolle* out of Spain, and *Cattivi-fatti* of all the rest of the House of *Austria.* In so much as these Low-Countrie Troops under the governance of the Infanta, assist in the blocking up of a poor town, all which remaines of his Majesties

Majesties only Daughters Jointure in the *Palatinate*. And the Emperour not content with having chased her Husband out of the Empire, in the Propositions of the *Diett* of *Ratisbone*, makes this one Article, to make war upon these Provinces, because (amongst other quarrels) they give refuge to the Prince *Palatine*. Where will this persecution cease? And what place in the world to which they are driven from hence (and is easily guessed in all their extreamitie, whither they will be forced to flie) is not subject to the same quarrel? within this week that I now write (betwixt Sunday, and Sunday) we were here in that state, if God had not prevented it, this Countrie had been too hot for them to remain in, and it had been a happinesse for them, if they could have got a poore skeveling boat to have transported them else-where. This Bearer my Nephew will inform your Lordship more particularly thereof.

Now, *de agendis*, there rests no more, then question of maintaining the Army of *Mansfelt*, and *Brunswick*, which is lodged at the present in a place, out of which, it can hardly march, and more hardly be removed. If it have pay, and countenance, it may do good service in *Germany*; if not, I will tell your Lordship what I conceive may be the consequence. It will be hedged into *East-Friseland* by *Tillie*, (whose Troops alreadie draw that way) *Cordova* and *Anholt*, against which keeping it self within that Countrie, it will be able to make resistance, as the poore Peasants thereof did heretofore against the *Spanish* Armie, by reason of the difficultie of accesse. From this State it will have all assistance, and though it be kept in by land, it will have the Sea open betwixt *Griett* and *Norden*, (both which places are in *Mansfelts* possession) a *Haven* fit for a Fleet of *Gallions*. If by that meanes they, with correspondencie with this State may support themselves, it will be very ill for many important consequences. If they and this State, (which will be forced to run a fortune together) be overcome, much worse; for what can keep the rest of *Europe* from subjection to the *Austriaci*? Wee see how in *Terra firma*, the *Walloons* joyned to *Spaniards*, both make and maintain their Conquests. Joyn the *Hollanders* to them by Sea, they will reap the like service by them. The fruit we have reaped heretofore of the shiping of these Provinces, both for defence in the year 88. and offence in the *Cadiz* journey, sheweth what a strong addition this is to a greater power.

My most honourable Lord, I am so full of such like speculations, that these have broken out *ex Plenitudine Cordis*, surcharged with grief to see in *Plenitudine temporis*, that to come to effect in the publique

lique affaires which was discovered long since, by the Emperours intercepted letters sent by the *Capuchin* into Spain, and to hear the judgment made every where, that the publique opposition of the Spanish Embassadour (*D'Ogñates*) words to the Emperours proceeding *de facto*, is but a patelinage, with secret understanding to abuse his Majesties goodnesse. Of which it lyeth yet in his Majesties power to vindicate himself; but there is no time to spare. I humbly crave pardon for this libertie of discourse I use with your Lordship, who am

Your Lordships, most humble, and most faithful Servant,

*Hague*, 31. Jan. 1622.

*Dudley Carleton.*

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## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

*Most Honourable,*

I Observe in such Letters from the Prince Electour to her Highnesse, with the sight of which, she is pleased sometimes to favour me, a mis-understanding betwixt him, and his Uncle the Duke of *Bovillon*, who groweth wearie of his Guest, doubting least in his Consideration some danger may be drawn upon his Town of *Sedan*; And the jealousie the Prince conceiveth, what may be done with him in case of a Siege; (against which, that is no place to make long resistance) besides the discomforts of living in another mans house, and being ill looked on, makes him wish himself any where else; but chiefly here, where he is as much desired, as missed by her Highnesse, his children, and Familie: And where the Prince of *Orange*, and the States (apprehending very well his present danger, and incommoditie) will give him very willingly his wonted welcome. Your Lordship may be pleased to make thus much known to his Majestie: And if your Lordship can so dispose of the matter, that with his Majesties good liking, he may return hither again, I know nothing your Lordship can do more agreeable to her Highnesse, though she doth whollie submit her affections and desires to his Majesties pleasure.

The wars were never warmer then they are alreadie, and now likely more and more to kindle in these parts: The Siege of *Offend*, by those which were present there and are now in *Bergheim*, being esteemed

esteemed sport in comparison of the furie is used in disputing the outworks of that Town. Where on Munday last in the night an assault was given, and maintained six hours by the *Spaniards* upon a half Moon kept by the Dutch on the North side; out of which they were three several times repulsed, with the losse of betwixt 3. and 400 men of their best, and on this side under 40. All that they gained being (after the same manner as their former attempt on the other side wherein Colonel *Hynderson* was slain) to lodge in the foot of the work. Two of our old Captaines, Sir *Michael Everard*, and *Lovelace* (hurt in that, and the like assault given on that side within few daies after) are both dead of their wounds within these two daies. One at *Dort*, the other at *Rotterdam*, whither they were retired to be cured: which is imputed by the Chyrurgeons to some malignity is used to the bullets: but that is not to be believed amongst Christians, yet I have seen some brought hither shot by the Enemie, sufficient to break all quarter.

We shall have now questionlesse many and sharp encounters in the field; Count *Mansfelt* being on his way hitherwards with his Armie, much weakned during his abode in the Frontiers of *France*; but of strength sufficient to march through the open Countries of *Henault*, and *Brabant*. Which course he takes directly with intention to come to *Breda*. And where by computation, he should be by Munday, or Teusday next at the fartheſt, unlesse he be overtaken by *Don Conzales de Cordova*, or met with by the Count *Henric Vandenbergh*, or the Marquesse *Spinola*, in any of which there is small appearance. *Cordova* going forward at leisure with 16. peices of Canon, and the 18th. of this present, when *Mansfelt* passed a bridge at *Marpent* over the *Sambre* in *Henault* (which was the onely passage of difficultie, and that as our advertisements here say, he crossed without resistance) being some hours March behind him, who having three field pieces onely, and small store of baggage, and in effect his whole Armie on horseback, may make great expedition.

If *Vandenbergh* stir, he will be followed by the Prince of *Orange*. And the Marquesse *Spinola* cannot go strong enough to incounter him without raising his Siege at *Bergben*, which though he should do, the *Campaigne* is large enough, and *Mansfelt* lightly laden to take, and leave at pleasure, it being in his power, (if his way to *Breda* be stopped) to fall down towards such places, the State hold in *Flanders*.

The States furnish him with 6000 *Florins* for the time of three moneths, they entertain him and his Army. In which space, the ser-

vice

vice they hope to draw from him, is, the raising the Siege of *Bergheu*, by curbing off the Convoyes betwixt *Antwerp*, and the Spanish Leaguer, which can no longer continue in the place it now remains, then it can keep the way of *Antwerp* open, by which only their victuals and Munition is conducted.

This time of three moneths expired, there is small appearance of longer entertainment of *Mansfelt* by this State, who doth then purpose to retire to the Duke *Christien* of *Brunswick's* old Quarter at *Lipstadt*: Where they intend to winter their Army, and augment the same against the next Spring, to return again into *Germany*, if the Peace of those parts be not concluded, or some mischance do not happen in the mean time. Which resolution of theirs, for such it is (as I am very well informed) deserves the more to be cherished, by how much the more disrespect is shewed his Majesties Embassadour in the *Palatinate*, by burning and spoyling her Highnesse Joynture even in his view, (as *Don Gonzales* did whilest he remained in those parts) and since besieging his Majesties Garrison *Heidelbergh*; before which place, we understand here by Letters of the 14th. from *Frankford*, that Baron *Tillie* began his approaches the 12th. of this present.

I have not heard what is the issue of Captain *Brett's* business, but hope the best. Colonel *Hynderson's* Regiment was given upon the first newes of his death to Sir *Francis Hynderson* by the Prince of *Orange*, with which the States are much displeased, as contrarying their Act. And I have lamented my self to them, as a wrong done my Lord of *Bucklengh*, and his Majestie, in his behalf: which they promise me to repair, as they possibly may be able. And I presse them to it by those means which your Lordship will find contained in an abstract of a Letter I wrote lately to his Excellencie, chiefly to this purpose.

Her Highnesse having received a fair Present from the Prince her Brother, doth render his Highnesse thanks by the inclosed. I know not so great a Ladie in the world, nor ever did, (though I have seen many Courts) of such natural affections: An obedient Daughter; A loving Sister; And a tender Wife, whose care of her Husband doth augment with his misfortunes.

Your Lordship cannot therefore shew your care of her more, then by bringing them again together with the soonest. Of which I beseech your Lordship, that with the soonest I may know what hope there is, and that (if your Lordship please) by Mr. *Ashburnham*,

whose return with a favourable dispatch is daily expected. Thus I most humbly take leave,

Your Lordships

Most humble, and most devoted Servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

*Hague* 23. August, 1622.

## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

THe general knowledge the Queen of *Bohemia* received from your Grace, by my Nephew, of the disposition of our affairs at home, since his Highnesse, and your Graces return out of *Spain*, upon the true understanding you have bred in his Majestie of the Spanish proceedings, being more particularly both for the state of the matter, and the manner fit to be held here in disposing these men to such overtures as are necessarie, expressed unto me by Sir *George Goring* with special caution of secresie and celeritie.

I have thought fit to set down at large (whilest it is fresh in my memorie) an opportunitie as properly given unto me this day by the Prince of *Orange*, who is the onely person of power and confidence we have here to treat withal) as I hope your Grace will judge it seasonably taken.

And that was an occasion of businesse concerning a mutinie at *Breda*, which drew the Councel of State, (where I have my Seance) to the States general, with whom we found the Prince. That businesse ending in good time, gave him a long hours leisure with me afterwards in his Garden, which he himself desired of me, because somewhat was farther to be digested betwixt us concerning the English Troops, which shewed themselves most in this Mutinie: And hereupon the consideration of the necessity of this State, and impossibility of giving their Troops full contentment, gave us subject of further discourse, both of the means of better payment they have here at home, and the helps they might conceive from abroad, which

which making appear unto me to be coldeſt from *England*, as long as our Match with Spain is ſtill in treatie, he asked me bluntly (after his manner), *Qui a'il de voſtre Mariage*? I told him, it was now at a ſtay upon this point, That the reſtitution of the *Palatinate* muſt be firſt concluded. And that the Queen of *Bohemia* was not onely well comforted with this aſſurance, but pleaſed her ſelf with a further conceipt, that the opportunity was never fairer for this State to regain the King her Fathers favour, and return to the antient ſupport of his Crownes, which by the way of gratitude for her good uſage, ſince ſhe had her refuge into theſe parts, ſhe could not but admoniſh his Excellencie of, and adviſe him not to let it ſlip. This he did not ſo ſuddenly lay hold of, as not firſt to caſt many miſdoubts, as if the alienation were too great, and his Majeſtie too much wedded in affection, if not in Alliance to new friends, to be ſo ſoone reconjoyned to his old, as their neceſſities did require.

Here I took occaſion to play my own Part, and to remember unto him how things had paſſed within the compaſſe of my experience from the beginning; letting him know what friendſhip his Majeſtie had ſhewed this State, in the making their *Truce*; what ſinceritie in rendring their Cautionarie Townes according to contract, when they were demanded; what affection in ſupporting their affaires during their late domeſtique diſputes; what care in ſettling our *Eaſt-Indian* differences: finallie, what Patience in conniving at all the miſdemeanours, and inſolencies of their Sea-men, without ſeeking revenge.

And hereupon concluded, that I found them here in the ſame errour as men are, which put firſt from Land to Sea, and believe the Land paſſes from them, not they from the Land, in that the Alienation, which hath long been nouriſhed betwixt his Majeſtie and this State, ſprang originally from them.

Firſt, by *Barnevelt* and his faction of Arminians carrying the State to new Alliances, with the Hans-Townes, and otherwiſe by themſelves, refuſing ſo much as the knowledge of them to my Predeceſſour in this place, Sir *Ralph Wynwood*, with much ſcorn, and contempt.

Next, by a harſh and peremptorie ſtile, uſed in all we had then to do with them, ſavouring rather of Pride and preſumption, then any due reſpect or deſire of friendſhip.

Laſtly, by a precipitate courſe taken at Sea by their ſhips of war and Merchants againſt his Majeſties Subjects, making prize of ſome, ſhouldering others out of their places of trade, and entring in the *Eaſt-Indies* into open hoſtilitie, avowed by a publique Act of the

States General. This ill course begun and pursued for some yeares continuance, breeding a deserved distaste in his Majestie on this side; and on the Spanish part fair overtures of friendship, being continuallie made, and confirmed by the tender of a Match of a potent Prince, None can marvel that his Majestie did imbrace the same, unlesse it should be expected of him, that for love of this State how ill soever deserving, he should lend a deaf eare to all other friendships, that did not concurre with the interest of this State. And the remembrance of these things not being so old as to be worn out, they might here very well conceive, that the suspition of Alienation and disaffection, is as strong on our side for their giving the cause of our leaning another way, as on theirs for the effect which hath since followed. And now the cause is removed, the effect may possibly cease in like manner, if we may have good assurance, that breaking with our new friends upon the occasions now presented, we might fasten after the wonted manner with an old: and the King be satisfied in such doubts, he may upon good reason cast, and know certainly what to trust to. To this conclusion he answered (confessing first their many obligations to his Majestie, both for his favour, and sufferance,) that nothing could be more certain, then the affection of this State to a Prince embracing their cause of opposition to Spain. And if his Majestie could take that resolution, he might dispose of them, their lives and their fortunes. I told him, that more (in a case of this importance, when there was question of alteration of the whole course of a great Princes affaires) would be required then bare professions and protestations, and the rather, because he knew I was not ignorant, how many Billets, and Papers have been heretofore brought hither by * Madam *Serclaus*, and others, tending to *Trnce*, or peace, and how much such a matter was thirsted after by their Frontier Provinces, which being free for them to take, or leave, after their own humours, it was not likely his Majestie would discharge them of their burthen, to pull it upon his own Shoulders; But to enter into the common cause of defence, and add a powerful hand in supporting them, might be faisable, in the present conjuncture, upon good assurance, he should never be left single in the quarrel. Whereunto he answered, that true it was, the woman I named, and divers others, had been tampering heretofore about such Treaties, & that he had continually put their Papers into his Pocket, and so suppressed (them with consent of some of the States, of whom he was most confident) lest such propositions, being brought into their publique Assemblies, might have driven them into distraction, and

* *An old Popish Gentlewoman of this towne, who by passeport on both sides trots so often to and fro betwixt this and Bruxells, (where she hath private accesse to the Infanta) that she is known by the title of* la Maquerelle de la Trefue.

and dispute one with another according to their several affections, either to Peace, or War, and thereby slacken their Contributions, wherewith they pay their Army, and by consequence expose them to the mercie of the enemy.

And that this course of his being finally discovered by the Merquesse *Spinola*, and *Peckius*, their purpose now was (as he is privately advertized from *Bruxels*) to steal over some person hither by the usual meanes of Passe-ports for Merchants and Travailers, to make some such like Proposition at the several Assemblies of the States of these united Provinces: which it should be his studie to prevent, because of the mischief may be bred thereby amongst them; And this he assured me for conclusion, That as their affections and affairs now stand, nothing but despair can bring these Provinces to Peace, or Truce with *Spain*.

To this I yielded, but said, That was not enough because of such changes, to which the world was daily subject. Neither did Queen *Elizabeth* undertake their protection upon such bare presumptions, wherefore some further assurance must be thought on; which he consented unto, as a thing requisite on both sides, and joyned issue with me in this point, That when the King would be to this State, as Queen *Elizabeth* was; this State would be to him, as it was to Queen *Elizabeth*.

This being *opus unius diei*, not unlike the first day of the Creation of the world in distinguishing light and darkness, I will give your Grace this further light, of what belongs to negotiation with this State.

The present opportunitie of the Prince of *Orange's* good affection and strength of these Provinces both by Sea and Land, as it yet stands, (but not possible so long to continue) being seasonably laid hold of, his Majestie may have with this State a firm and fruitful alliance.

But if the Prince of *Orange* should die, (as he is much broken, and the last year at this time, we did not think he could live till *May*) or the enemy break into the borders of this State, (as this last Summer, if the *Imperialists* had joyned with the *Spaniards*, they had undoubtedly done; and unless some Change or Alteration happen, as is feared will do this next year) the best link we have for a bond of friendship would fail, and as much difference be betwixt this State, as it now is, and what it is like to be upon any such ill accident, (as

was

was now feared, and ſtill hangs over them) as betwixt a ſtrong Staffe and a broken Reed. So I ceaſe to give your Grace any further trouble.

Your Graces

*Hague*, 9. Decemb. 1623.

Moſt humble, and moſt faithful ſervant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

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## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

WHat Comfort and Contentment the Queen of *Bohemia* receives in your Graces Meſſage and Letter by my Nephew, I leave to her own expreſſion, which never failes her, when her heart goeth with her hand, as I can aſſure your Grace, it doth in this ſubject. And this I will ſay more, who can ſay nothing but truth, I never knew your Grace ill with this good and gracious Princeſſe; but now you are ſo well ſettled in her good opinion and favour, that I know none hath more intereſt therein.

And this uſe your Grace may make thereof to his Majeſties ſervice, that now this King and Queen are both of them no leſſe confident of your affection, then they are of your ſinceritie; what you adviſe them in their affairs will be of much weight to ſway them in the ballance of their judgment.

Which now a Propoſition is made unto them, on which their whole eſtate doth depend as well for themſelves, as their poſteritie, full of doubtful circumſtances on both ſides, (the choice not being, as they conceive, betwixt one thing certain, and another uncertain; but betwixt two unequal uncertainties) it is hard to ſay which way they incline: but if they be left to themſelves, I perceive they will rather ſtand to the hazard of the latter, with preſervation of their honour and lawful pretenſions, then ſubmit themſelves to the former with ſhame and diſgrace, and no aſſurance of better dealing then was uſed to the deported Houſe of *Saxe*, by a better Emperour then this

this accounted, of which we have the Heir (one of the worthiest Princes in *Germanie*) here in hard Conditions amongst us. And he serves as a spectacle to these Princes of their fortunes by the same way as his Predecessors took, of submission. Yet other things being before agreed of, and settled in that sort as his Majestie hath alwaies assured these Princes to be his full intention of restitution to their Patrimonial Honours and estate; This King I find will conform himself, to what his Majestie shall think fit, touching a due submission.

But this being a matter of ceremony, the other of substance, he judgeth, that if this precede, (that is, the Submission) the other of restitution will never follow. Neither can it be well seen, how in possibility it may be effected, considering that (whilest things have been held sometimes in terms, alwaies in talk of accommodation) the Electoral is given to *Bavier* by the Emperour, and avowed by a Congratulatory Embassage from *Bruxels*: the upper *Palatinate* setled in his possession, with some portion to *Newburgh* for his Contentation, and ingagement. A principal part of the lower *Palatinate* (the *Bergstrate*) given to the Elector of *Mentz*, with the consent of those of *Bruxels*, (where he was lately in person to obtain it) though they grossely dissemble it, and promises of parts of the rest made to other Princes.

So as what is now pretended (I must deal plainly with your Grace) is no otherwaies interpreted, then as experience doth teach of these three former years proceedings: Ever new Overtures in Winter, and new Ruptures in the Summer. And as of two former Treaties with this Prince, which passed my hands, (one a Consent to a Submission sent to *Vienna*, the other a Ratification of a Suspension oftentimes sent to *Bruxels*) no other use was made, but with the first to accelerate *Bethlem Gabor* in his Treatie of Peace with the Emperour as then on foot, and with the second to intimidate both the Electours *Saxe*, and *Brandenburgh*, with the Princes of the *Nethes*, *Saxe*, and *Creyes* from entring into Armes, to which they were well disposed, upon the discontentment they received of the preposterous courses that were taken in the Diet at *Ratisbone*; (and to this effect Copies of the very projects of the said Treaties were dispersed by the *Imperialists*, before the Instruments themselves were perfected,) so it is here believed, that now *Gabor* is again in armes, and other Princes ready to imbrace any good occasion of redresse of affaires, time is onely sought to be gained by this new Overture, and the King of *Bohemia's* Credit, with his friends and well wishers in *Germanie* to be weakned,

weakned, if not loſt; for if once he ſubmit himſelf allowing the tranſlation of the Electoral, he ſhall thereby avow the Emperours undue procedings in that cauſe (which have been proteſted againſt by *Saxe*, and *Brandenbergh*, and all the other *Germane* Princes, excepting thoſe onely of the Catholique league) and by whom afterwards upon any ill dealing can he expect to be befriended, who forſakes himſelf and his own cauſe? This is the diſcourſe of theſe Princes upon this occaſion; but when they are asked, What then can you truſt unto? their recourſe is to his Majeſtie, who they hope knoweth the meanes to effect in their behalf, what he hath ſo long, and ſo conſtantly undertaken for them. And though for theſe three or four years paſt, affaires on this ſide have gone in a continual decadence, and now threaten a final ruine, uuleſſe it be withſtood by ſome Princelie Reſolution; (not of pettie, but of great Princes) yet here is no ſuch diſcouragement: but that it is thought there is yet ſtrength and vigour enough left in the good Party, not onely to ſubſiſt, but to riſe and flouriſh again as well as ever. And in this cogitation the King and Queen remain, not preſcribing any thing to his Majeſtie, nor willing to ſubmit themſelves anew to the ſame rod, with which they have been ſo often ſcourged.

Your Grace was lately invited with my Lord of *Richmond* to chriſten their young Son, which being excuſed by my Lord of *Richmond* in both your names, And the King of *France* undertaking that office, it was performed by that King, and the King of *Swede* yeſterday was ſeven-night (repreſented by the *French* Embaſſadour here reſident, and the Prince of *Orange*) in the ſame manner, and the ſame Church, as the Princeſſe *Louiſe*, bearing the ſame name, was chriſtned the laſt year: when the Duke *Chriſtien* of *Brunſwick* being invited to be Godfather, though abſent, and for ſome reſpects of precedence could not have a Deputie, was underſtood notwithſtanding to be one of the *Parrins*; and ſo do the King and Queen hold both your Grace, and my Lord of *Richmond*.

I muſt now render your Grace my humble thanks for your manifeſtation of your favour to my ſelf, which you are pleaſed to do in ſuch ample manner, as to tell me farther for my Comfort who are my friends; And a farther effect of friendſhip, I could not expect of them, then to procure me the aſſurance I now receive from your Grace, who have won the reputation by your Conſtancie to thoſe you take into your Care, that your word is taken for your deed. And though that, which I thought fitteſt for my ſelf failes me, if your Grace can think me fit for any thing elſe towards the amendment of

my

my poor fortune, I shall attend the same with much patience of mind, though great extreamitie otherwise, by reason of a small estate charged with great debts, (which are no small burthen to an honest mind,) And ever remain

Your Graces

*Hague*, 13th. *Decemb.* 1623.

Most faithful devoted servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

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## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

THe Queen of *Bohemia* desirous to draw the Prince of *Orange* to more then general professions of service to his Majestie, hath sometimes in my presence, when I waited on her highnesse, given occasion of discourse her self, and at other times I have spoken in her name with his Excellencie to the like effect, as in my former Letter to your Grace: which caused his Excellencie to take three of the States, such of whom he is most confident (one of *Guelderland*, another of *Holland*, the third of *Zealand*) unto him, to strengthen himself by their concurrence in that, which is his own inclination, of carrying this State to a strict alliance with his Majestie, in which he told them, That first their minds must be known, and next such assurance thought of, as not onely must give his Majestie present Contentment, but likewise free him from all misdoubt for the future, that either upon offers from *Spain* to these Provinces, or any sinister accidents of War, they should be induced to make Peace or Truce without his Majesties consent.

Whereunto they answered him, (as I have it from himself this day) That nothing could be more agreeable to their affections, and Interests in all respects, then to be under his Majesties protection: And for assurance of their remaining constant to that course, they doubted not, but when the matter should be treated of, the Provinces would willingly condescend to what should be necessary to that purpose.

His Excellencie in relation hereof unto me went so much further, as to instance in their new resolution here, now finally put in pra-

ctice of making Voyages into the *West-Indies* after the same form, as they have done into the *East*; both which joyned together make them irreconcileable with Spain. Yet if his Majestie will have a further tye on them, they will not refuse it; but he saith, The States will expect that such obligation be mutual, and that they in like manner may rest assured, when they put themselves wholly under his Majesties wings, his Majestie will not flie from them, and make his peace without them.

I told him the case was not equal betwixt his Majestie, and them, they being actually in War, his Majestie in Peace: so as to come to a conjunction, his Majestie must change condition, not they, and therefore hath the more reason to look before he leap out of Peace into War. And so did Queen *Elizabeth*, who had raigned 27 years before she openly took upon her the protection of these Countries; but after continued her War in their Cause to her dying day. This he confessed, but remembred withal, That there was a Treatie of *Burburck*, with which the States were much startled, and he thought that when this businesse should be more particularly scanned amongst them, as they would willingly give, so they would expect to receive good assurance.

In this point of declaration of their affection, and willingnesse to warrant his Majestie sufficiently, I asked him, How far I might go not to be disavowed: so as if his Majestie should take any suddain resolution, according as affaires require, he might confidently build upon the concurrence of this State. He answered me, That a resolution in this kind would require a further proceeding, then was fit, untill his Majestie would be content to make his mind known, by such private means as might seem best to his own wisdom, and then according to his own liking, they would inlarge this matter here, to more mens knowledge, then the small circle, in which it hitherto walked, and guide it in that manner as may be fit for the form of it to his Majesties honour, and for the substance to his full contentment. Which he offered to do now if I would presse him to it; but withal told me his opinion, that it would raise nothing but bruit and noise without effect, when we had here no better ground to work upon, and therefore wished the businesse might expect a return from his Majestie, if he could be content it should be proceeded in. In these terms remains this businesse, not free from many Cautions, and nice Circumstances; and yet on this side, (I can assure your Grace) full of good affection; but these are the true reasons of their coming on no faster. They hold it for a maxime, That *Spain* will never match with his

his Majestie for love, but either for hope, or fear. If *Spain* can entertain hope of reducing these Provinces to obedience by the Match, or fear, that unlesse the Match proceed, his Majestie will joyn with these Provinces in opposition to Spain: They hold in either of these Cases the Match as made. And therefore lest some use should be made of their presentations of themselves, to their own prejudice, they are thus shie, and circumspect. Besides, as they have had some help of money out of *France* this last year, so they are entertained with hopes of more against the next: which they fear would be excused upon any offer they should make of themselves towards his Majestie, and therefore are loath to adventure the exchange of a substance, for that which appears unto them hitherto, no better then a shadow; And they are indeed very umbragious; for they suspect, that Tentatives of this kind, of which some have been made heretofore amongst them, tend to no other end, then to endear our Merchandize with *Spain*, and let the Ministers of that Crown know, that we refuse in their Contemplation. But when his Majestie shall resolve in his own heart, and be pleased to make himself so understood, it will be no hard matter by his Excellencies means (who is a Prince full of good intentions and real affections to his Majestie, and his royal Family) to make these men lay by their Jealousies, and be as true to his Majestie, and the support of his Crowns, as his own Kingdomes. Which is no more then they owe for the protection which these that are now in Government had of his Majestie, when they were lately sinking under the burthen of a contrary faction; and no more then upon a good knowledge of their Interests and affections I can undertake for them, they will really and readily pay, if the matter be well managed. In which the confidence and freedom I have used with this Noble Gentleman, Sir *George Goring*, may give your Grace some further light, as any doubts shall arise concerning the businesse. So I most humbly take leave,

Your Graces

*Hague*, 18. Decemb. 1623.

Most humble, and most faithful servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

*May it please your Grace,*

THe busineſſe of ſtrict conjunction betwixt his Majeſtie, and this State (touching which the Queen of *Bohemia* hath received his Highneſſe, and your Graces Letters, and I your Graces of the 9th. of this preſent) goeth on the right foot (according as your Grace will ſee more particularly by my Letters to Mr. Secretarie *Conway*, and as the matter is here imbraced with much affection, ſo for the manner I doubt not but it will be well ordered in that ſort, as will be for his Majeſties honour, and contentment. But in regard of jealouſies towards us, and emulations amongſt theſe men in matters of imployment, (to which all men are ſubject, eſpecially in good and advantagious buſineſſes, ſome time, will be required, to ſet all in the right way, yet no illimited time; for I hope within a week all will be reſolved of, and within a a few dayes more, put in execution fullie to expectation. Sir *Noel Caron* writes, a league offenſive and defenſive will be imbraced by his Majeſtie, if it be propoſed from hence, with offer of aſſurance; And I aſſure my ſelf both the overture, and offer will be made and realie effected, if it be anſwered on our ſide with good correſpondence. That which buſieth my cogitations is, that *tempus agendi* may be loſt *Conſultando*; and therefore ſeeing how both his Majeſtie, and this State ſtand affected, I will take the libertie to give your Grace two advertiſements in matters of action, which will be of exceeding fruit, if they be thought of in time, and for which there is no time to ſpare.

One is, that your Grace doth inquire after in your Letter to the Queen of *Bohemia* (who excuſeth writing either to his Highneſſe, or your Grace till the States have reſolved of their ſending) that is the States preparation for the *Weſt-Indies*, which way, the companie for thoſe parts newlie erected in theſe, hath ſet out one Fleet of 32. Sayl now alreadie at Sea, with ſome Land men amongſt them, to put on ground and fortifie as they ſhall find occaſion; for which they have men for the purpoſe, and all materials readie embarqued with them.

A ſecond Fleet they are now preparing againſt April next, about which all their Admiralties and ſome of the Deputies of this new *Weſt-Indian* Companie are here at this preſent. And the deſign is, for the Amiralties to ſet out at the charge of the generalitie twelve good ſhips of war, beſides they have alreadie on the coaſt of Spain and in the narrow Seas, which they will ſtill continue.

To

To these 12. ships they require the *West-Indian* Companie to joyn 32. more, which will make a good Fleet, and this they intend shall be readie (as I sayd) in April next, to attend the coming of the Spanish *West-Indian* Fleet, which here they understand is put into the *Havana*, with intention there to winter as it did the last year.

Now if his Majestie will give leave to his subjects to erect a Companie for the *West-Indies*, and joyn with these men in those Parts, as they do in the East, (and upon more equal conditions, since the businesse is but now in the beginning) it will be here gladlie imbraced. And if he will frame a Fleet betwixt his own ships and his Merchants to joyn with the States Fleet prepared for April next to intercept the Spanish *West-Indian* Fleet, nothing more will be desired by these men, and there is nothing of which for the present they promise themselves greater fruit: for either they hope to take, or to stop the silver of those parts (both which are good services, considering the need of mony, the Spaniards have in these), or else they resolve with the ships which belong to the companie to pursue their voyage of the *West-Indies*.

The second is a Truce with the *Pyrates* of *Algier*, such an one as this State hath made in conformitie to their peace with the Grand Seigniour, which will be no more observed for unmolesting all, and every one of our Merchants ships as they are straglingly lighted on, then it is with these men, who suffer many losses in particular; but those are recompensed in the General. For the *Spaniards* are much amazed with this correspondence; And the men of War of this State, or such Merchants, as can make any reasonable defence are most medled withal. Besides, in any matter of offence they concur together; And even now a proposition is made from *Algier* to the Prince of *Orange*, (which I have from his own mouth to acquaint your Grace therewith) that in case this State against the beginning of next sommer will set out twenty Sayl of ships upon any good service against the Spaniards, they will joyn unto them 60. Sayl to pursue the design, whatsoever it shall be of this State. The acceptation of which offer being now in deliberation, it will be suspended till it be seen, how this unexpected businesse with his Majestie may proceed; And then they will here do nothing but that, as may concur with our common Interests. But because the negotiation of this matter with those of *Algier* (that is a Truce betwixt his Majesties subjects, and those men) will require time, your Grace may provisionallie move his Majestie (if the matter be well liked) to use such endeavours

deavours as may conduce thereunto. Here they uſe to write, and ſend through *France* by *Marſeilles* to the Conſul they have continuallie at *Algeir*, by whoſe meanes(if no better preſent it ſelf) any thing may be propoſed, his Majeſty ſhall find fitting.

Other things, I will within few daies remonſtrate to your Grace for his Majeſties ſervice in this change of affaires, which require all poſſible induſtries, and diligences to be uſed both far and neer; And thoſe not neglected, I doubt not, but they who have ſo groſſely abuſed his Majeſties friendſhip, will ſoone repent themſelves, and by their harmes ſee their own errours. Thus I moſt humbly take leave;

Your Graces

Moſt humble, and moſt faithful Servant,

*Hague* 24. January, 1625.

*Dudley Carleton.*

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## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

ACcording as I advertiſed your Grace the 24. of the laſt of the diſpoſition of the Prince of *Orange*, and ſuch of the States, as he called unto him to Councel, they procured the reſt ſoone after to reſolve of an Embaſſage to his Majeſtie, and now they have diſpatched the ſame with as much expedition, as could poſſibly be uſed. The Perſons are *Aerſens* of *Holland*, and *Joachim* of *Zealand*, both able, and well affected Perſons, and both ſufficiently known to his Majeſtie by former imployments. They go amply authoriſed for what they ſhall treat: but that as yet is an Embrion onely which muſt receive form, and life from his Majeſtie, in whoſe hands it lyeth to preſerve this State, and diſpoſe for ever of the whole ſtrength thereof for his own ſervice, and his royal Families. Which after more debates, and diſtaſts, then have paſſed with all the world beſides, I am glad I can ſay upon good warrantize: whereof this is one proof, that when his Majeſtie is conſtrained by the neceſſity of affaires to ſend and ſeek to his other friends, he is ſent and ſought, and ſued to from hence. I doubt not but it will be objected (as hath been formerly) that it is for their own Intereſt, and that they would gladly ingage his

his Majestie in their quarrel, which it were a follie to deny: but there is alwaies the friendship strongest when the interests are most conjoyned. And if that which is principally for one mans benefit, turn likewise to another mans advantage, *Hoc non facere* (saith an old School-book) *summa est imprudentia.*

The affairs of these parts for matter of Action (which have been more then ordinarily succeeds in this cold season, but have been more coldly pursued then was feared) I refer to this Bearer my Nephew's report, who having the honour to be his Majesties servant, I imploy him the more willingly, as able to give Account of such particularities, either of this Negotiation, or otherwise, of whic h his Majestie, and your Grace may require knowledge. And I humbly beseech your Grace to give him encouragement by your accustomed noble favour. So rests

Your Graces

*Hague*, 16. *February*, 1625.

Most humble, and most devoted servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

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## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

IT were a sin against the publique service, in which your Grace doth imploy your self so much to the common good, and your own honour, to molest you with Letters in this busie time: which must serve me for excuse of silence, since the beginning of the Parliament. What I write now is by Commandment of the Queen of *Bohemia* concerning this Bearer Captain *Gifford* an old Seaman of our Nation, who having a private suite to the States, hath made a journey over hither with recommendation to me from our two Secretaries for advancement thereof, but with a further purpose to be imployed by the Queen against the *Spaniard* in a matter of no lesse moment, then taking of a Gallion, which usually bringeth the treasure over the Gulph of *Mexico*, from *Nova Spagna* to the *Havana*. Which he designs after this manner: To go out with two Ships and a Pinnace,

nace, onely fitted for fight, without more in number, becauſe of the Alarum would be taken at a greater Fleet, and to lie under Covert of a ſmall Iſland in the entrie of the Gulph of *Mexico*: where the Gallion coming uſually alone, unleſſe it be accompanied with ſome Merchants ſhips, which he ſets light by, and which incumbred with goods and Paſſengers, he thinks may be maſtered, and taken, building upon the ſecuritie in which that Gallion, with the reſt of that *Nova Spagna* Fleet do ſayl ſcattering in the *Gulph*, till they meet with the Fleet of *Terra Firma* at the *Havana*, where he having been heretofore a priſoner made this obſervation, and doth now offer himſelf to put the deſign in execution, with a demand of betwixt 10000 and a 11000 l. for the whole equipage.

The Queen in recompence of his good will returns him with this addreſſe to your Grace as a man fit for imployment, for ſo he is generally reputed; but for the particularitie of the Exploit, ſhe doth not entertain any thought thereof, but refers it wholly to your Graces Conſideration, and to the opportunitie according as affaires ſhall ſucceed betwixt his Majeſtie, and *Spain*.

Here are come Letters from ſome of the King and Queens ſervants on that ſide, and one to my ſelf from a private friend, advertizing, That there is a readineſſe in divers of his Majeſties Subjects of good abilities, to put to Sea with Letters of Mart in the name of this King and Queen againſt the *Spaniard*, and of a likelihood, that if ſuch Commiſſions were given by theſe Princes, they would not be ill underſtood by his Majeſtie.

Mounſieur *Aertſens* hath likewiſe written hither in a private Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, that he hath been ſpoken with to move the States to increaſe the number, he and his Colleague have mentioned of 10 or 12 Ships to joyn in any good occaſion with his Majeſties Fleet to 20: And that the purpoſe is to ſet out 50 ſayl on that ſide, and that both ſhall go under the name of the King and Queen of *Bohemia*. Wherein though the motion be not directly made, yet the Prince of *Orange* hath diſcourſed enough, that when it ſhall come to iſſue, they will ſtretch themſelves to furniſh to the full what is required on this ſide. In both theſe buſineſſes, as well the granting Letters of Mart by theſe Princes, as their lending their names to any greater Action, they intend to govern themſelves onely as they ſhall underſtand to concur with his Majeſties pleaſure, and therefore hope they ſhall receive advice from his Highneſſe, and your Grace, what is fit for them to contribute to ſuch occaſions as they

they see much to their Comforts, you advance with so great care and vigilance. Thus I most humbly take leave,

*Hague* 16. April, 1624.

Your Graces most humble, and most devoted Servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

*May it please your Grace,*

SUch Commandments as I received from your Grace by double Dispatches of the 4th. of the last, by way of provision whilest Sir *William Saintleiger* lay sick, were prevented by his own presence. He bringing the first of those Packets with him, and thereby had Commoditie to assist at the breaking of the businesse to the States, by virtue of his Majesties Credence given him, and my Lord General *Cecil*: which since, he hath sollicited both at the Camp, and in this place with all possible care and industrie, and I have not failed of my utmost endeavours.

But the unsettledness of this Government, which still continueth since the late change of Governours, hath bred delay to some, and direct impediments to other points we had in charge: which we have endeavoured to supply by other means. And now in what state he leaves the whole businesse, he will relate to your Grace. Such Patents as your Grace required from the King and Queen of *Bohemia*, I have committed to his delivery in divers forms, with a Blank signed and sealed, wherein to frame such an one as may be better to your minds: But if your Grace make no use of it, you may please to return it to me again, to the end I may restore it.

What concerns my self, I absolutely remit and submit to your Grace; onely I will renew the request I made to your Grace by my Nephew, That your Grace will not prefer any before me in your formerly intended favour, out of belief, that any can be more, then I resolve to rest whilest I live *a toutes Espreves*,

*Hague*, 20. *June*, 1625.

Humbly and faithfully devoted to your Graces person and service,

*Dudley Carleton.*

## Sir Dudley Carleton *to the Duke.*

*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

AFter long attendance the wind is come good for *Plymouth*, which I hope will carry thither ſpeedily and ſafely the States whole Fleet, though in 3. parts; 12 Ships with the Admiral *de Naſſau*, who hath long waited in the *Teſſel*; 4 but newly ready provided by thoſe of *Zealand* at *Amſterdam*, and 4 which have layen ſometimes before the *Brill*; whereof one is to land the *Marſhal Chatillion* in paſſing by *Calice*; the other three to Convoy the Engliſh men: And Armes I ſend in 10. other Ships I have hired at *Rotterdam*: before which place they have layen 20 daies a Shipboard, by reaſon of contrary winds, with ſome impatiencie, but no diſorder: which what courſe I took to prevent, as likewiſe what may happen in their Voyage, my Lord *Conway* (to whom I give a particular account of all) will inform your Grace.

I have obtained leave for Sir *John Proud* to go the Voyage according to his Majeſties Letter, though it was ſomewhat ſtood upon by the States, and he hath taken his paſſage by *Zealand*.

When I call to mind, what Patents I procured of the King of *Bohemia*, and ſent your Grace by Sir *William Saint Lieger*, (amongſt which was one of ſubmiſſion to any accommodation his Majeſtie ſhall at any time like well of for the King of *Bohemia*) I think it neceſſary to advertize your Grace, that knowledge being come hither of the *Infanta's* ſending the Count *Shomburgh* to the King of *Denmark* with a fair Meſſage, and the Count *Gondomar's* overtures to Mr. *Trumbal* tending to reconcilement, and reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, it is ſo willingly hearkned unto by the King of *Bohemia*, that there is no doubt of his Conſent: but withal he well conſiders, that if Treatie alone be truſted unto, and thereupon Armes now leavied by his Majeſtie, and his Friends be laid aſide, all will prove as fruitleſſe as formerly. For howſoever the King of *Spain* (for more free proſecution of other quarrels, or deſigns) may be induced to quit what he poſſeſſeth in the *Palatinate*, the ſhares, the Emperour, the Duke of *Bavier*, and the two Electours *Majentz*, and *Trevers*, with a great rabble of Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuites have there in, will require more then bare negotiation, to wring it out of their hands; and nothing but Victorie, or at leaſt a well armed Treatie can ſerve that turn.

The

The time seems long both to the King and Queen, and growes very irksome every day more then other of their abode here in this place: which indeed doth prove in all respects very uncomfortable; and that your Grace will gather out of Mr. Secretarie *Morton's* report, and my Letters to my Lord *Conway*. In this very Consideration, I beseech your Grace be the more mindful of

Your Graces

*Hague*, 20th. of *August*, 1625.

Most humble, and most devoted servant,

*Dudley Carleton.*

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*FINIS.*

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PARIS.

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## *To the* READER.

WE cannot ſuppoſe here that words will be needed to raiſe opinion; yet it may be expected we ſhould give ſome account of what we have done, and we will do it. Not long agone we printed that excellent collection of Letters known by the name of *Cabala*, which the world has ſeen and approved. Since, another volume of Letters hath come to our hands; a volume which may juſtly be called a ſecond *Cabala*, not unworthy to keep that com-

pany, a part which must add much to the other, as illustrious in its titles, as considerable and as weighty for the matter. In which, besides not a few noble monuments of the former years from the deserting of the Roman Church by our great *Henry* downward, of his daughter the most glorious virgin Queens life and government recorded, some of the same great actions are begun, many continued; much of the policie, contrivances, and workings of the same succeeding Princes and their Ministers, of the carriage of the same things farther prosecuted, and more fully discovered. Like sister-twins of lovely faces they have both apart their native sweetness, their several worths and graces; yet they are not so fully taking, so perfectly beautiful, as where they are drawn together in one frame. In the new more is discovered, not only of the foreign affairs in *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*,

*France*, *Spain*, and other Countries whither the intereſt of the late Reignes engaged the Soveraign actors; but of our home-Councels, Orders, and proviſions both for the Church and Commonwealth, enough to ſhew the prudence, judgment, and foreſight of thoſe who ſwayed in chief then, and to let us know now the Ages paſt have had the honour to be governed by men, who did not permit all things to fortune; who if they could not aſſure themſelvs of the events, yet they could command, deſign, and underſtand: Their deſigns and counſels (which will be admirable to ſome, but ridiculous to others) being ever directed and ruled by equity and juſtice, ever aiming at honeſt ends, ſuch as may venture abroad, ſuch as will appear fair and handſom in the light: whereas if we caſt our eys upon the Popes in the ſame leafs, we ſhall find nothing but combuſtions,

no-

nothing but fire, brimstone and alarums to war and blood. If upon the *French*, nothing but inhumane cruelty and violence upon the conscience too. If upon the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, nothing but artifice, nothing but cunning perfidiousness; all their plots and consultations, their cheating Treaties, tending meerly to the advancement of the *Austrian* house, without any respect to piety and justice, faith or honour. A taste of which unworthiness we find in this second Part, where the Spanish Match is first moved by the Duke of *Lerma*, the grand Minion in *Philip* the 3. his reign; this Duke damns himself in oaths for his sincerity and reality toward the Match, which *Olivarez*, the present Kings Favourite, tels his Master here was never intended. It would be too tedious but to touch in passing by, upon the generals in these Letters; upon the calamities and miseries

ries of the Palatine *Germans*, of the *Hugonots*, the ſiege and taking in of *Rochel*, *&c.* Hereſie and Superſtition every where triumphing over truth. To ſpeak of the ſpirit and worthines of our Hero's were impoſsible; we might cull out ſome Letters here, of which (were there no more) might be ſaid,

——*An hand or eye*
*By* Hyliard *drawn, is worth a Hiſtory.*

Of theſe Letters we may ſafely be believed, though they come out thus late, and are ſo little known, their merit will eaſily weigh down the age and fame of thoſe which have gone before.

*Temple-Gate,*
May 1. 1654.

*G. B.*
*T. C.*

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*FINIS.*

# King *HENRY* the 8. to the Clergie of the Province of *York*, An. 1533. Touching his Title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*.

RIght Reverend Father in God, Right truſty and welbeloved, We greet you well, and have received your Letters dated at *York* the 6. of *May*, containing a long diſcourſe of your mind and opinion concerning ſuch words as hath paſſed the Clergie of the Province of *Canterbury* in the Proeme of their Grant made unto us, the like whereof ſhould now paſs in that Province. Albeit ye interlace ſuch words of ſubmiſſion of your Judgment, and diſcharge of your duty towards us with humble faſhion and behaviour, as we cannot conceive diſpleaſure nor be miſcontent with you, conſidering what you have ſaid to us in times paſt in other matters, and what ye confeſs in your Letters your ſelf to have heard and known, noting alſo the effect of the ſame; We cannot but marvail at ſundry points and Articles, which we ſhall open unto you, as hereafter followeth.

Firſt, ye have heard (as ye ſay ye have) the ſaid words to have paſſed in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, where were preſent ſo many learned in Divinity and Law, as the Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, *London*, *S. Aſſaph*, Abbots of *Hyde*, *S. Bennets*, and many other; and in the Law the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Bath*; and in the Lower Houſe of the Clergie ſo many notable and great Clerks, whoſe perſons and learning you know well enough. Why do ye not in this caſe with your

ſelf as you willed us in our great matter, conform your conſcience to the conſcience and opinion of a great number? Such was your advice to us in the ſame (our great matter) which now we perceive ye take for no ſure counſel; for ye earch the grounds, not regarding their ſayings. Nevertheleſs foraſmuch as ye examine their grounds, cauſes and reaſons, in doing whereof ye ſeem rather to ſeek and examine that thing which might diſprove their doings, then that which might maintain the ſame, We ſhall anſwer you briefly without long diſcourſe to the chief points of your ſaid Letters: wherein taking for a ground, that words were ordained to ſignifie things, and cannot therefore by ſiniſter interpretation alter the truth of them, but only in the wits of perverſe perſons that would blind or colour the ſame, by reaſon whereof to good men they ſignifie that they mean only doing their office, and to men of worſe ſort they ſerve for maintenance of ſuch meaning as they would imagine: ſo in uſing words we ought only to regard and conſider the expreſſion of the truth in convenient ſpeech and ſentences, without overmuch ſcruple of ſuper-perverſe interpretations, as the malice of men may excogitate: wherein both overmuch negligence is not to be commended, and too much diligence is not only by daily experience in mens writings and laws ſhewed fruſtrate and void; inſomuch as nothing can be ſo cleerly and plainly written, ſpoken and ordered, but that ſubtile wit hath been able to ſubvert the ſame; but alſo the Spirit of God, which in his Scripture taught us the contrary, as in the places which ye bring in & reherſe:—— if the Holy Ghoſt had had regard to that which might have been perverſly conſtrued of theſe words, *Pater major me eſt*; and the other, *Ego & Pater unum ſumus*: there ſhould have been added to the firſt *humanitas*, to the ſecond *ſubſtantia*. And wherefore doth the Scripture call Chriſt *primogenitum?* whereupon, and the Adverb *donec*, was maintained the error *contra perpetuam virginitatem Mariæ*. Why have we in the Church S. *Pauls* Epiſtle, which S. *Peter* writeth to have been the occaſion of errors? Why did Chriſt ſpeak of many words, which the Jews drew *ad calumniam*, and yet reformed them not? as when he ſaid, *Solvam Templum hoc, &c.* meaning of his body, where *Templum* with them had another ſignification; And ſuch other like? There is none other cauſe but this, *Omnia quæ ſcripta ſunt, ad noſtram doctrinam ſcripta ſunt.* And by that Learning we ought to apply and draw words to the truth, and ſo to underſtand them as they may ſignifie truth, and not ſo to wreſt them as they ſhould maintain a lye. For otherwiſe as Heretiques have done with the holy Scripture, ſo ſhall all men do with familiar ſpeech; and if all things ſhall be brought into familiar diſputation, he that ſhall call us *Supremum & unicum Dominum*, by that means, and as goeth your argu-

argument, might be reproved: For Christ is indeed *unicus Dominus & Supremus*, as we confess him in the Church daily; and now it is in opinion that *Sancti* be not Mediators: The contrary whereof ye affirm in your Letters, because of the Text of S. *Paul*, *Unus est Mediator Deum & hominum*. And after that manner of reason which ye use in the entry, if any man should say, This Land is mine own, and none hath right in it but I; he might be reproved by the Psalm, *Domini est terra*: For why should a man call *terram aliquam* onely his, whereof God is the chief Lord and Owner? Why is it admitted in familiar speech to call a man dead, of whom the soul which is the chief and best part yet liveth? How is it that we say this man or that man to be founder of this Church, seeing that in one respect God is only founder? We say likewise that he is a good man to the Church, a special benefactor of the Church: and that the Church is fallen down, when the stones be fallen down, the people preserved and living. And in all this manner of speech when we hear them, it is not accustomed ne used to do as ye do, that is to say, to draw the word *Church* to that sentence wherein the speech may be a lye, but to take it in that wherein it signifieth truth. Which accustomed manner if ye had followed, you should not have needed to have laboured so much in the declaration of the word *Ecclesia*, in that signification wherein it is most rarely taken, and cannot without maintenance of too manifest a lye be applied to any man. For taking *Ecclesia* in that sense ye take it, S. *Paul* wrote amiss writing to the *Corinthians*, saying, *Ecclesia Dei quæ est Corinthi*: for by your definition, *non circumscribitur loco Ecclesia*. In the Gospel where Christ said *Dic Ecclesiæ*, must needs have another interpretation and definition then ye make *de Ecclesia* in your said Letters, or else it were hard to make complaint to all Christendom, as the case in the Gospel requireth. *Sed est candidi pectoris verba veritati accommodare, ut ipsam referre quod eorum officium est non corrumpere videantur*. Furthermore the Lawiers that write how *Ecclesia fallit & fallitur*, what blasphemy do they affirm, if that definition should be given to *Ecclesia* which you write in your Letters, wherein albeit ye write the truth for so far, yet for as much as ye draw that to the words spoken of us to the reprobation of them, yet ye shew your selves contrary to the teaching of Scripture, rather inclined by applying a divers definition to make that a lye which is truly spoken, then *genuino sensu addita & candida interpretatione* to verifie the same. It were *nimis absurdum*, Us to be called *Caput Ecclesiæ representans corpus Christi mysticum, & Ecclesiæ quæ sine ruga est & macula quam Christus sibi Sponsam elegit, illius partem vel oblatam accipere vel arrogare*. And therefore albeit *Ecclesia* is spoken of in these words, touched in the Preeme, yet there is added, *Et Cleri Anglicani*: which

words conjoined restraineth by way of interpretation the word *Ecclesiam*, and is as much to say as the Church, that is to say the Clergy of *England*. Which manner of speaking in the Law ye have professed ye many times finde, and likewise in many other places.

But proceeding in your said Letter, ye have shewed Christ to be *Caput Ecclesiæ*, ye go about to shew how he divided his power in earth after the distinction *temporalium & spiritualium*, whereof the one ye say he committed to Princes, the other *Sacerdotibus*; for Princes, ye alleadg Texts which sheweth and proveth obedience due to Princes of all men without distinction, be he Priest, Clerk, Bishop, or Lay-man, who make together the Church: and albeit your own words make mention of temporal things, wherein ye say they should be obeyed; yet the Texts of Scripture which ye alleadg having the general words *obedite & subditi estote* contain no such words, whereby spirituall things should be excluded; but whatsoever appertaineth to the tranquility of mans life is of necessity included, as the words plainly import, as ye also confess; wherefore *Gladium portat Princeps* not only against them that break his Commandment and Laws, but against him also that in any wise breaketh Gods Law; For we may not more regard our Law then God, ne punish the breach of our Laws, and leave the transgressor of Gods Laws unreformed: so as all spiritual things by reason whereof may arise bodily trouble and inquietation, be necessarily included in Princes Power, and so proveth the Text of Scripture by you alleadged: and also the Doctors by you brought in, confirm the same. After that ye intend to prove, which no man will deny, the ministration of spiritual things to have been by Christ committed to Priests to Preach and minister the Sacraments, them to be as Phisicians to mens souls; but in these Scriptures neither by spiritual things so far extended, as under colour of that vocabule be now adaies, ne it proveth not that their office being never so excellent, yet their persons, acts and deeds, should not be under the power of their Prince by God assigned, whom they should knowledg as their Head; the excellency of the matter of the Office doth not alwaies in all points extoll the dignity of the Minister. Christ who did most perfectly use the Office of a Priest, *& nihil aliud quam vere curavit animas*, gainsaid not the authority of *Pilate* upon that ground; and St. *Paul* executing the Office of a Priest, said, *ad tribunal Cæsaris sto, ubi me judicari oportet*: And commanded likewise indistinctly all others to obey Princes, and yet unto those Priests being as members executing that Office, Princes do honour, for so is Gods pleasure and commandment; wherefore howsoever ye take the words in the proheme, we indeed do shew and declare that Priests and Bishops

preaching

preaching the word of God, ministring the Sacraments according to Christs Law, and refreshing our people with ghostly and spiritual food, we not only succour and defend them for tranquility of their life, but also with our presence, and otherwise doe honour them as the case requireth, for so is Gods pleasure: Like as the husband, although he be head of the wife, yet saith S. *Paul, Non habet vir potestatem sui corporis, sed mulier*, and so is in that respect under her: And having our Mother in our Realm, by the commandment of God we shall honour her, and yet she for respect of our dignity shall honour us by Gods commandment likewise: And the Minister is not always the better man, *sed cui ministratur*; the Physitian is not better then the Prince, because he can do that the Prince cannot, viz. *curare morbum.* In consecration of Archbishops, do not Bishops give more dignity by their ministration then they have themselves? The Doctors ye bring in, taking for their Theme to extoll Priesthood, prefer it to the dignity of a Prince; after which manner of reasoning it may be called *dignius imperare affectibus quam populis*, and so every good man in consideration of every dignity to excell a King not living so perfectly as he doth. And why is a Bishop better then a Priest, seeing and considering in the matter of their office *Episcopus etiam si administret plura, non tamen administrat majora.* Emperors and Princes obey Bishops and Priests as doers of the message of Christ, and his Ambassadors for that purpose: which done, *statim fiunt privati*, and in order and quietness of living knowledge Princes as head. For what meant *Justinian* the Emperor to make Laws *de Episcopis & Clericis*, and such other spiritual matters, if he had not been perswaded *Illi esse curam Ecclesiæ à Deo mandatam?* This is true, that Princes be *filii Ecclesiæ*, that is to say, *illius Ecclesiæ* which ye define: wherewith it may agree that they be nevertheless *Suprema Capita* of the Congregations of Christian men in their Countries; like as in smaller number of Christian men, *Non est absurdum vocare Superiores capita*, as they be called indeed, and may be called *Primi & Supremi*, in respect of those Countries. And why else doth the Pope suffer any other besides himself to be called Archbishop, seeing that he himself indeed challengeth to be *Princeps Apostolorum & Episcoporum* in *Peters* stead, which the name of an Archbishop utterly denieth. But by addition of the Country they save the sense: whereunto in us to be called *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* ye at the last agree, so that there were added *in temporalibus*; which addition were superfluous, considering that men being here themselves earthly and temporal, cannot be head and Governor to things eternal, nor yet spiritual, taking that word *spiritual* not as the common speech abuseth it, but as it signifieth indeed: For, *quæ spiritu aguntur, nulla lege astringuntur*,

*guntur*, as the Scripture saith, *Quæ Spiritu Dei aguntur libera sunt*. And if ye take *Spiritualibus* for Spiritual men, that is to say, Priests, Clerks, their good acts and deeds worldly, in all this both we and all other Princes be at this day chief and heads, after whose ordinance either in generall or in particular they be ordered and governed. For, leaving old stories, and considering the state of the world in our time, is there any Convocation where Laws be made for the order of our Clergy, but such as by our authority is assembled? And why should not we say as *Justinian* said, *Omnia nostra facimus quibus à nobis impartitur auctoritas?* Is any Bishop made but he submitteth himself to us, and acknowledgeth himself as Bishop to be our subject? Do not we give our Licence and assent to the election of Abbots? And this is concerning the Persons and Laws spirituall. As touching their goods, it is in all mens opinions learned in our Laws, *Extra controversiam*, that debate and controversie of them appertaineth to our decision and Order. And as for the living of the Clergy, some notable offences we reserve to our correction, some we remit by our sufferance to the Judges of the Clergy; as murther, felony and treason, and such like enormities we reserve to our examination; other crimes we leave to be ordered by the Clergy; not because we may not intermeddle with them, for there is no doubt but as well might we punish adultery and insolence in Priests, as Emperours have done, and other Princes atethis day do; which ye know well enough; so as in all those Articles concerning the persons of Priests, their Laws, their Acts and order of living, forasmuch as they be indeed all temporall, and concerning this present life only, in those we (as we be called) be indeed in this Realm *Caput*; and because there is no man above us here, be indeed *supremum Caput*. As to spiritual things, meaning by them the sacraments, being by God ordained as instruments of efficacy & strength, whereby grace is of his infinite goodness conferred upon his people; forasmuch as they be no worldly nor temporal things, they have no worldly nor temporall head but only Christ that did institute them, by whose ordinance they be ministred here by mortal men, elect, chosen and ordered as God hath willed for that purpose, who be the Clergy; who for the time they do that, and in that respect *tanquam ministri versantur in his quæ hominum potestati non subjiciuntur, in quibus si male versantur sine scandalo Deum ultorem habent si cum scandalo hominum cognito & vindicta est*. Wherein, as is before said, either the Prince is chiefe doer, r his authority proceeded to the execution of the same; as when by sufferance or priviledge the Prelats intromit themselves therein; wherefore in that which is derived from the Prince at the begining, why should any obstacle or scruple be to call him Head from whom that is derived? Such

Such things as although they be amongſt men, yet they be indeed *Divina, quoniam ſupra nos ſunt nihil ad nos.* —— And being called Head of all we be not in deed nor in name to him that would ſincerely underſtand it head of ſuch things being not ſpirituall as they be not temporall, and yet to thoſe words ſpoken of us *ad evitandam illam calumniam*, there is added *quantum per legem Chriſti licet*; for interpretation of which Parentheſis your ſimilitude added of *homo immortalis eſt quantum per naturæ legem licet*, is nothing like; for *naturæ lex* is not immortality, as is *lex Chriſti* to ſuperiority: for *lex naturæ* ne ſpeaketh, ne can mean of any immortality at all, conſidering that the law of Nature ordaineth mortality in all things; but Chriſts law ſpeaketh of ſuperiority, admitteth ſuperiority, ſheweth alſo and declareth *obediendum eſſe Principibus*, as yee do alledge. Wherefore if the law of God permitteth ſuperiority, and commandeth obedience: to examine and meaſure *modum obedientiæ & ſuperioritatis*, there can to no other thing ſo good a relation be made. For as yee underſtand the Scripture, though it ſay nay to part, it ſaith not nay to the whole, whereas nature denieth utterly all immortality; and ſo though in ſpeaking of immortality of man it were ſuperfluous to ſay *quantum per naturæ legem licet*; yet is not ſo ſpeaking *de ſuperioritate & modo Principatus*, referring the certain limits to the law of Chriſt, *ad cujus normam quicquid quadrat planum & rectum eſt, quicquid non quadrat prævum & iniquum.* And as touching the doubt and difficulty you make to give a ſingle anſwer yea or no, for that the queſtion propounded containeth two things, whereof the one is true th'other falſe, as yee ſay, meaning as yee write, that in *temporalibus* we be *Caput*, and in *ſpiritualibus* we be not. It ſeemeth that neither your example agreeth in ſimilitude with that yee bring it in for, nor is there in learning or common ſpeech uſed the ſcrupuloſity in anſwers yee write of. Truth it is, that the queſtion in plain words containeth two parts expreſsly, whereof the one is true, th'other falſe; our yea or nay cannot be anſwered: for there ſhould appear a manifeſt lye, which Gods law deteſteth, and naturally is abhorred: as if it ſhould be asked Us, if We were King of *England* and of *Denmark*, our nay or yea ſhould not ſuffice: But it is farre otherwiſe both in matters of Learning and common ſpeech, where the words in the queſtion may by divers interpretations or relations contain two things, and yet in expreſſion contain but one: As if a man ſhould ask Us, *An filius & pater unum ſunt?* We would not doubt to anſwer and ſay, Yea, as the Scripture ſaith, for it is truly anſwered, and to make a lye is but Sophiſtication, drawing the word *unum* to perſon, wherein it is a lye. If one were asked the queſtion, Whether the man and wife were one, he might boldly and truly ſay, Yea, and yet it is *diſtinctione*

*ctione corporum naturalium* a lie, and to the queſtion, *Utrum Eccleſiam conſtet ex bonis & malis*; Yea, and yet as yee define *Eccleſiam* it it is a lie. The reaſon of diverſityis this, for that it is not ſuppoſed men would abuſe words, but apply them to ſignifie truth, and not to ſignifie a lie, wherein the Arrians offending, took occaſion of hereſies.

For that which is in Scripture written is a moſt certain truth; and as it is there written, ſo and no otherwiſe would Chriſt have anſwered, if the queſtion had been asked *An Pater eſſet major illo?* he would have ſaid yea, as it is written. And if the *Arrians* would have taken for a truth that of him that is truth, and ſpeaketh truth, and from whom proceedeth but truth, they would have brought a diſtinction with them to ſet forth truly, and not diſprove that it was truly written, by ſophiſtication of the word. When S. *James* wrote, *Fides ſine operibus mortua eſt*, he wrote truth; and ſo did S. *Paul*, *Quod fides juſtificat abſque operibus legis*: which it could not do, if it were *mortua*. Either of theſe made a ſingle aſſeveration of a ſentence, by interpretation containing two; truſting that the Reader would *pio animo* ſo underſtand them, as their ſayings might, as they do indeed, agree with truth. It is never to be thought men will willingly & without ſhame lye; And therefore the ſenſe, if any may be gathered true, or like to be true, is to be taken, and not that which is a lye. And when we write to the Pope *Sanctiſſimo*, we mean not holier then S. *Peter*, though it ſound ſo; and he that in our Letters ſhould object that, ſhould be thought ridiculous. He that ſhould ſay he rode beyond the ſea, were not conveniently interrupted in his tale by him that would object ſailing upon the ſea, where he could not ride at all. And rather then men would note a lye when they know what is meant, they will ſooner by allegory or methaphor draw the word to the truth, then by cavillation of the word note a lye. Hath not the Pope been called *Caput Eccleſiæ?* and who hath put any addition unto it? Have not men ſaid that the Pope may diſpence *cum jure divino*, and yet in a part *juris divini*, viz. *moralis & naturalis*, the ſame men would ſay he might not diſpence: wherefore if in all other matters it was never thought inconvenient to ſpeak abſolutely the truth without diſtinction, why ſhould there be more ſcruple in our caſe? The truth cannot be changed by words: that we be, as Gods law ſuffereth us to be, whereunto we do and muſt conform our ſelves. And if ye underſtand, as ye ought to underſtand *Temporalibus* for the paſſing over this life in quietneſs, ye at laſt deſcend to agree to that which in the former part of your Letters you intend to impugne; and ſticking to that, it were moſt improperly ſpoken to ſay, We be *illius Eccleſiæ Caput in temporalibus*, which hath not *temporalia*.

Queen

## *Queen* Anne *of* Bullen *to King* Henry *from the Tower, May 6. 1536.*

SIR,

YOur Graces displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write or what to excuse I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so to obtain your favour) by such a one whom you know to be my ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message, then I rightly conceived your menning: And if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command; but let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledg a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded: And to speak a truth, never Prince had wife more loyal in all duty and in all true affection, then you have ever found in *Anne Bullen:* with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your Graces pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time forget my self in my exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always look'd for such an alteration as now I find, the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation then your Graces fancie, the least alteration whereof I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancie to some other subject.

You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you find me worthy of such honour, Good your Grace let not any light fancie or bad councel of my Enemies withdraw your Princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the Infant-Princess your daughter. Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and Judges: yea let me receive an open Trial, for my truths shall fear no open shames: then shall you see either my innocencie cleered, your suspition and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and my offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithfull wife,

but to follow your affection already ſetled on that party for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, whoſe name I could ſome while ſince have pointed to, your Grace being not ignorant of my ſuſpition therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous ſlander muſt bring you the enjoying of a deſired happineſs, then I deſire of God that he will pardon your great ſin herein, and likewiſe my enemies the inſtruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a ſtrict accompt for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me at his general Judgment-ſeat, where both you and my ſelf muſt both ſhortly appear, and in whoſe juſt judgment I doubt not, whatſoever the world may think of me, my innocency ſhall be openly known and ſufficiently cleered.

My laſt and onely requeſt ſhall be, That my ſelf may bear the burthen of your Graces diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor Gentlemen who as I underſtand are in ſtrait impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your ſight, if ever the name of *Anne Bullen* have been pleaſing in your ears, let me obtain this laſt requeſt, and I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any further, with my earneſt prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.

*From my dolefull priſon in the Tower,*
*this ſixth of May.*

*Your moſt loyal and faithful wife,*

ANNE BULLEN.

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## Queen Elizabeths *Letter to the Lady* Norris *upon the death of her Son.*

ALthough we have deferred long to repreſent unto you our grieved thoughts, becauſe we liked full well to yield you the firſt reflections of our misfortunes, whom we have always ſought to cheriſh and comfort; yet knowing now that neceſſity muſt bring it to your ears, and nature conſequently muſt move many paſſionate affections in your heart, we have reſolved no longer to ſmother either our care for your ſorrow, or the ſympathy of our grief for his death; wherein if ſociety in ſorrowing work diminution, we do aſſure you by this true meſſenger of our mind,

mind, that Nature can have ſtirred no more dolorous affections in you as a mother, for a dear ſon, then the gratefulneſs and memory of his ſervices paſt hath wrought in Us his Soveraign, apprehenſion of the miſs of ſo worthy a ſervant. But now that natures common work is done, and he that was born to die hath paid his tribute; let that Chriſtian diſcretion ſtay the flux of your immoderate grieving, which hath inſtructed you both by example and knowledge, that nothing of this kind hath happened but by Gods providence; and that theſe lines from your loving and gracious Soveraign, ſerve to aſſure you, that there ſhal ever appear the lively characters of you and yours that are left, in our valuing rightly all their faithfull and honeſt endeavours. More we will not write of this ſubject, but have diſpatched this Gentleman to viſit both your Lord, and condole with you in the true ſenſe of your love, and to pray you, that the world may ſee, that what time cureth in weak minds, that diſcretion and moderation may help in you in this accident, where there is ſo opportune occaſion to demonſtrate true patience and true moderation.

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## Thomas *Duke of* Norfolk *to Queen* Elizabeth.

O Moſt dear and dread Soveraign and Lady Queen, and moſt gracious Miſtreſs, when I conſider with my ſelf how far I have tranſgreſſed my duty to your moſt gracious Majeſty, I dare not now preſume to look up or hope for your gracious favour, I confeſs my ſelf ſo far unworthy thereof: but again, when I look into your Highneſs manifold mercifull and moſt pitifull nature, of which ſo many have ſo abundantly taſted of ſince your Majeſties moſt proſperous reign, I am emboldened with penitent and ſorrowfull heart, to make my trembling hand to offer unto your Highneſs my moſt ruful & lowly ſubmiſſion, having none other means to eaſe my oppreſſed mind, I am for my ſins and diſobedience to ask pardon, that is, of Almighty God, and of your moſt excellent Majeſty: the firſt I have done to Almighty God, and ſo I by the grace of him will continue with a new heart and full mind of amendment, not doubting but asking mercy, to receive it, according to the Scripture, he that knocketh at the door ſhall have it opened unto him. Now do I proſtrate my ſelf at your Highneſs moſt gracious feet, my poor children, and all that I have, hoping more in your Majeſties moſt gracious clemency, then in any of mine unadviſed deſerts; I ſeek to excuſe my ſelf no way, but wholly ſubmit my ſelf to what ſhall pleaſe your moſt mercifull heart like a moſt gracious Queen to a man that hath been aſtray, who finding

mercy hath afterwards with bad service oftentimes redoubled his former folly. O most noble Queen, it is in your most gracious power to make of my wretched mould what it pleaseth you, my faith and religion reserved to my Saviour, my body being already to your Highness subject, and imprisoned for my most just desert, I dedicate my mind and heart to be hereafter as it shall please your Majesty to direct it; I do not seek favour at your Majesties hands in respect of my former good service, I confess undutifulness hath now blotted the same out, neither dare I remmeber which heretofore was my greatest comfort, because I deserve not that honor which was that it hath pleased your Highness to account me indeed your unworthy kinsman. Wo wretch that day when I entred into that matter which hath made such alteration of your Majesties most gracious favour unto me, and hath heaped upon my self these intolerable troubles. O unworthy that I am, that in all the days of my life counting upon nothing but a quiet life, I take God to witness, whatsoever some have judged the contrary of me, I was so unhappy to give ear to that which hath done, and ever was like to bring me to the contrary.

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## *A Defiance sent by the Grand Seignieur to* Maximilian *the second.*

BY the sufferance of the great God, We *Solyman*, God in earth, great and high Emperour of all the world, Patron and Distributer of all Christians, We send and declare unto thee *Maximilian*, all wrath and ill fortune and infidelity, and to all thy Princes, subjects and helpers, We give it known unto thee, That We by the sufferance of the great God, named the Perpetuall and Universall God in earth, most mighty Emperour, Soldan in *Babylon*, Lord of *Armenia*, the most mightiest in *Persipolis* and *Numidia*, the great helper of God, Prince from the Rode of *Barbary* unto the mountains of *Achaia*, King of Kings from the Meridian to the Septentrian of the earth, from the rising place of the Sun to the setting of it, the first and chiefest, placed in the Paradise of *Mahomet*, the destroyer of all Christendom, and of all Christians, and that do profess Christianity, the keeper and defender of the Sepulcher of thy God crucified, the onely victorious and triumphant Lord of all the world, and of all Circuits and Provinces thereof. Thou *Maximilian*, which writest thy selfe King of our Kingdom of *Hungary*, which is under our Crown and obeysance, We will visit thee for that cause, and also perswade thee that with our strength and force of

of thirteen Kingdoms with might and strength, to the number of one hundred thousand as well Horsemen as Footmen prepared for war, with all the power and strength of Turkish munition, and with such power as thou nor none of thy servants have seen, heard, or had knowledge of, even before thy chief Citie *Vienna*, and the Countrey thereabouts: We *Solyman*, God on earth, against thee with all thy assisters and helpers, with our Warlike strength, do pronounce & protest your uttermost destruction and depopulation, as we can by all means possible devise it. And this we we will signifie unto thee, to the which thou and thy miserable people may prepare your selves. With us it is determined, with our men appointed, thee and all thy *German* Kingdoms and Provinces altogether to spoyl: This misery we have consented unto against thee and thy Princes, and have thou no doubt but we will come. Dated in the City of *Constantinople*, out of the which we did expulse your predecessors, their wives, children and friends, and made them most miserable slaves and captives, the year of our reign fourty seven.

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## *Sir* John Perrots *Commission for Lord Deputy of* Ireland.

ELizabetha *Dei gratia &c. omnibus ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint, salut. Sciatis quod nos certis urgentibus causis & considerationibus nos specialiter movendis, de provida circumspectione & industria dilecti & fidelis nobis* Johannis Perrot *milit. plenius confidentes de advisamento Concilii nostri assignavimus, fecimus, ordinavimus, constituimus & deputavimus, & per præsentes assignavimus, &c. eundem* Johannem Perrot *milit. Deputat. nostrum Generalem Regni nostri* Hiberniæ, *habend. tenend. gaudend. exercend. & occupand. officium prædict. eidem* Johanni Perrot *milit. durante beneplacito nostro dantes & concedentes eidem Deputat. nostro Generali plenam tenore præsentium potestatem ad pacem nostram ac ad leges & consuetudines regni nostri prædict. custodiend. & custodiri faciend. & ad omnes & singulas leges nostras, &c.*

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## *The whole Contents of the Commission for the Lord Deputy.*

TO conserve the peace, to punish offenders, to make Orders and Proclamations, to receive offenders to grace, to give pardons and impose fines, to levy forces, to fight and make peace, to dispose Rebels lands:

lands, to pardon all treasons saving touching the Queens person, and counterfeiting of coyn; to give offices, saving the Chancellor, Treasurer, two chief Justices, chief Baron and Master of the Rolls; to dispose of Ecclesiasticall livings, except Archbishops and Bishops; to receive homage and the oath, to make provision for his household according to the ancient custome; to assemble the Parliament with her Majesties privity, to receive the account of Officers, saving the Treasurers, to exercise martiall law.

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## *The Queens Warrant to the Lords, &c. of* Ireland *for ministring the Oath, and delivery of the Sword to him,* 31 *Ian.* 1583.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right trusty & welbeloved, and trusty and right welbeloved, we greet you wel: Whereas upon the departure from thence of our right trusty and welbeloved the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton,* late our Deputy there, we thought it meet for our government there, to appoint you joyntly to have the place of our Justices, until such time as we should resolve to send another thither to be our Deputy there; We let you wit, that meaning now no longer to burthen you with such a charge; wherein you have, according to the trust imposed in you, very wisely behaved your selves, greatly to our contentation, we have chosen and appointed our right trusty and welbeloved Sir *Jo. Perrot* Knight, this bearer, to be our Deputy of that our said Realm, & that for that purpose to send him presently thither: Wherefore our will and pleasure is, and by vertue of these our Letters we authorize you, upon the view of our letters Patents made and delivered unto him in that behalf, both to minister unto him the oath accustomed to be given unto the Deputy there, & also to deliver unto him the Sword, as heretofore hath been used. And further, that you communicate unto him amply the present estate of that our Realm, and of all our affairs there for his better instruction, at his entrance into that Government, and the advancement of our service. And these our Letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf Given under our Signet, &c. the last of January 1583. the 26. year of our reign.

*Another*

## *Another for his Entertainment there.*

TRusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have now appointed our right trusty and welbeloved Sir *John Perrot* Knight to be our Deputy in that our Realm of *Ireland*, for which Office allowance aswell of dyets as of entertainments for certain Horsmen is to be given him: These be therefore to let you wit, that we allow unto him for his ordinary dyet one hundred pounds sterling, according to the last Establishment in *March* 1589. and for his Retinue fifty Horsmen and fifty Footmen, with such wages for every Horsman and Footman and for their Officers, as was allowed to Sir *William Fitzwilliams* and Sir *Henry Sydney* Knights, in the late times of their Governments in that Realm. After which rates as well for his own dyet, as for the said fifty Horsmen and fifty Footmen, and for their Officers, We will and command you to make payment to him during his imployment and service in that place, from the date of our Letters-Patents authorising him to that government; And these our Letters shall be sufficient Warrant as well to you as to any Treasurer or Vice-treasurer there for the time being, and to your and their Substitutes, as also to the Auditor or his Deputies, and to all other Commissioners to be appointed over your Accompts, to pass and allow the same payments to you accordingly. Given *&c.* the fourth of *April* 1583. in the 26. year of our Reign of *England*, *&c.*

## *The Queens Instructions to him.*

YOU shall see immediately upon your arrival into that Realm assembled our Councel there, and confer with them what course of Government upon due consideration had of the present estate of the said Realm may be held, so as Justice may take place, our Charges be lessened, our Revenues increased, and our Subjects there not oppressed.

You shall also consider what Forces are meet to be continued in pay, and how the rest chargeable unto us and burthensom unto the Country may be discharged; and also how the Horsmen and Footmen serving there

there may be reduced to their old pay, which by reason of the general Rebellion in that Realm (the Country being wasted) we were driven to increase: And therefore we see no reason but the Band residing in those Countries that are not wasted may live well enough of the old pay, especially being victualled by us; and for the ease and diminishing of our charges in that behalf, We do think it meet that you should treat with those Countries that are not wasted, as well in *Munster* or elsewhere in that Realm, to see if you can draw them with good contentment to contribute somthing towards the finding of that Garrison, at *Carberrie* heretofore hath done.

And for that our Subjects in that Realm, *&c.*

To advise of the inhabiting of *Munster*, the attainted Lands to be let out at easie rents. Survey, certifie what States, Statute of *Usus*. 5. Port-Corn. 6. Th'attainted Lands to be bestowed in reward upon Servitors. 7. Younger Brothers of Noblemen, Diminish Pensioners. 9. Review former Instructions. 10——— 11. Renewing of forfeited Leases for three years: Beef, Port-Corn, Remittal of Arrearages. 12. Reversion of Lands to the Governours. 13. Lands of the attainted to be appointed to house-keeping. 14. Reservation of Timber-woods. 15. Residence of Officers. 16. Report to the State outrages of disloyal Subjects. 17. Profits of Customs, Escheats, &c. 19. Establishment for *Connaught*. 20. Prefident for *Munster*, allowance begin at *May*, Transportation. 21. Councellors, B. of *Meath*, *John Norris*, *Richard Bingham*, *Tho. Strange*. 22. Refer the choice of a person to the Chancellor and others. 23. Certificate of the last Treasurers Receipts and Expences.

Every one of these Articles doth contain half a side of Paper, and therefore I have rather thought fit to abbreviate them then to transcribe them at large, the whole Contents being contained in this Abbreviation.

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## *Sir* John Perrot *to the Lords of the Councel.* Jan. 31. 1585.

*May it please your good Lordships,*

ALthough I and this Councel have by our joynt-Letters truly declared unto you the dutifull state of things here, and the causes both foraign and domestical whereupon we gather it; and withall have shewed our extreme wants, and what supplies are desired: Yet understanding

ſtanding thence, but not from your Lordſhips, (for I have had no kind of advertiſements, anſwer, or reſolution from the ſame theſe twelve móneths) that there is a great preparation made by the Spaniſh King againſt the Realm, and that your Lordſhips have intelligence thereof; I cannot but as one whoſe chief charge and care it is, importune your Lordſhips to caſt your eye more carefully this way, humbly praying you to conſider what caſe we are in to try with a moſt mighty Prince, whether this Realm ſhall be ſtill her Majeſties or his, if there be any ſuch matters (as your Lordſhips know beſt) then I beſeech your Lordſhips to think whether it be more ſafety to ſay that we have ſent proviſion to encounter the danger, or elſe you will ſend when perhaps it will be too late. And withall for mine own diſcharge, if I ſhall tarry, and have nothing wherewith: I have but a life to yield for her Majeſty and my Country; for the loſs thereof I grieve not, but rather for the harm that through defects I fear may come to her Majeſty and the State, and the ſhame I ſhall leave behind me. This foreign preparation, if there be any ſuch thing, is likely to be ſpent againſt *Munſter*, to ſeiſe upon and to ſpoil the Cities and Towns of the ſame, which in truth are very weak. If I ſhall go thither, what for the late wars, and this laſt bad ſeaſon, there is not ſo much to be had there as will maintain that one Band of 200. that is under Mr. *Thomas Norris* the Vice-Preſident there, but that I am inforced to ſhift them from Town to Town, who by reaſon of their extreme penury do receive them with great grief and grudge. And though I had men ſufficient to encounter the Enemy that ſhould come, yet for want of victuals I ſhould be driven to abandon the place with danger and ſhame, where they that are to come over are like to bring their proviſion with them, and to ſettle it in ſome Town that they will ſoon ſeiſe upon for that purpoſe: whereof what may enſue amongſt this unconſtant people naturally delighting in change, your Lordſhips may ſoon gather. Beſides this that I have ſaid of the bare eſtate of *Munſter*, where there is not ſo much to be had as will ſerve for mine own family, or yet to feed my horſes till graſs grow, I refer you to underſtand not only the ſame more fully, but alſo the great wants of the reſt of the Realm by the declaration here incloſed, which as *Beverley* the Victualler maketh it, ſo I know it to be true. And therefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to ſend ſpeedy order, that ſuch a Staple of victuals may be provided and be ſent over, as your Lordſhips ſhall think requiſite to ſerve as well for the numbers here already, as alſo for thoſe that are to be ſent over to encounter ſuch an accident as may fall out. And herein I would wiſh your Lordſhips to conſider the winds and weather, how untowardly they have framed this year: for as ſome have lain at *Cheſter*

nine weeks to come over hither, so hath there been no passage since this six weeks. Moreover if there be such purposes in hand, it were good some shipping were dispatcht for the guard of the Coasts. And to all these and other difficulties, may I with your Lordships favour adde one more to be considered of, How weakly I am seconded, if need fall out by those forein attempts, whereof I would say little for any other cause: The Marshal is old, and not able either to ride or go; the Master of the Ordnance is both absent, and old, and I wish there were a more sufficient man in his place: The Lord President and Sir *William Stanley*, who are men of good conduct, are drawn away: Sir *H. Harrington*, Mr. *Edward Barkley*, and the Seneschal *Dantry* are suffered to remain still there; but I humbly pray they may be sped away, together with all other that are Servitors by any manner of pay there. And so having herein discharged my duty, I humbly end. From the Castle of *Dublin*, the last of *January* 1585.

*Your Lordships most humble at commandment,*

JOHN PERROT.

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## *Earl of* Desmond *to the Earl of* Ormond, *June* 5. 1583.

*My Lord,*

GReat is my grief when I think how heavily her Majesty is bent to disfavour me; and howbeit I carry the name of an undutifull Subject, yet God knoweth that my heart and mind are always most lowly inclined to serve my most loving Prince, so it may please her Highness to remove her heavy displeasure from me. As I may not condemn my self of disloyalty to her Majesty, so cannot I excuse my faults, but must confess that I have incurred her Majesties indignation; yet when the cause and means which were found and devised to make me commit folly shall be known to her Highness, I rest in an assured hope that her most gracious Majesty will both think of me as my heart deserveth, and also of those that wrung me into undutifulness, as their cunning device meriteth. From my heart I am sorry that folly, bad councels, sleights, or any other thing hath made me to forget my duty: And therefore I am most desirous to get conference with your Lordship, to the end I may open and declare to you how tyrannously I was used, humbly craving that you will vouchsafe to appoint some time and place where and when

I

I may attend your Honour, and then I doubt not to make it appear how dutifull a mind I carry, how faithfully I have at mine own charge served her Majesty before I was proclaimed, how sorrowfull I am for my offences, and how faithfully I am affected ever hereafter to serve her Majesty. And so I commit your Lordship to God, the 5. of *June* 1583. Subscribed

GIRALD DESMOND.

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## *Sir* Henry Wallop *to the Queen*, 12. *Aug.* 1583.

IT may please your Majesty, a rumor hath been raised not long since at *Dublin* (I know not how, nor by what particular person, but strongly confirmed since the last passage out of *England*) (neither doth your service now in hand upon this Northern border, suffer me to examine it) that your Majesty conceived some hard opinion of me, from which your Highness is not yet removed; but what the offence is, or how conceived, is neither by the reporters published, nor secretly revealed unto me: And like as it is easie to judge what effects this may work in the service of your Majesty, or to a man in publick office, as I am, in such a government as this is, where the obedience for the most is constrained, and all reputation with the people either growing or diminishing as your Majesty graceth or disgraceth your Officers; so how much this quiet burthen over-presseth my most devoted and dutifull mind towards your Majesty, I feel to my exceeding grief and discomfort. In examining my self in what root this your judgment should spring, I confesse Madam, I have viewed in my self many imperfections, some in nature, others perhaps for lack of ability and sufficiency to be a cooperator or an assistant in so great and so tickliſh a government & charge, into which not ambition in me, but your Majesties wil & commandment hath intruded me. But in all that my memory can hitherto present unto me, I find my loyalty in your service, and my sincerity in imploying your Majesties treasure according to your intent, so unspotted and direct, as I cannot but comfort my self in opposing my innocency to the envy of the informer, or to any other his hard construction whatsoever: yet since in generall consideration I cannot feel such a particular error, as might settle in your Majesties grave judgement, an offence meriting your disfavour, I am most humbly to beseech your Majesty, that by knowing my fault I may either purge my self by a just deniall, or by confessing it crave pardon of your Highness, and reform my self. If therefore it shall stand with your Majesties good plea-

sure to declare to my honorable good friend Mr. Secretary *Walsingham*, commanding him to charge me with it, I will thereupon simply answer, even as before the Lord God, without concealing any matter of truth any wise, for mine own defence. This grace the sooner I shall obtain, the apter I shall be found for your other services, from which I find my self distracted, because the end of my travels is none other but to purchase that grace and favour which I may now fear to be alienated from me till my cause be better explained. And so I humbly end, praying the Lord to bless you with a long and prosperous reign.

*At your town of Dundalk, Auguſt* 11. 1583.

*Your Majesties most humble servant and subject,*

HENRY WALLOP.

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## *The Earle of* Essex *to Mr.* Davison.

IF this Letter do not deliver you my very affectionate wishes, and assure you that I am both carefull to deserve well, and covetous to hear wel of you, it doth not discharge the trust that I have committed unto it. My love to your worthy Father, my expectation that you will truly inherit his vertues, and the proof that I have seen of your well spending your time abroad, are three strong bands to tie my affection unto you; to which when I see added your kindness to my self, my reason tells my heart, it cannot value you, or affect you too much: you have laid so good a foundation of framing your self, as if now you do not perfect the work, th'expectation you have raised will be your greatest adversary: slack not your industry in thinking you have taken great pains already, *Nusquam enim nec opera sine emolumento, nec emolumentum sine impensa opera est: Labor voluptasq; dissimilia natura, societate quadam naturali inter se conjuncta sunt.* Nor think your self at any time so rich in knowledge or reputation, as you may spend on the stock: For as the way to vertue is steep and craggy, so the descent from it is headlong. It is said of our bodies, that they do *leniè augescere & cito extinguntur*, it may be as properly said of our minds. Let your vertuous Father, who in the middest of his troubles and discomforts, hath brought you by his care and charge to what you are now in, you receive perfect comfort & contentment; Learn *virtutem ab illo, fortunam ab aliis.* I write not this as suspecting you need be admonished, or as finding my self able to di-

rect:

reſt; but as he that when he was writing, took the plaineſt and naturalleſt ſtile of a friend truly affected to you: Receive it therefore I pray you as a pledge of more love then I can now ſhew you. And ſo deſiring nothing more then to hear often from you, I wiſh you all happineſs, and reſt,

*White-hall, Jan.* 8.

*Your affectionate and aſſured friend,*

R. ESSEX.

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## *Earle of* Eſſex *to Secretary* Daviſon.

*SIR,*

AS I have ever loved you, ſo now taking leave of my good friends, I cannot forget you of whoſe love I deſire to be ever aſſured, and whom I would deſire to ſatisfie in all things that I ſhall do. If you be troubled with the ſuddenneſs of my unlooked for journey, let my reſolute purpoſe to perform it, which could not be without ſecreſie, excuſe me: if you call it raſhneſs, I wil better allow it to be hereſie then error; for many months ago it was reſolved: if you doubt of the ſucceſſe or event thereof, I ſay, that the ſame God who hath given me a mind to undertake, may according to his good pleaſure make me in it, or it with me to proſper or die, as it ſhall ſeem beſt unto him. And ſo purpoſing that you ſhall ſee me return happy, or never, I take my leave a few days before my departure. Let me be commended to your good ſelfe, and ſuch other of my good friends, as in my abſence you find I am beholding to, eſpecially to Sir *Drew Drury*, and Sir *Edward Waterhouſe*.

*Your aſſured friend,*

R. ESSEX.

*Earle*

## *Earle of* Eſſex *to Secretary* Daviſon, *July* 11. 1589.

*SIR,*

AS at my departure, ſo upon my return, I muſt needs ſalute you, as one whom then, and now, and ever, I muſt love very much. I would gladly ſee you, but I am tied here a while; when I may have occaſion to ſhew my love to you, I will do more then I now promiſe. In the mean time wiſhing you that happineſs which men in this world ought to ſeek, I take my leave

*At the Court this* 11. *of July* 1589.

*Your aſſured Friend*

R. ESSEX.

## *Again to Secretary* Daviſon.

*SIR,*

I Had ſpeech with her Majeſty yeſternight after my departure from you, and I find that the ſucceſs of my ſpeech (although I hoped for good) yet did much over-run my expectation. To repeat many ſpeeches and by-matters, as of my acquaintance with you, and ſuch like, it will be fitter for ſuch a time when I ſhall have conference with you. But in effect, our end was thus: I made her Majeſty ſee, what in your health, in your fortune, and in your reputation with the world you had ſuffered ſince the time that it was her pleaſure to comit you; I told her how many friends and well-wiſhers the world did afford you, and how for the moſt part, throughout the whole Realm her beſt ſubjects did wiſh that ſhe would do her ſelf the honour to repair for you, and reſtore to you that ſtate which ſhe had overthrown; your humble ſuffering of theſe harms, and reverend regard to her Majeſty, muſt needs move a Princeſs ſo noble and ſo juſt, to do you right; and more I had ſaid, if my gift of ſpeech had been any way comparable to my love. Her Majeſty ſeeing her judgment opened by the ſtory of her own actions, ſhewed a very feeling compaſſion of you, ſhe gave you many praiſes, and among the reſt, that which ſhe ſeemed to pleaſe her ſelf in, was, that you were a man of her own choyce. In truth ſhe was ſo well pleaſed with thoſe things that ſhe

ſpake

ſpake and heard of you, as I dare (if of things future there be any aſſurance) promiſe to my ſelf that your peace wil be made to your own content, and the deſire of your friends, I mean in her favour and your own fortune, to a better eſtate then, or at leaſt the ſame you had, which with all my power I wil imploy my ſelf to effect. And ſo in haſt I commit you to God.

*Your friend moſt aſſured,*

R. ESSEX.

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## *Earle of* Effex *to King* James *concerning Secretary* Daviſon. *April* 18. 1587.

MOſt excellent King, for him that is already bound for many favours, a ſtile of thankfulneſs is much fitter then the humour of ſuing; but ſo it falls out, that he which to his own advantage would have ſought nothing in your favour, but your favour it ſelf, doth now for another become an humble petitioner to your Majeſty: your Majeſty cannot be ſuch a ſtranger to the affairs of this Countrey, but as you know what actions are done in this place, ſo you underſtand the minds of the men by whom they are done. Therfore I doubt not, but the man for whom I ſpeak, is ſomewhat known to your Majeſty, and being known, I preſume of greater favour, Mr. Secretary *Daviſon* fallen into her Majeſties diſpleaſure and diſgrace; beloved of the beſt and moſt religious of this land, doth ſtand as barred from any preferment or reſtoring in his place, except out of the honour and nobleneſs of your own Royall heart, your Majeſty will undertake his cauſe. To leave the nature of his fault to your Majeſties beſt judgement, and report of your own ſervant, and to ſpeak of the man, I muſt ſay truly, that his ſufficiency in Councell, and matters of State, is ſuch, as the Queen her ſelfe confeſſeth, in her Kingdom ſhe hath not ſuch another; his vertue, religion and worth in all degrees is of the world taken to be ſo great, as no man in his good fortune hath had more generall love then this Gentleman in his diſgrace: And if to a man ſo worthy in himſelf, and ſo eſtemed of all men, my words might avail any thing, I would aſſure your Majeſty would get great honour, and great love, not onely here amongſt us, but in all places of Chriſtendom where this Gentleman is any thing known, if you ſhould now be the author of his reſtoring to his place, which in effect he now is, but that as a man not acceptable to her Majeſty,

ſty, he doth forbear to attend. I do in all humbleneſs commend this cauſe to your Majeſty, having the warrant of a good conſcience, that I know to be both honorable and honeſt; and your Majeſty to the bleſſed protection of that mighty God, to whom will pray for your Majeſties happy and proſperous eſtate, He that will do your Majeſty all humble ſervice,

*Greenwich April* 18. R. ESSEX.

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## *Earl of* Eſſex *to Mr. Secretary* Daviſon.

SIR,

I Have as I could, taken my opportunity ſince I ſaw you, to perform as much as I promiſed you; and though in all I have been able to effect nothing, yet even now I have had better leiſure to ſollicit the Queen then in this ſtormy time I did hope for. My beginning was, as being amongſt others intreated to move her in your behalf: my courſe was to lay open your ſufferings and your patience; in them you had felt poverty, reſtraint and diſgrace, and yet you ſhewed nothing but faith and humility, faith, as being never wearied nor diſcouraged to do her ſervice; humbleneſs, as content to forget all the burthens that had been laid upon you, and to ſerve her Majeſty with as frank and willing a heart as they that have received greateſt grace from her. To this I received no anſwer but in generall terms, that her honour was much touched, your preſumption had been intolerable, and that ſhe could not let it ſlip out of her mind. When I urged your acceſs, ſhe denied it, but ſo as I had no cauſe to be afraid to ſpeak again. When I offered in them both to reply, ſhe fell into other diſcourſe, and ſo we parted. So all that I have done you know; what I ſhall do ye ſhall preſcribe. If you hear any mans elſe ——— I pray you let me know, for ſo I ſhall perceive whether ſhe will open her heart more to me then them, which being known I may deal accordingly. And ſo I commit you to God.

*Windſor, Octob.* 2.

*Your moſt aſſured friend,*

R. ESSEX.

*Again*

## *Again to Mr. Secretary* Daviſon, *upon the death of Mr. Secretary* Walſingham.

SIR,

VPon this unhappy accident, I have tryed to the bottom what the Queen will do for you, and what the credit of your Sollicitor is worth. I urged not the compariſon between you and any other: But in my duty to her, and zeal to her ſervice, I did aſſure her that ſhe had not any other in *England* that would for theſe three or four years know how to ſettle himſelf to ſupport ſo great a burthen. She gave me leave to ſpeak, heard me with patience, confeſſed with me that none was ſo ſufficient, and could not deny but that which ſhe lays to your charge was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any reſpect of your own, but meerly for her ſafety both of ſtate and perſon. In the end ſhe abſolutely denied to let you enjoy that place, and willed me to reſt ſatisfied, for ſhe was reſolved. Thus much I write to let you know, I am more honeſt to my friends, then happy in their caſes. What you will have me do for your ſuit, I will as far as my credit is any thing worth. I have told moſt of the Councel of my manner of dealing with the Queen; my Lord Chamberlain tells me he hath dealt for you alſo, and they all ſay they wiſh as I do; but in this world that is enough. I will commit you to God for this time, and reſt

*Your conſtant and true friend,*

R. ESSEX.

## *Earl of* Eſſex *to the Queen.*

MY dutiful affections to your Majeſty always overweighed all other worldly reſpects; that ſeeking in all particulars to manifeſt my truth, I have maimed my eſtate in general, as I dare in the heat of my thoughts compare with the greateſt that ever vowed for faithful ſervice, ſo is there not the meaneſt that hath overſlipped me, I will not ſay in recompence, but in ſome gracious eſtate of ſervice. Thus whilſt my faith

wrestleth with my fortune, the one winns breath to beat th' other down. Though I have no hope to repair the ruines of my oversight, yet I cannot but presume your Majesty will suffer me to preserve them from blowing up; and what youth and forward belief hath undermined in mine estate, providence by a retired life may underlay. In which discontinuance from Court there shall be added (if any thing be added) increase of loyalty: Nor so solitary shall be my course, as it shall seem to proceed of discontentment, but of necessity; and all actions both with living and my life so forward, as though some may have overrun me in fortunes, none shall in duty.

Next my allegiance to your Majesty, which shall be held most sacred and inviolable, the report of mine Honour challengeth chief interest; which that I may preserve in my wonted state, reason draws me to stay my self slipping from falling. That of late (by what secret and venemous blow I know not) my faith hath received some wounds, your Majesties wonted grace withdrawn assures me: But truth and my patience in this case were one with me, and time in your Princely thoughts did wear it out from me. Let time be Judge; I will leave you with as great lothness as I were to lose what I love best. But your favour failing, in which I have placed all my hopes, and my self less graced after seven years then when I had served but seven dayes, may be a reason to excuse, if there were no other reason. These things pressed out of a distressed mind, and offered in all humility, I hope it shall not be offensive if I choose this wearisom course, rather to be retired then tired. If any of envy take advantage of absence, seeking by cunning to draw me into suspition of discontentment, my conscience is setled in your never erring Judgment, that if he come with *Esau's* hands and *Jacob's* voice, your Highness will censure it a wrought malice under such simplicity. It is true that grief cannot speak; but this grief hath made me write, lest when I leave you I should so far forsake my self as to leave this unsaid. To your gracious acceptance I commit it, and with all humble and reverent thoughts that may be, rest ever to be commanded to die at your Majesties feet,

RO. ESSEX.

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## *Again to the* Queen.

FRom a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torne in pieces with care, grief and travel, from a man that

that hateth himſelf and all things that keepeth him alive, what ſervice can your Majeſty expect, ſince your ſervice paſt deſerves no more then baniſhment or preſcription in the curſed'ſt of all other Countries? Nay, nay, it is your Rebels pride and ſucceſs that muſt give me leave to ranſom my life out of this hateſull priſon of my loathed body: which if it happen ſo, your Majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to miſlike the faſhion of my death, ſince the courſe of my life could never pleaſe you.

*Your Majeſties exiled Servant,*

RO. ESSEX.

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## *Sir* Thomas Egerton *Lord Chancellor to the Earl of* Eſſex.

*My very good Lord,*

IT is often ſeen, that he that ſtands by ſeeth more then he that playeth the game; and for the moſt part every one in his own cauſe ſtandeth in his own light, and ſeeth not ſo cleerly as he ſhould. Your Lordſhip hath dealt in other mens cauſes, and in great and weighty affairs with great wiſdom and judgment; now your own is in hand, you are not to contemn or refuſe the advice of any that love you, how ſimple ſoever. In this order I rank my ſelf among others that love you, none more ſimple, and none that love you with more true and honeſt affection; which ſhall plead my excuſe, if you ſhall either miſtake or miſtruſt my words or meaning: but in your Lordſhips honorable wiſdom I neither doubt nor ſuſpect the one nor the other. I will not preſume to adviſe you, but ſhoot my bolt and tell you what I think. The beginning and long continuance of this ſo unſeaſonable diſcontentment you have ſeen and proved, by which you aim at the end: If you hold ſtill this courſe, which hitherto you find to be worſe and worſe, (and the longer you go, the further you go out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood the end will be better: You are not yet gone ſo far, but that you may well return: The return is ſafe, but the progreſs is dangerous and deſperate in this courſe you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themſelves: Your friends you leave to ſcorn and contempt, you forſake your ſelf and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation: You give that comfort and courage to the foreign enemies, as greater they cannot have;

for what can be more welcome and pleasing news then to hear that her Majesty and the Realm are maimed of so worthy a Member, who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your Country, when it hath most need of your Councel and aid: And lastly you fail in your indissoluble duty which you owe unto your most gracious Soveraign, a duty imposed upon you not by nature and policie only, but by the religious and sacred bond wherein the divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianity obliged you.

For the four first, your constant resolution may perhaps move you to esteem them as light; but being well weighed, they are not light, nor lightly to be regarded. And for the four last, it may be that the clearness of your own conscience may seem to content your self, but that is not enough; for these duties stand not only in contemplation or inward meditation, and cannot be performed but by external actions, and where that faileth, the substance also faileth. This being your present state and condition, what is to be done? what is the remedy, my good Lord? I lack judgment and wisdom to advise you, but I will never want an honest true heart to wish you well; nor being warranted by a good conscience, will fear to speak that I think. I have begun plainly, be not offended if I proceed so. *Bene cedit qui cedit tempori*: and *Seneca* saith, *Cedendum est fortunæ*. The medicine and remedy is not to contend and strive, but humbly to yield & submit. Have you given cause, and yet take a scandal unto you? then all you can be is too little to make satisfaction. Is cause of scandal given unto you, yet policie, duty and religion enforce you to sue, yield and submit to our Soveraign, between whom and you there can be no equal proportion of duty, where God requires it as a principal duty and care to himself, and when it is evident that great good may ensue of it to your friends, your self, your Country, and your Soveraign, and extreme harm by the contrary. There can be no dishonour to yield; but in denying, dishonour and impiety. The difficulty (my good Lord) is to conquer your self, which is the height of true valour and fortitude, whereunto all your honorable actions have tended. Do it in this, and God will be pleased, her Majesty (no doubt) well satisfied, your Country will take good, and your Friends comfort by it; and your self (I mention you last, for that of all these you esteem yourself least) shall receive honour; and your Enemies (if you have any) shall be disappointed of their bitter sweet hope.

I have delivered what I think simply and plainly, I leave you to determine according to your own wisdom: if I have erred, it is *error amoris*, and not *amor erroris*. Construe and accept it, I beseech you, as I meant it; not as an advice, but as an opinion to be allowed or cancelled at your

your pleasure. If I might conveniently have conferred with your self in person, I would not have troubled you with so many idle blots. Whatsoever you judge of this my opinion, yet be assured my desire is to further all good means that may tend to your Lordships good. And so wishing you all happiness and honour, I cease.

*Your Lordships most ready and faithful, though unable poor Friend,*

Tho. Egerton, *Cust. Sigil.*

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## *The Earles Answer.*

MY very good Lord, though there is not that man this day living whom I would sooner make Judge of any question that might concern me, then your selfe; yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly Judges: And if in any, then surely in this, when the highest Judge on earth hath imposed upon me the heaviest punishment without triall or hearing. Since then I must either answer your Lordships Arguments, or else forsake mine own just defence, I wil force mine aking head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontentment (which was forced) to be an humorous discontent; and in that it was unseasonable, or is so long continuing, your Lordship should rather condole with me then expostulate: naturall seasons are expected here below, but violent and unreasonable storms come from above: There is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a Prince, nor yet at any time so unseasonable as when it lighteth on those that might expect an harvest of their carefull and painfull labours. He that is once wounded must needs feel smart till his hurt be cured, or the part hurt become senseles. But cure I expect none, her Majesties heart being obdurate; and be without sense I cannot, being of flesh and blood. But you may say, I may aim at the end: I do more then aim, for I see an end of all my fortunes, I have set an end to all my desires. In this course do I any thing for mine enemies? when I was present I found them absolute, and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, then have me attendant upon their Chariots: Or do I leave my friends? When I was a Courtier I could sell them no fruit of my love, and now that I am an Hermit, they shall bear no envie for their love.

love to me. Or do I forſake my ſelf, becauſe I do not enjoy my ſelf? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, becauſe I build not a fortune of paper-walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or do I ruinate mine honor, becauſe I leave following the purſuit, or wearing the falſe mark or the ſhadow of honor? Do I give courage or comfort to the enemies, becauſe I neglect my ſelf to encounter them, or becauſe I keep my heart from buſineſs, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, no, I give every one of thoſe conſiderations his due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I find my ſelf juſtified from offending in any of them. As for the two laſt objections, that I forſake my Countrey when it hath moſt need of me, and fail in that indiſſoluble duty which I owe to my Soveraign: I anſwer, That if my Countrey had at this time any need of my publick ſervice, her Majeſty that governeth it, would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my Countrey by two bonds; one publick, to diſcharge carefully and induſtriouſly that truſt which is committed to me; the other private, to ſacrifice for it my life and carkaſſe, which hath been nouriſhed in it. Of the firſt I am free, being diſmiſſed by her Majeſty: Of the other nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occaſion of performance ſhall ſooner offer it ſelf, but I will meet it halfe way. The indiſſoluble duty I owe unto her Majeſty, the ſervice of an Earle and of Marſhall of *England*, and I have been content to do her the ſervice of a Clerk; but I can never ſerve her as a villain or a ſlave. But you ſay I muſt give way to time. So I do, for now that I ſee the ſtorm come, I have put my ſelf into harbour. *Seneca* ſaith, we muſt give way to Fortune: I know that Fortune is both blind and ſtrong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of the way. You ſay the remedy is not to ſtrive: I neither ſtrive nor ſeek for remedy. But you ſay, I muſt yeild and ſubmit: I can neither yeild my ſelf to be guilty, nor this my impriſonment lately laid upon me, to be juſt; I owſo much to the Author of Truth, as I can never yeild Truth to be Falſhood, nor Falſhood to be Truth. Have I given cauſe, you ask, and yet take a ſcandall? No, I gave no cauſe to take up ſo much as *Fimbria* his complaint: for I did *totum telum corpore accipere*, I patiently bear and ſenſibly feel all that I then received when this ſcandall was given me. Nay, when the vileſt of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion enforce me to ſue? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? cannot Princes erre? Cannot ſubjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord, I can never ſubſcribe to theſe principles. Let *Solomons* fool laugh when he is ſtricken; let thoſe that mean to make their profit of Princes, ſhew to have no ſenſe of Princes injuries; let them acknowledge

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an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feel it; my cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever comes, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength or constancy in oppressing, then I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed upon me. Your Lordship in the beginning of your Letter makes me a Player, and your self a looker on; and me a player of my own game, so you may see more then *I*; but give me leave to tell you, that since you do but see, and *I* do suffer, *I* must of necessity feel more then you. *I* must crave your Lordships patience to give him that hath a crabbed fortune, leave to use a crooked stile. But whatsoever my stile is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected towards your Lordship, then that of

*Your Lordships poor friend,*

ESSEX.

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## *Two Letters framed, one as from Mr.* Anthony Bacon *to the Earl of* Essex, *the other as the Earls answer.*

*My singular good Lord,*

THis standing at a stay doth make me in my love towards your Lordship jealous lest you do somwhat, or omit somwhat that amounteth to a new error: For I suppose that of all former matters there is a full expiation; wherein for any thing which your Lordship doth, I for my part (who am remote) cannot cast or devise wherein my error should be, except in one point, which I dare not censure nor dissuade: which is, that as the Prophet saith, in this affliction you look up *ad manum percutientem*, and so make your peace with God. And yet I have heard it noted, that my Lord of *Leicester*, who could never get to be taken for a Saint, yet in the Queens disfavour waxed seeming religious. Which may be thought by some, and used by others as a case resembling yours, if men do not see, or will not see the difference between your two dispositions. But to be plain with your Lordship, my fear rather is, because I hear how some of your good and wise friends, not unpractised in the Court, and supposing themselves not to be unseen in that deep and unscrutable Center of the Court, which is her Majesties mind; do not only toll the bell, but even ring out peals, as if your fortune were dead and buried,

buried, and as if there were no possibility of recovering her Majesties favour; and as if the best of your condition were to live a private and retired life, out of want, out of peril, and out of manifest disgrace. And so in this perswasion to your Lordship-wards, to frame and accommodate your actions and mind to that end, I fear (I say) that this untimely despair may in time bring forth a just despair, by causing your Lordship to slacken and break off your wise, loyal, and seasonable endeavour and industry for reintegration to her Majesties favour, in comparison whereof all other circumstances are but as *Atomi*, or rather as a *Vacuum* without any substance at all.

Against this opinion it may please your Lordship to consider of these reasons which I have collected; and to make judgment of them, neither out of the melancholy of your present fortune, nor out of the infusion of that which cometh to you by others relation, which is subject to much tincture, but *ex rebus ipsis*, out of the nature of the persons and actions themselves, as the truest and less deceiving ground of opinion. For though *I* am so unfortunate as to be a stranger to her Majesties eye, much more to her nature and manners, yet by that which is extant *I* do manifestly discern that she hath that character of the Divine nature and goodness, as *quos amavit, amavit usque ad finem*; and where she hath a creature, she doth not deface nor defeat it: insomuch as if *I* observe rightly in those persons whom heretofore she hath honoured with her special favour, she hath covered and remitted not only defections and ingratitudes in affection, but errors in state and service.

2. if I can Scholar-like spell & put together the parts of her Majesties proceedings now towards your Lordship, *I* cannot but make this construction, That her Majesty in her Royal intention never purposed to call your doings into publique question, but only to have used a cloud without a shower, and censuring them by some restraint of liberty and debarring from her presence. For both the handling the cause in the Star-chamber was inforced by the violence of libelling and rumours, wherein the Queen thought to have satisfied the world, and yet spared your appearance: And then after, when that means which was intended for the quenching of malicious bruits, turned to kindle them, because it was said your Lordship was condemned unheard, and your Lordships Sister wrote that private Letter, then her Majesty saw plainly that these winds of rumours could not be commanded down without a handling of the Cause by making you party, and admitting your defence. And to this purpose *I* do assure your Lordship, that my Brother *Francis Bacon*, who is too wise to be abused, though he be both reserved in all particulars more then is needfull, yet in generality he hath ever constantly

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and with afleveration affirmed to me, That both thoſe dayes, that of the Staſ-chamber, and that at my Lord Keepers, were won of the Queen meerly upon neceſſity and point of honour, againſt her own inclination.

3. In the laſt proceeding I note three points which are directly ſignificant, that her Majeſty did expreſly forbear any point which was irrecuperable, or might make your Lordſhip in any degree uncapable of the return of her favour, or might fix any character indeleble of diſgrace upon you: For ſhe ſpared the publick places, which ſpared ignominie; ſhe limited the Charge preciſely not to touch diſloyalty, and no Record remaineth to memory of the Charge or Sentence.

4. The very diſtinction which was made in the ſentence of Sequeſtration from the places of ſervice in State, and leaving to your Lordſhip the place of Maſter of the Horſe, doth in my underſtanding point at this, that her Majeſty meant to uſe your Lordſhips attendance in Court, while the exerciſes of other places ſtood ſuſpended.

5. I have heard, and your Lordſhip knoweth better, that now ſince you were in your own cuſtody, her Majeſty *in verbo Regio*, and by his mouth to whom ſhe committeth her Royal grants and Decrees, hath aſſured your Lordſhip ſhe will forbid, and not ſuffer your ruine.

6. As I have heard her Majeſty to be a Prince of that magnanimity, that ſhe will ſpare the ſervice of the ableſt Subject or Peer, where ſhe ſhall be thought to ſtand in need of it; ſo ſhe is of that poltcie, as ſhe will not blaze the ſervice of a meaner then your Lordſhip, where it ſhall depend meerly upon her choice and will.

7. I held it for a principle, That thoſe diſeaſes are hardeſt to cure, whereof the cauſe is obſcure; and thoſe eaſieſt, whereof the cauſe is manifeſt. Whereupon I conclude, that ſince it hath been your errors in your lowneſs towards her Majeſty which have prejudiced you, that your reforming and conformity will reſtore you, ſo as you may be *Faber fortunæ propriæ*.

Laſtly, Conſidering your Lordſhip is removed from dealing in Cauſes of State, and left only to a place of Attendance, methinks the Ambition of any which can endure no Partners in State-matters may be ſo quenched, as they ſhould not laborioufly oppoſe themſelves to your being in Court. So as upon the whole matter, I cannot find neither in her Majeſties perſon, nor in your own perſon, nor in any third perſon, neither in former precedents nor in your own caſe, any cauſe of peremptory deſpair. Neither do I ſpeak this, but that if her Majeſty out of her reſolution ſhould deſign you to a private life, you ſhould be as willing upon the appointment to go into the wilderneſs as into the land of promiſe;

only I wish that your Lordship will not despair, but put trust (next to God) in her Majesties grace, and not be wanting to your self. I know your Lordship may justly interpret, that this which I perswade may have some reference to my particular, because I may truly say *restante non virebo*, for I am withered in my self; but *manebo*, or *tenebo*, I should in some sort be, or hold out. But though your Lordships years and health may expect return of grace and fortune, yet your Eclipse for a time is an *ultimum vale* to my fortune: And were it not that I desired and hope to see my Brother established by her Majesties favour, as I think him well worthy for that he hath done and suffered, it were time I did take that course from which I disswade your Lordship. Now in the mean time I cannot choose but perform those honest duties unto you, to whom I have been so deeply bound, *&c.*

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## *The Earl of* Essex *his Answer to Mr.* Anthony Bacons *Letter.*

*Mr. Bacon,*

I Thank you for your kind and carefull letter; it perswadeth that which *I* wish for strongly, and hope for weakly, that is, possibility of restitution to her Majesties favour: Your arguments that would cherish hope, turn into dispair: You say the Queen never meant to call me to publick censure, which sheweth her goodness; but you see *I* passed it, which sheweth others power. *I* believe most stedfastly, her Majesty never intended to bring my cause to a publick censure; and *I* believe as verily, that since the sentence she meant to restore me to tend upon her person: but those which could use occasions (which it was not in me to let) and amplifie and practise occasions to represent to her Majesty a necessity to bring me to the one, can and will do the like to stop me from the other. You say, my errors were my prejudice, and therefore *I* can mend my self. It is true; but they that know that *I* can mend my self, and that if *I* ever recover the Queen, that I will never lose her again, will never suffer me to obtain interest in her favour: and you say, the Queen never forsook utterly where she hath inwardly favoured; but know not whether the hour-glass of time hath altered her, but sure I am, the false glasse of others informations must alter her, when *I* want access to plead mine own cause, *I* know *I*, ought doubly, infinitely to be her Majesties both *jure creationis*, for *I* am her creature; and *jure redemptionis*, for *I* know she hath saved me from overthrow. But for her

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firſt love, and for her laſt protection, and all her great benefits, *I* can but pray for her Majeſty; & my endevour is now to make my prayers for her and my ſelf better heard. For thanks be to God, that they which can make her Majeſty believe *I* counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe that *I* counterfeit with him; and they that can let me from coming near to her, cannot let me from drawing nearer to him, as *I* hope *I* do daily. For your brother, I hold him an honeſt Gentleman, and wiſh him all good much rather for your ſake; your ſelf *I* know hath ſuffered more for me and with me, then any friend that *I* have: But *I* can but lament freely, as you ſee *I* do, and adviſe you not to do that *I* do, which is to deſpair. You know Letters what hurt they have done me, and therefore make ſure of this: and yet *I* could not, as having no other pledge of my love, but communicate openly with you for the eaſe of my heart and yours.

*Your loving friend,*

R. ESSEX.

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## *Lord* Mountjoy *to the Earle of* Eſſex.

MOſt noble Lord, the Queen is now removing towards a Progreſs; wherein, after I have ſomwhat waited upon her, *I* ſhall have a deſire to write to your Lordſhip of ſome things more at large, which *I* will do as ſafely as *I* can; your Lordſhips vertue, and your clear conſcience muſt be your own brazen wall: for we that are not of the Councell do ſee no hope to keep long together this State from aſſured ruine. *I* pray God the Queen may with all proſperity out-live their negligence, and your care, to be a juſt Judge, if not a rewarder thereof. *I*n the mean time you owe unto her, and your own vertue, extraordinary patience. Your Lordſhips mind (*I* do proteſt) cannot labour more in the ſtorm wherein you are, then mine doth in this dangerous and miſerable calm. For it is ſome comfort to periſh doing ſomewhat; and yet, my Lord, why ſhould we deſpair, ſince there is a Providence that looks beyond, and concludes contrary to the practices of the world; which Providence hath ſhewed us ways, how rugged ſoever they be, which will bring unto true happineſs; and though we loſe theſe mortall Barkes we ſail in, yet he will aſſuredly ſave the paſſengers. Noble Lord, in reſpect of that great Haven, contemn theſe tempeſts and ſhipwracks at ſea. Your Lordſhips ſervant Mr. *Buſbet*, doth fear to have you impute his ſlow

diſpatch unto any want of his diligence, and hath ſhewed his fear in exceeding ſorrow that it could not be ſooner, and with as much care by all his beſt means to effect it. I much thank your Lordſhip for your favour to Sir *Charls Blunt*, of whom (if he be not thankfull) I ſhall not onely be deceived, but alſo revenged. I will pray continually for your Lordſhips proſperity, —— and that it ſhall be impoſſible to make me otherwiſe then

*Your Lordſhips moſt honeſt and faithfull ſervant,*

MOUNTJOY.

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## *Sir* Robert Cecil, *after Earl of* Salisbury, *to the Lord* Burleigh *his Father, from* France. *Febr.* 26. 1597.

MY duty humbly remembred to your Lordſhip: Having lately made diſpatches from *Diep*, and having made little way in *France*, by reaſon of Sir *Thomas Wilks* indiſpoſition, your Lordſhip can expect little from me; eſpecially having joyned with my aſſociates in a letter to your Lordſhip: Nevertheleſs, becauſe love and duty will find eaſily occaſion to expreſs themſelves, I am bold to yeild your Lordſhip ſome more trouble by my private Letter. I have met here with the primier Preſident of *Roan*, a man of great credit and reputation, one that untill meer neceſſity did force him, kept much hold here for this King: he afterward retired, and kept the Parliament at *Caen*; he is learned, grave, of good perſon, good diſcourſe, & well affectionate to *England*, his name is *Claude Grollart*; he is now next the Duke *Monpencier*, the ſtay of all thoſe quarters, inſomuch that when the King will be merry with him, he calls him one of the petty Dukes in *Normandy*: he did viſit me with great reſpect, and fell into familiar diſcourſe with me of your Lordſhip, whom he had known in *England* many years ſince, and hath had correſpondency with your Lordſhip by letters in Mr. Secretary *Walſinghams* time: And being talking thereof, he deſired me to tell your Lordſhip by occaſion, that when theſe troubles were like to grow by the League, you writ him a letter of advice to ſtick faſt to the King, and not to be doubtfull though he ſaw difficulties; for you did hold it for a true Oracle, That the Kings on earth are like the Sun, and that ſuch as do ſeek to uſurp are like falling Starres: For the Sun, although it be ecclipſed and obfuſcated with miſts and clouds, at length they are diſperſed, where the other

other are but figures of ſtars in the eyes view, and prove no more but exhalations, which ſuddenly diſſolve and fall to the earth, where they are conſumed. Becauſe I have little elſe to fill my paper, I preſume to trouble your Lordſhip thus far, to whom I think it cannot be offenſive to hear that for your ſake I am by many the better uſed, and that by your own wiſdom you are by men of place and gravity both honored and remembred. The marriage of the Duke of *Tremouille* to the Count *Maurice* his ſiſter, hath drawn the Duke of *Bovillon* towards *Britany*, where I am informed by this Preſident, that he meaneth to ſtay, and to attend the King, to whom he will clear himſelf if he take any knowledge of any jealouſie; and the rather becauſe he is there well fortified in a Countrey full of thoſe that are of the religion. It ſhall behove me being there to cary my ſelf tenderly towards him. The Kings proſperity in *Britany*, hath already made his Catholikes begin to quarrel with the Accord which hath been made at the Aſſembly: For the perſons that were appointed to frame the Articles into an Edict, have varied upon ſome principall points, onely to trifle out the time, thereby to diſcover whether the King may need their aſſiſtance or no. But the Duke of *Bovillon* hearing inckling of it, made more haſte, and hath been with the King and doth return forthwith to him as ſoon as he hath been at the marriage of the Lady *Tremoville*. Your Lordſhip knows the circumſtances of my journey are not ſuch as can afford me any means to judge; but this your Lordſhip may aſſure, that by that time I have ſpoken to the King, things will break out one way other ſo far as it will appear whether it be worth the tarrying to treat or no; after once the King has been dealt with, to which I will addreſs my ſelf with all ſpeed, and not tarry for the States, who may be come to *Paris* by that time I do return: for I believe they will be content to treat any where. I ſhall have a miſs of Sir *Thomas Wilks*, were it not we were well inſtructed; and ſurely, he was grown very heavy of late, and dull: If I ſhould ſtay here to attend his recovery, it would conſume me to no purpoſe. *I* have written a Letter to the *Q*ueen of ſome ſuch gathering as I have gotten, and of the ſpeeches between me and the Preſident, becauſe her Majeſty may not be offended that I write not particulatly to her ſelfe of ſomething. Although the *Spaniards* from *Callis* have ſpoyled *Baſe-Bologne*, yet it is not holden here that the Cardinall will ſit down before any Town ſpeedily, for he will not be able. Nevertheleſſe the Conſtable is come into *Picardy*, to give ſtay to the Province; if that be the fruit of the Treaty, we ſhall have leſs need to diſſwade the King.

I much fear Sir *Tho. Wilks* to be in a Lethargie. Since your Lordſhips Letter of *Feb.* 15. which found me at *Dover* a little before my imbarking, the wind hath not ſerved to bring me any Letter out of *England*. The Lord of heaven ſend me tidings of your Lordſhips health, for whom I will daily pray. I received alſo a Letter from the Earl of *Eſſex* of the 16. and did imbark the 17. I humbly take my leave, and reſt

*Feb.* 26. 1597.

*Your Lordſhips humble and obedient Son,*

RO. CECIL.

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## *Sir* Francis Walſingham *Secretary, to Monſieur* Critoy *Secretary of* France.

SIR,

WHereas you deſire to be advertiſed touching the proceedings here in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, becauſe you ſeem to note in them ſome inconſtancie and variation, as if we ſomtimes inclined to one ſide, ſomtimes to another, and as if that clemencie and lenity were not uſed of late, that was uſed in the beginning; all which you impute to your own ſuperficial underſtanding of the affairs of this State, having notwithſtanding her Majeſties doing in ſingular reverence, as the real pledges which ſhe hath given unto the world of her ſincerity in Religion, and of her wiſdom in Government well meriteth: I am glad of this occaſion to impart that little I know in that matter to you, both for your own ſatisfaction, and to the end you may make uſe thereof towards any that ſhall not be ſo modeſtly and ſo reaſonably minded as you are. I find therefore her Majeſties proceedings to have been grounded upon two principles.

1. The one, That conſciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, with the aid of time and the uſe of all good means of inſtruction and perſwaſion.

2. The other, That the Cauſes of Conſcience wherein they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of faction, loſe their nature; and that Soveraign Princes ought diſtinctly to puniſh the practice in contempt, though coloured with the pretence of Conſcience and Religion.

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According to theſe principles, her Majeſty at her coming to the Crown, utterly diſliking the tyranny of *Rome*, which had uſed by terror and rigor to ſettle commandments of mens faiths and conſciences, though as a Prince of great wiſdom and magnanimity ſhe ſuffered but the exerciſe of one Religion, yet her proceedings towards the Papiſts was with great lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them: And therefore her Majeſty revived not the Laws made in the 28. and 35. of her Fathers reign, whereby the Oath of Supremacie might have been offered at the Kings pleaſure to any Subject, though he kept his conſcience never ſo modeſtly to himſelf; and the refuſal to take the ſame oath without further circumſtance was made Treaſon. But contrariwiſe her Majeſty not liking to make windows into mens hearts & ſecret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and expreſs acts or affirmations, tempered her Laws ſo as it reſtraineth every manifeſt diſobedience in impugning and impeaching adviſedly and maliciouſly her Majeſties ſupreme power, maintaining and extolling a foraign juriſdiction. And as for the Oath, it was altered by her Majeſty into a more gratefull form, the hardneſs of the name and appellation of *Supreme Head* was removed, and the penalty of the refuſal thereof turned only into diſablement to take any promotion, or to exerciſe any charge, and yet with liberty of being reinveſted therein if any man ſhould accept thereof during his life. But after when *Pius Quintus* had excommunicated her Majeſty, and the Bulls of Excommunication were publiſhed in *London*, whereby her Majeſty was in a ſort proſcribed; and that thereupon as upon a principal motive or preparative followed the Rebellion in the North: yet becauſe the ill humours of the Realm were by that Rebellion partly purged, and that ſhe feared at that time no foreign invaſion, and much leſs the attempt of any within the Realm not backed by ſome potent ſuccour from without, ſhe contented herſelf to make a Law againſt that ſpecial caſe of bringing and publiſhing of any Bulls or the like Inſtruments, whereunto was added a prohibition upon pain not of treaſon, but of an inferior degree of puniſhment againſt the bringing in of *Agnus Dei*, hallowed bread, and ſuch other merchandiſe of *Rome*, as are well known not to be any eſſential part of the Romiſh religion, but only to be uſed in practiſe as Love-tokens to inchant the peoples affections from their allegiance to their natural Soveraign. In all other points her Majeſty continued her former lenity: but when about the 20. year of her reign ſhe had diſcovered in the King of *Spain* an intention to invade her Dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the Realm that might adhere to the Foreigner; and that the Seminaries began to bloſſom and to ſend forth daily Prieſts

and

and profeſſed men, who ſhould by vow taken at Shrift reconcile her Subjects from their obedience, yea & bind many of them to attempt againſt her Majeſties ſacred perſon; and that by the poyſon which they ſpread, the humours of moſt Papiſts were altered, and that they were no more Papiſts in conſcience and of ſoftneſs, but Papiſts in faction; then were there new Laws made for the puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould ſubmit themſelves to ſuch reconcilements or renunciations of obedience. And becauſe it was a Treaſon carried in the clouds, and in wonderfull ſecreſie, and came ſeldom to light, and that there was no preſuſpition thereof ſo great as the Recuſants to come to Divine Service, becauſe it was ſet down by their Decrees, that to come to Church before reconcilement was abſolutely heretical and damnable: Therefore there were added Laws containing puniſhment pecuniary againſt ſuch Recuſants, not to enforce Conſcience, but to enfeeble and impoveriſh the means of thoſe of whom it reſteth indifferent and ambiguous whether they were reconciled or no. And when notwithſtanding all this proviſion this poyſon was diſperſed ſo ſecretly, as that there was no means to ſtay it but by reſtraining the Merchants that brought it in; then laſtly there was added another Law, whereby ſuch ſeditious Prieſts of new erection were exiled, and thoſe that were at that time within the Land ſhipped over, and ſo commanded to keep hence upon pain of Treaſon.

This hath been the proceeding, though intermingled not only with ſundry examples of her Majeſties grace towards ſuch as in her wiſdom ſhe knew to be Papiſts in conſcience, and not in faction and ſingularity, but alſo with an ordinary mitigation towards the offenders in the higheſt degree committed by Law, if they would but proteſt that in caſe this Realm ſhould be invaded with a foreign Army by the Popes authority for the Catholique cauſe, as they term it, they would take party with her Majeſty, and not adhere to her enemies. For the other part which have been offenſive to this State, though in other degree, which named themſelves Reformers, and we commonly call Puritans, this hath been the proceeding towards them a great while: When they inveighed againſt ſuch abuſes in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-reſidence, and the like; their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was ſometimes cenſured: When they refuſed the uſe of ſome Ceremonies and Rites as ſuperſtitious, they were tolerated with much connivencie and gentleneſs; yea when they called in queſtion the Superiority of Biſhops, and pretended to bring a Democracie into the Church, yet their Propoſitions were heard, conſidered, and by contrary writings debated and diſcuſſed. Yet all this while it was perceived that their courſe was dangerous and very popular: As becauſe Papiſtry was odious, therefore it was ever in

their

their mouths, that they ſought to purge the Church from the reliques of Popery, a thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one extreme to another. Becauſe multitudes of Rogues, and Poverty were an eye-ſore and diſlike to every man, therefore they put it into the Peoples head, that if Diſcipline were plaintive, there ſhould be no Beggers nor Vagabonds; a thing very plauſible. And in like manner they promiſe the people many other impoſſible wonders of their Diſcipline. Beſides they opened the People a way to Government by their Conſiſtory & Presbytery, a thing though in conſequence no leſs prejudicial to the liberties of private men then to the ſoveraignty of Princes, yet in the firſt ſhew very popular. Nevertheleſs this (except it were in ſome few that entred into extreme contempt) was borne with, becauſe they pretended but in dutifull manner to make Propoſitions, and to leave it to the Providence of God, and the authority of the Magiſtrate. But now of late years, when there iſſued from them a Colony of thoſe that affirmed the conſent of the Magiſtrate was not to be attended; when under pretence of a Confeſſion to avoid ſlanders and imputations, they combined themſelves by Claſſes and Subſcriptions; when they deſcended into that vile and baſe means of defacing the Government of the Church by ridiculous Paſquils; when they began to make many Subjects in doubt to take an Oath, which is one of the fundamental points of Juſtice in this Land and in all places; when they began both to vaunt of their ſtrength and number of their partizans and followers, and to uſe the communications that their Cauſe would prevail, though with uprore and violence; then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conſcience, but meer faction and diviſion: And therefore though the State were compelled to hold ſomwhat a harder hand to reſtrain them then before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church and State could permit. And therefore to conclude, conſider uprightly of theſe matters, and you ſhall ſee her Majeſty is no Temporizer in Religion. It is not the ſucceſs abroad, nor the change of ſervants here at home can alter her; only as the things themſelves alter, ſo ſhe applied her religious wiſdom to correſpond unto them, ſtill retaining the two rules before mentioned in dealing tenderly with conſciences, and yet in diſcovering Faction from Conſcience. Farewell.

*Your loving Friend,*

Francis Walſingham.

## *Sir* Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Eſſex, *when Sir* Robert Cecil *was in* France.

*My ſingular good Lord,*

I Do write becauſe I have not yet had time fully to expreſs my conceit, nor now to attend you, touching *Iriſh* matters, conſidering them as they may concern the State, that it is one of the apteſt particulars that hath come, or can come upon the ſtage for your Lordſhip to purchaſe honour upon, I am moved to think for three reaſons: Becauſe it is ingenerate in your Houſe in reſpect of my Lord your Fathers noble attempts; becauſe of all the accidents of State at this time, the labour reſteth moſt upon that; and becauſe the world will make a kind of compariſon between thoſe that ſet it out of frame, and thoſe that ſhall bring it into frame: which kind of honour giveth the quickeſt kind of reflection. The transferring this honour upon your ſelf conſiſteth in two points: The one, if the principal, perſons imployed come in by you, and depend upon you; the other, if your Lordſhip declare your ſelf to undertake a care of that matter. For the perſons, it falleth out well, that your Lordſhip hath had no intereſt in the perſons of imputation: For neither Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, nor Sir *John Norris* was yours: Sir *William Ruſſel* was conceived yours, but was curbed: Sir *Coniers Clifford*, as I conceive it, dependeth upon you, who is ſaid to do well; and if my Lord of *Ormond* in this interim do accommodate well, I take it he hath always had good underſtanding with your Lordſhip. So as all things are not only whole and entire, but of favourable aſpect towards your Lordſhip, if you now chuſe well: wherein in your wiſdom you will remember there is a great difference in choice of the perſons, as you ſhall think the affairs to incline to compoſition or to war. For your caretaking, popular conceit hath been, that *Iriſh* cauſes have been much neglected, whereby the very reputation of better care will be a ſtrength: And I am ſure her Majeſty and my Lords of the Councel do not think their care diſſolved, when they have choſen whom to imploy; but that they will proceed in a ſpirit of State, and not leave the main point to diſcretion. Then if a Reſolution be taken, a Conſultation muſt proceed; and the Conſultation muſt be governed upon Information to be had from ſuch as know the place and matters in fact: And in taking of information I have always noted there is a skill and a wiſdom. For I cannot tell

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what accompt or inquiry hath been taken of Sir *William Russel*, of Sir *Ralph Eingham*, of the Earl of *Tomond*, of Mr. *Wilbraham*: but I am of opinion much more would be had of them, if your Lordship shall be pleased severally to confer, not *obiter*, but expressly upon some *Caveat* given them to think of it before; for, *bene docet qui prudenter interrogat*. For the points of opposing them, I am too much a stranger to the business to deduce them: but in a —— Topique methinks the pertinent interrogations must be either of the possibility and means of Accord, or of the nature of the War, or of the reformation of the particular abuses, or of the joyning of practice with force in the disunion of the Rebels. If your Lordship doubt to put your sickle in others mens harvests, yet consider you have these advantages. First, Time being fit to you in Mr. Secretaries absence: Next, *Vis unita fortior*: Thirdly, the business being mixt with matters of war, it is fittest for you: Lastly, I know your Lordship will carry it with that modesty and respect towards aged Dignity, and that good correspondencie towards my dear Ally and your good friend now abroad, as no inconveniencie may grow that way. Thus have I plaid the ignorant Statesman, which I do to no body but your Lordship, except I do it to the Queen sometimes when she trains me on. But your Lordship will accept my duty and good meaning, and secure me touching the privateness of that I write.

*Your Lordships to be commanded,*

FR. BACON.

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## *Sir* Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Essex, *concerning the Earl of* Tyrone.

THose advertisements which your Lordship imparted to me, and the like, I hold to be no more certain to make judgment upon, then a Patients water to a Physitian: Therefore for me upon one water to make a judgment, were indeed like a foolish bold Mountebank or Doctor *Birket*. Yet for willing duties sake, I will set down to your Lordship what opinion sprung in my mind upon that I read. The Letter from the Councel there leaning to distrust, I do not much rely upon for three causes. First, because it is always both the grace, and the safety from blame of such a Councel, to erre in caution: whereunto add, that it may be they or some of them are not without envy towards the person who

is used in treating the Accord. Next, because the time of this Treaty hath no shew of dissimulation, for that *Tyrone* is now in no straits, but like a Gamester that will give over because he is a winner, not because he hath no more mony in his purse.

Lastly, I do not see but those Articles whereupon they ground their suspition, may as well proceed out of fear as out of falshood for the reteining of the dependance of the protracting the admission of a Sheriffe, the refusing to give his son for hostage, the holding from present repair to *Dublin*, the refusing to go presently to accord without including *O Donell* and others his associates, may very well come of a guilty reservation, in case he should receive hard measure, and not out of treachery, so as if the great person be faithfull, and that you have not here some present intelligence of present succours from *Spain*, for the expectation whereof *Tyrone* would win time. I see no deep cause of distrusting the cause if it be good. And for the question, her Majesty seemeth to me a winner three ways: First, her purse shall have rest: Next, it will divert the foreign designes upon that place. Thirdly, though her Majesty is like for a time to govern *Precario* in the North, and be not in true command in better state there then before, yet besides the two respects of ease of charge, and advantage of opinion abroad before mentioned, she shall have a time to use her Princely policy in two points: In the one to weaken by division and disunion of the heads; the other by recovering and winning the people by justice, which of all other causes is the best. Now for the *Athenian* question you discourse well, *Quid igitur agendum est*, I will shoot my fools bolt, since you will have it so. The Earle of *Ormond* to be encouraged and comforted above all things, the Garrisons to be instantly provided for: For opportunity makes a thief, and if he should mean never so well now, yet such an advantage as the breaking of her Majesties Garrisons, might tempt a true man. And because he may as well waver upon his own inconstancy as upon occasion, and wont of variableness is never restrained but with fear, I hold it necessary he be menaced with a strong war, not by words, but by Musters and preparations of forces here, in case the Accord proceed not; but none to be sent over lest it disturb the Treaty, and make him look to be over-run as soon as he hath laid down Arms. And but that your Lordship is too easie to passe in such cases from dissimulation to verity, I think if your Lordship lent your reputation in this case, it is to pretend that if not a defensive war as in times past, but a full reconquest of those parts of the Countrey be resolved on, you would accept the charge, I think it would help to settle him, and win you a great deal of honor gratis. And that which most properly concerneth this action, if it prove

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a peace, I think her majesty shall do well to cure the root of the disease, and to profess by a commission of peaceable men chiefly of respect and countenance, and reformation of abuses, extortions, and injustices there, and to plant a stronger and surer government then heretofore for the ease and protection of the subject; for the removing of the sword or government in Arms from the Earle of *Ormond*, or the sending of a Deputy which will eclipse it if peace follow, I think unseasonable. Lastly, I hold still my opinion, both for your better information, and your fuller declaration of your care, and medling and meriting service, that your Lordship have a set conference with the persons I named in my former writing. I rest,

*At your Lordships service*

FR. BACON.

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## *Another to the Earl before his going to* Ireland.

MY singular good Lord, your note of my silence in your occasions hath made me set down these few wandring lines, as one that would say somwhat and can say nothing touching your Lordships intended charge for *Ireland*; which my endeavour I know your Lordship will accept graciously and well, whether your Lordship take it by the handle of th'occasion minister'd from your self, or of th'affection from which it proceedeth, your Lordship is designed to a service of great merit and great perill; and as the greatness of the peril must needs include no small consequence of perill if it be not temperately governed: for all immoderate successe extinguisheth merit, and seareth up distaste and envy, the assured fore-runner of whole changes of peril. But I am at the last point first, some good spirit leading my pen to presage to your Lordships success: wherein it is true, I am not without my Oracle and Divinations, none of them superstitious, and yet not all naturall: For first, looking into the course of Gods providence in things now depending, and calling into consideration how great things God hath done by her Majesty, and for her collect he hath disposed of this great dissection in *Ireland*, whereby to give an urgent occasion to the reduction of that whole kingdom, as upon the rebellion of *Desmond* there ensued the reduction of that Province. Next, your Lordship goeth against three

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of the unluckiest vices of all other, Disloyalty, Ingratitude, & Insolence: which three offences in all examples have seldome their doom adjourned to the world to come Lastly, he that shall have had the honor to know your Lordship inwardly, as I have had, shall find *bona extra*, whereby he may better ground a divination of good, then upon the dissection of a Sacrifice. But that part I leave; for it is fit for others to be confident upon you, & you to be confident upon the cause; the goodnesse & justice whereof is such, as can hardly be matched in any example, it being no ambitious war of Foreigns, but a recovery of subjects, and that after lenity of conditions often tried; and a recovery of them not onely to obedience, but to humanity and policy from more then *Indian Barbarism*. There is yet another kind of divination familiar in matters of State, being that which *Demosthenes* so often relieth upon in his time, where he saith, That which for the time past is worst of all, is for the time to come the best, which is, that things go ill, not by accident, but by error; wherein if your Lordship have been a waking Censor, but must look for no other now but *Medice cura teipsum*: And although your Lordship shal not be the blessed Physician that cometh to the declination of the disease, yet you imbrace that condition which many Noble Spirits have accepted for advantage, which is, that you go upon the greater perill of your fortune, and the less of your reputation; and so the honor countervaileth the adventure: of which honor your Lordship is in no small possession, when that her Majesty known to be one of the most judicious Princes in discerning of spirits, that ever governed, hath made choyce of you meerly out of her Royall judgement (her affection inclining rather to continue your attendance) into whose hands & trust to put the commandement & conduct of so great forces, the gathering in the fruit of so great charge, the execution of so many Councels, the redeeming of the defaults of so many former Governors, and the clearing of the glory of so many happy years reign onely in this part excepted. Nay further, how far forth the perill of that State is interlaced with the perill of *England*; and therefore how great the honor is to keep and defend the approaches of this kingdom, I hear many discourse; and indeed there is a great difference whether the *Tortoise* gather her selfe into her shell hurt or unhurt: And if any man be of opinion, that the nature of an enemy doth extenuate the honour of a service, being but a Rebell and a Savage, I differ from him; for I see the justest Triumphs that the *Romans* in their greatest greatness did obtain, and that whereof the Emperours in their stiles took additions and denominations, were of such an enemy, that is, people barbarous and not reduced to civility, magnifying a kind of lawless liberty, prodigall of life, hardned

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in body, fortified in woods and bogs, placing both justice and felicity in the sharpness of their swords. Such were the *Germans* and antient *Britains*, and divers others. Upon which kind of people whether the victory be a Conquest, or a Reconquest upon a rebellion or revolt, it made no difference that ever I could find in honour. And therefore it is not the inriching predatory war that hath the preheminence in honour; else should it be more honour to bring in a Carrock of rich burthen, then one of the twelve Spanish Apostles. But then this nature of people doth yield a higher point of honour (considering in truth and substance) then any war can yield which should be atchieved against a civil enemy, if the end may be *Paciq; imponere morem*, To replant and refound the policie of that Nation, to which nothing is wanting but a just and civil Government. Which design as it doth descend to you from your noble Father, who lost his life in that action, though he paid tribute to nature, and not to fortune; so I hope your Lordship shall be as fatal a Captain to this war, as *Africanus* was to the war of *Carthage*, after that both his Uncle and his Father had lost their lives in *Spain* in the same war.

Now although it be true, that these things which I have writ (being but representations unto your Lordship of the honour and apparance of success of the enterprise) be not much to the purpose of my direction, yet it is that which is best to me being no man of war, and ignorant in the particulars of Estate: for a man may by the eye set up the white right in the midst of the But, though he be no Archer. Therefore I will only add this wish, according to the English phrase, which termeth a wel-willing advice a wish, That your Lordship in this whole action looking forward set down this Position, That merit is worthier then fame; and looking back hither would remember this text, That obedience is better then sacrifice. For designing to fame and glory, may make your Lordship in the adventure of your person to be valiant as a private Souldier rather then as a Generall; it may make you in your commandments rather to be gracious then disciplinary; it may make you press action in the respect of the great expectation conceived, rather hastily then seasonably and safely; it may make you seek rather to atchieve the war by force, then by intermixture of practice; it may make you (if God shall send you prosperous beginnings) rather seek the fruition of that honour then the perfection of the work in hand. And for your proceeding like a good Protestant (upon warrant, and not upon good intention) your Lordship knoweth in your wisdom, that as it is most fit for you to desire convenient liberty of instruction, so it is no less fit for you to observe the due limits of them, remembring that the exceeding of them may not

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only procure (in case of adverse accident) a dangerous misadvow, but also (in case of prosperous success) be subject to interpretation, as if all were not referred to the right end.

Thus I have presumed to write these few lines to your Lordship *in methodo ignorantiæ*, which is, when a man speaketh of any subject not according to the parts of the matter, but according to the model of his own knowledge. And most humbly desire your Lordship, that the weakness thereof may be supplied in your Lordship by a benign acceptation, as it is in me by my best wishing.

FR. BACON.

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## *Another to him after his enlargement.*

*My Lord,*

NO man can expound my doings more then your Lordship, which makes me need to say the less, only I humbly pray you to believe that I aspire to the conscience and commendation of *Bonus Civis* and *Bonus Vir*, and that I love some things better I confess then I love your Lordship; yet I love few persons better, both for gratitudes sake and for vertues, which cannot hurt but by accident. Of which my good affection it may please your Lordship to assure your self of all the true effects and offices that I can yield: for as I was ever sorry your Lordship should flie with many wings, doubting *Icarus* fortune; so for the growing up of your own feathers, be they Ostridges or other kind, no man shall be more glad; and this is the Axel-tree, whereupon I have turned and shall turn. Which having already signified unto you by some neer means, having so fit a Messenger for mine own Letter, I thought good to redouble also by writing. And so I commend you to Gods protection. From *Grayes* Inne, *&c.*

FR. BACON.

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## *Sir* Francis Bacon *to Sir* Robert Cecil *after defeat of the* Spaniards *in* Ireland.

*It may please your Honour,*

AS one that wisheth you all increase of Honour, and as one that cannot leave to love the State, what interest soever I have, or may come

come to have in it, and as one that now this dead Vacation time have some leisure *ad alind agend.* I will presume to propound unto you that which though you cannot but see, yet I know not whether you apprehend and esteem it in so high a degree, that is, for the best action of importation to your self, of sound honour and merit of her Majesty and this Crown, without ventosity or popularity, that the riches of any occasion, or the tide of any opportunity can possibly minister or offer. And that is the Causes of *Ireland,* if they be taken by the right handle: For if the wound be not ripped up again, and come to a festered sense by new foreign succours, I think that no Physitian will go on much with letting blood *in declinatione morbi,* but will intend to purge and corroborate. To which purpose I send you mine opinion without labour of words in the inclosed; and sure I am that if you shall enter into the matter according to the vivacity of your own spirit, nothing can make unto you a more gainfull return: For you shall make the Queens felicity compleat, which now as it is incomparable: and for your self, you shall make your self as good a Patriot, as you are thought Politique; and to have no less generous ends, then dexterous delivery of your self towards your ends; and as well to have true arts and grounds of government, as the facility and felicity of practice and negotiation; and to be as well seen in the periods and tides of estates, as in your own circle and way: then the which I suppose nothing can be a better addition and accumulation of honour unto you.

This I hope I may in privateness write, either as a Kinsman that may be bolder, or as a Scholar that hath liberty of discourse without committing of any absurdity. If not, I pray your Honour to believe I ever loved her Majesty and the State, and now love your self; and there is never any vehement love without some absurdity, as the *Spaniard* well saith, *De suario con la calentura.* So desiring your Honours pardon, I ever continue, &c.

FR. BACON.

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## *Considerations touching the Queens service in* Ireland, *by Sir* Francis Bacon.

THe Reduction of the Country as well to Civility and Justice, as to Obedience and Peace, which things as th'affairs now stand I hold to be unspeakable, consisteth in four points.

1. The extinguishing of the Reliques of War.
2. The Recovery of the hearts of the People.
3. The removing of the root and occasions of new troubles.
4. Plantation and buildings.

For the first, concerning the places, times and particularities of further prosecution in fact, I leave it to the opinion of men of war, onely the difficulty is to distinguish and discern the propositions which shall be according to the ends of the State here, that is, final and summary towards the extirpation of the trouble, from those, which though they pretend the publick ends, yet may referre indeed to the more private and compendious ends of the Councel there, or other particular Governors or Captains. But still as I touched in my letter, I do think much letting blood in *declinatione morbi*, is against method of cure and that it will but exasperate necessity and despair, and per case discover the hollowness of that which is done already, which none blazeth to the best shew: For *Taglacozzi* and proscription of two or three of the principall Rebels, they are, no doubt *jure Gentium* lawfull, in *Italy* usually practised upon the *Banditi*, best in season when a side goeth down, and may do good in two kinds; the one if it take effect, the other in the distrust which followeth amongst the Rebels themselves. But of all other points (to my understanding) the most effectuall is, the well expressing or impressing of the design of this State, upon that miserable and desolate kingdom, containing the same between these two lists or boundaries: the one, that the Queen seeketh not an extirpation of the people, but a reduction; and now that she hath chastised them by Royall power and Arms, according to the necessity of the occasion, her Majesty taketh no pleasure in effusion of blood, or displanting of ancient generations; the other, that her Majesties Princely care is principally and intentionally bent upon that action of *Ireland*; and that she seeketh not so much the ease of charge, as the Royall performance of her Office of Protection, and reclaim of those her Subjects: And in a word, that the case is allowed as far as may stand with the honor of the time past, which it is easie to reconcile, as in my last note I shewed. And again I do repeat, that if her Majesties design be *ex professo* to reduce wild and barbarous people to civility and justice, as well as to reduce Rebels to obedidience, it maketh weakness true Christianity, and conditions turn graces, and so hath a fineness in turning utility upon point of honor of these times. And besides, if her Majesty shall suddenly abate the lists of her Forces, and shall do nothing to countervail it in the point of reputation of a publick proceeding, I doubt things may too soon fall back into the state they were in. Next to this, adding reputation to the cause by imprinting,

imprinting an opiuion of her Majeſties care and intention upon this action, is the taking away the reputation from the contrary ſide, by cutting off the opinion and expectation of foreign ſuccours: to which purpoſe this enterpriſe of *Algiers*, if it hold according to the advertiſement, and if be not wrapped up in the period of this Summer, ſeemeth to be an opportunity *Cœlitus demiſſa*. And to the ſame purpoſe nothing can be more fit then a Treaty, or a ſhadow of Treaty of a Peace with *Spain*, which methinks ſhould be in our power to faſten, at leaſt *rumore tenus*, to the deluding of as wiſe a people as the *Iriſh*. Laſtly, for this point that the Antients called *poteſtas facta redeundi ad ſanitatem*, and which is but a mockery when the Enemy is ſtrong or proud, but effectual in his declination; that is, a liberal Proclamation of grace and pardon to ſuch as ſhall ſubmit and come in within a time prefixed, and of ſome further reward to ſuch as ſhall bring others in, that our ſword may be ſharpned againſt anothers, as a matter of good experience; and now I think will come in time. And per caſe though I wiſh the excluſions of ſuch a Pardon exceeding few, yet it will not be ſafe to continue ſome of them in their ſtrength, but to tranſlate them and their generation into *England*, and give them recompence and ſatisfaction here for their poſſeſſions there, as the King of *Spain* did by divers families of *Portugal*. The effecting of all the which fall within the points aforeſaid, and likewiſe thoſe which fall within the diviſions following: Nothing can be in priority either of time or matter precedent to the ſending of ſome Commiſſion of the continuance *ad res inſpiciendas & componendas*. For it muſt be a very ſignificant demonſtration of her Majeſties care of that Kingdom, a credence to any that ſhall come in and ſubmit, a bridle to any that have their fortunes there, and ſhall apply their propoſitions to private ends, and an evidence of her Majeſties politique courſes without neglect or reſpiration; and it hath been the wiſdome of the beſt examples of Government. Towards the recovery of hearts of the people, there be but three things in *natura rerum*.

1. Religion. 2. Juſtice and Protection. 3. Obligation and reward. For Religion, to ſpeak firſt of Piety, and then of Policie. All Divines do agree, that if Conſciences be to be inforced at all whereby they differ, yet two things muſt precede their inforcement; th' one means of information, th'other time of operation: Neither of which they have yet had. Beſides till they be more like reaſonable men then they yet are, their ſociety were rather ſcandalous to true Religion then otherwiſe, as pearl caſt before ſwine: For till they be cleanſed from their blood, incontinencie, and theft, and which are now not the lapſes of particular perſons, but the very laws of the Nation, they are incompatible with

Religion formed with Policie. There is no doubt but to wrestle with them now, is directly opposite to their reclaim, and cannot but continue their alienation of mind from this government. Besides, one of the principal pretences whereby the heads of the Rebellion have prevailed both with the people and the Foreigner, hath been the defence of the Catholique religion; and it is that likewise hath made the Foreigner reciprocally more plausible with the Rebel. Therefore a Toleration of Religion for a time not definite, except it be in some principal Towns and Precincts, after the manner of some French Edicts, seemeth to me to be a matter warrantable by Religion, and in Policie of absolute necessity; and the hesitation of this, I think, hath been a great casting back of the affairs there. Neither if any English Papist or Recusant shall for liberty of his conscience transfer his person, family and fortunes thither, do I hold it a matter of danger, but expedient to draw on undertaking, and to further population. Neither if *Rome* will cozen it self by conceiving it may be some degree to the like Toleration in *England*, do I hold it a matter of any moment, but rather a good mean to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the humour of *Rome*, and to stay further Excommunications and Interdictions of *Ireland*. But there would go hand in hand with this some course of advantage. Religion indeed, where the people is capable of it, is the sending over of some good Preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous perswaders, and not Scholastical, to be resident in the principal Towns, endowing them with some stipend out of her Majesties revenues, as her Majesty hath most religiously and graciously done in *Lancashire*; and the recontinuing and replenishing the Colledge begun at *Dublin*, the placing of good men Bishops in the Sea there; the taking care of the versions of Bibles, Catechisms, and other books of Instruction into the Irish language, and the like religious courses, both for the honour of God, and for the avoiding of scandal and insatisfaction here, by a toleration of Religion there. For instance, the Barbarism and desolation of the Country considered, it is not possible they should find any sweetness at all of it, (which hath been the error of times past) formal and fetched far off from the State, because it will require running up and down for process of polling and exactions by fees, and many other delays and charges: And therefore there must be an interim in which the Justice must be only summary, the rather because it is fit and safe for a time the Country do participate of Martial government. And therefore I do wish in every principal Town or place of habitation there were a Captain or a Governour, and a Judge, such as Recorders and learned Stewards are here in Corporations, who may have a Prerogative-Commission to hear and determine *secundum sanam discretionem*,

*ſcretionem*, and as neer as may be to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, and that by Bill or Plaint without Original Writ, reſerving from their ſentence matter of Freehold and Inheritance to be determined before a ſuperior Judge itinerant, to be reverſed if cauſe be, before the Councel of the Province to be eſtabliſhed with fit Informations.

For obligation and reward, it is true no doubt which was anciently ſaid, That a State is contained in two words, *Præmium & Pœna*: And I am perſwaded, if a penny in the pound which hath been ſpent *in pœna*, a chaſtiſement of Rebels, without other fruit or emolument of this State, had been ſpent *in præmio*, that in rewarding, things had never grown to this extremity. But to ſpeak forwards: The keeping of the principal Iriſh perſons in term of contentment, and without particular complaint, as generally the carrying of an eaven courſe between the Engliſh and the Iriſh, whether it be in competition, or whether it be in controverſie, as if they were one Nation, without the ſame partial courſe which hath been held by the Governours and Councellors, that ſome have favoured the Iriſh, and ſome contrary, is one of the beſt medicines for that State. And as for other points of governing their Nobility as well in this Court as there, of Knighthood, of Education of their Children, and the like points of comfort and allurement, they are things which fall into every mans conſideration.

For the extirpating of the ſeeds of troubles, I ſuppoſe the main roots are but three: The firſt, the ambition and abſoluteneſs of the chief of the Families and Sects; the ſecond, the licentious idleneſs of their Kerns and Souldiers that lie upon their Country by ſeſſes and ſuch oppreſſions; the third, the barbarous cuſtoms in habits of apparel, in theſe Poets or Heralds that inchant them in ſavage manners, and ſundry other ſuch dregs of Barbariſm and Rebellion, which by a number of politique Statutes of *Ireland* meet to be put in execution are already forbidden, unto which ſuch additions may be made as the preſent time requireth. But the reducing of this branch requireth a more particular notice of the ſtate and manners there then falls within my compaſs.

For Plantations and buildings, I do find it ſtrange, that in the laſt plot for the population of *Munſter*, there were limitations how much in Demeſnes, and how much in Farm and Tenantry, how many buildings ſhould be erected, how many *Iriſh* in mixture ſhould be admitted; but there was no reſtraint that they might not build *ſparſim* at their pleaſure, much leſs any condition that they ſhould make places fortified and defenſible, the which was too much ſecureneſs to my underſtanding. So as for this laſt point of plantations and buildings, there be two conſiderations which I hold moſt material; th' one of quickning, th' other for aſſuring.

assuring: The first is, that choyce be made of such persons for the government of Towns and places, and such undertakers be procured as be men gracious and wel-beloved, and are like to be well followed; wherein for *Munster* it may be because it is not *Res integra*, but that the former undertakers stand interessed there, will be some difficulty; but surely (in mine opinion) either with agreeing with them, or by over-ruling them by a Parliament in *Ireland* (which in this course of a politique proceeding, infinite occasions will require speedily to be held) it will be fit to supply fit qualified persons for underakers. The other, that it be not left as heretofore, to the pleasure of the undertakers and adventurers, where and how to build and plant, but that they do it according to a prescript or formality. For first, the places both Maritine and Inland, which are fittest for Colonies or Garrison, as well for doubt of Foreigners, as for keeping the Countrey in bridle, would be found surveighed and resolved upon; and then that the Patentees be tied to build those places onely, and to fortifie as shall be thought convenient. And lastly, it followeth of course in Countries of new populations, to invite and provoke inhabitants by ample liberties and Charters.

FR. BACON.

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## *Sir* Francis Bacon *to the Lord Treasurer touching his speech in Parliament.*

*It may please your good Lordship,*

I Was sorry to find by your Lordships speech yesterday, that my last speech in Parliament delivered in discharge of my conscience, my duty to God, her Majesty, and my Countrey, was offensive: if it were misreported, I would be glad to attend your Lordship to disavow any thing I said not; if it were misconstrued, I would be glad to expound my words to exclude any sense I meant not; if my heart be mis-judged by imputation of popularity, or opposition, I have great wrong, and the greater because the manner of my speech did most evidently shew, that I spake most simply, and onely to satisfie my conscience, and not with any advantage or policy to sway the cause, and my terms carried all signification of duty, and zeal towards her Majesty and her service. It is very true, that from the beginning, whatsoever was a double Subsidy, I did wish might for presidents sake appear to be extraordinary, and for discontents sake

ſake might not have been levied upon the poverty; though otherwiſe I wiſhed it as riſing as I think this will prove, or more. This was my mind, I confeſs it: and therefore I moſt humbly pray your good Lordſhip, firſt to continue me in your own good opinion, and then to perform the part of an honorable good friend towards your poor ſervant, and all in drawing her Majeſty to accept of the ſincerity and ſimplicity of my zeal, and to hold me in her Majeſties favour, which is to me dearer then my life. And ſo, &c.

*Your Lordſhips moſt humble*
*in all duty,*

FR. BACON.

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## *Sir* Francis Bacon *to the Earl of* Northampton.

*May it pleaſe your good Lordſhip,*

AS the time of ſowing of a ſeed is known, but the time of coming up and diſcloſing is caſuall, or according to the ſeaſon; ſo I am witneſs to my ſelf, that there hath been covered in my mind a long time, a ſeed of affection and zeal towards your Lordſhip, ſown by the eſtimation of your vertues, and your particular honors and favours to my brother deceaſed, and to my ſelf; which ſeed ſtil ſpringing now burſteth forth into this profeſſion. And to be plain with your Lordſhip, it is very true, and no winds or noyſes of evill matters can blow this out of my head or heart, that your great capacities and love towards ſtudies and contemplations of an higher and worthier nature then popular, a matter rare in the world, & in a perſon of your Lordſhips quality almoſt ſingular, is to me a great and chief motive to draw my affection & admiration towards you: and therefore, good my Lord, if I may be of any uſe to your Lordſhip, I humbly pray your Lordſhip to hold me your own: and therefore withall, not to do ſo much diſadvantage to my good mind, as to conceive that this commendation of my humble ſervice proceedeth out of any ſtraits of my occaſions; but meerly out of an election, and indeed the fulneſs of my heart. And ſo wiſhing your Lordſhip all proſperity, I continue yours, &c.

FR. BACON.

To

## *To the Lord* Kinloſs, *upon the entrance of K.* James.

*My Lord,*

THe preſent occaſion awaketh in me a remembrance of the conſtant amity and mutual good offices which paſſed between my Brother deceaſed and your Lordſhip, whereunto I was leſs ſtrange then in reſpect of the time I had reaſon to pretend; and withall I call to mind the great opinion my Brother (who ſeldom failed in judgment of a perſon) would often expreſs to me of your Lordſhips great wiſdom and ſoundneſs both in head and heart towards the ſervice and affairs of the Lord our Soveraign King. The one of thoſe hath bred in me an election, and the other a confidence to addreſs my good will and ſincere affection to your good Lordſhip, not doubting in regard that my courſe of life hath wrought me not to be altogether unſeen in the matters of the Kingdom, that I may be in ſome uſe both in points of ſervice to the King and your Lordſhips particular: And on the other ſide I will not omit to deſire humbly your Lordſhips favour in furthering a good conceit and impreſſion of my moſt humble duty and true zeal towards the King, to whoſe Majeſty words cannot make me known, neither mine own nor others, but time will to no diſadvantage of any that ſhall forerun his Majeſties experience by their humanity and commendations. And ſo I commend your Lordſhip to Gods protection. *Your &c.*

From *Grayes-Inne*, &c. FR. BACON.

## *To King* James.

MAy it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty: It is obſerved upon a place in the *Canticles* by ſome, *Ego ſum Flos Campi & Lilium Convallium*; that it is not ſaid, *Ego ſum flos horti & lilium montium*: becauſe the Majeſty of that Perſon is not incloſed for a few, nor appropriate to the great. And yet notwithſtanding this Royal vertue of acceſs, which nature and judgment hath placed in your Majeſties mind as the portal of all the reſt, could not of it ſelf (my imperfections conſidered)

sidered) have animated me to have made oblation of my self immediately to your Majesty, had it not been joyned to a habit of like liberty which I enjoyed with my late dear Soveraign Mistress, a Princess happy in all things, but most happy in such a Successor. And yet further and more neerly I was not a little encouraged, not only upon a supposal that unto your Majesties sacred eares (open to the aire of all vertues) there might have come some small breath of the good memory of my Father, so long a principal Councellor in your Kingdom, but also by the particular knowledge of the infinite devotion and inceſſant endeavours beyond the strength of his body, and the nature of the times, which appeared in my good Brother towards your Majesties service, and were on your Majesties part through your singular benignities by many most gracious and lively significations and favours accepted and acknowledged, beyond the thought of any thing he could effect: All which endeavours and duties for the most part were common to my self with him, though by design between brethren dissembled. And therefore, most high and mighty King, my most dear and dread Soveraign Lord, since now the corner-stone is laid of the mightiest Monarchy in *Europe*, and that God above, who is noted to have a mighty hand in bridling the floods and fluctuations of the seas, and of peoples hearts, hath by the miraculous and universal consent (the more strange, because it proceedeth from such diversity of causes) in your coming in, given a sign and token what he intendeth in the continuance; I think there is no Subject of your Majesty, who loveth this Island, and is not hollow and unworthy, whose heart is not on fire not only to bring you Peace-offerings to make you propitious, but to sacrifice himself as a Burnt-offering to your Majesties service: Amongst which number no mans fire shall be more pure and fervent; but how far forth it shall blaze out, that resteth in your Majesties imployment. For since your fortune, in the greatness thereof, hath for a time debarred your Majesty of the fruitly vertue which one calleth the principal, (*Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos*) because your Majesty hath many of yours which are unknown unto you, I must leave all to the trial of further time; and thirsting after the happiness of kissing your Royal hand, continue ever

*Your &c.*

FR. BACON.

## *To the Earl of* Northumberland, *concerning a Proclamation upon the Kings entry.*

*It may please your Lordship,*

I Do hold it a thing formal and necessary for the King to forerun his coming, be it never so speedy, with some gracious Declaration for the cherishing, entertaining, and preparing of mens affections. For which purpose I have conceived a draught, it being a thing to me familiar in my Mistress her times to have my pen used in politique writings of satisfaction. The use of this may be in two sorts: First properly, if your Lordship think convenient to shew the King any such draught, because the veins and pulses of this State cannot but be known here; which if your Lordship should, then I would desire your Lordship to withdraw my name, and only signifie that you gave some heads of direction of such a matter to one of whose stile and pen you had some opinion. The other collateral, that though your Lordship make no other use of it, yet it is a kind of pourtraicture of that which I think worthy to be advised to the King, to express himself according to those points which are therein conceived, and perhaps more compendious and significant then if I had set them down in Articles. I would have attended your Lordship, but for some little Physick I took. To morrow morning I will wait on you. So I ever continue, *&c.*

FR. BACON.

## *To the Earl of* Southampton.

*It may please your Lordship,*

I Would have been very glad to have presented my humble service to your Lordship by my attendance, if I could have foreseen that it should not have been unpleasing unto you. And therefore because I would commit no error, I chose to write, assuring your Lordship how credible soever, yet it is as true as a thing that God knoweth, that this great change in me hath wrought no other change towards your Lordship then this, that I may safely be now that which I was truly before:

before: And so craving no other pardon then for troubling you with this letter, I do not now begin to be, but continue to be

*Your Lordships most humble and devoted,*

FR. BACON.

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## *To the Earl of* Northumberland.

*It may please your Lordship,*

I Would not have lost this journey, and yet I have not that *I* went for: For I have had no private conference to purpose with the King, no more hath almost any other *English*; for the speech his Majesty admitteth with some Noblemen, is rather matter of grace then matter of businesse: with the Attorney he spake, urged by the Treasurer of *Scotland*, but no more then needs must. After I had received his Majesties first welcome, and was promised private accesse, yet not knowing what matter of service your Lordship carried, for I saw it not, and knowing that privinesse in advertisement is much, I chose rather to deliver it to Sir *Thomas Hoskins* then to let it cool in my hands, upon expectation of accesse. Your Lordship shall find a Prince the furthest from vainglory that may be, and rather like a Prince of the ancient form then of the latter time; his speeches swift an cursory, and in the full Dialect of his Nation, and in speeeh of businesse short, in speech of discourse large: he affecteth popularity by gracing them that are popular, and not by any fashions of his own; he is thought somewhat generall in his favours; and his vertue of accesse is rather because he is much abroad, and in presse, then that he giveth easie audience: he hasteneth to a mixture of both kingdoms and nations, faster perhaps then policy will well bear. I told yonr Lordship once before my opinion, that methought his Majesty rather asked counsell of the time past, then of the time to come. But it is yet early to be found in any setled opinion. For other particularities I refer to conference, having in these generals gone further in these tender arguments then I would have done, were not the bearer hereof so assured. So I continue your, &c.

FR. BACON.

## *To Sir* Edward Coke *expoſtulatory.*

*Mr. Attorney,*

I Thought beſt once for all to let you know in plainneſs what I find of you, and what you ſhal find of me To take to your ſelf a liberty to diſgrace and diſable my Law, experience, diſcretion: what it pleaſes you, I pray think of me. I am one that know both mine own wants and other mens, and it may be perchance that mine may mend when others ſtand at a ſtay: And ſurely I may not in publike place endure to be wronged, without repelling the ſame to my beſt advantage to right myſelf. You are great, and therefore have the more enviers, which would be glad to have you paid at anothers coſt. Since the time I miſſed the Sollicitors place, the rather I think by your means, I cannot expect that you and I ſhall ever ſerve as Attorney and Sollicitor; but either to ſerve with another upon your remove, or to ſtep into ſome other courſe. So as I am more free then ever I was from any occaſion of unworthy conforming my ſelf to you, more then generall good manners, or your particular good uſage ſhall provoke: And if you had not been ſhort-ſighted in your own fortune (as I think) you might have had more uſe of me; but that tide is paſt. I write not this to ſhew any friends what a brave Letter I have writ to Mr. Attorney, I have none of thoſe humours: but that I have written is to a good end, that is, to the more decent carriage of my Maſters ſervice, and to our particular better underſtanding one another. This Letter, if it ſhall be anſwered by you in deed, and not in word, I ſuppoſe it will not be worſe for us both; elſe it is but a few lines loſt, which for a much ſmaller matter I would adventure. So this being to your ſelf, I for my part reſt

*Your &c.*

FR. BACON.

## *To the ſame after L. Chief Juſtice, and in diſgrace.*

*My very good Lord,*

1

THough it be true, that who conſidereth the wind and the rain, ſhal neither ſow nor reap, *Eccleſ.* 9. 15. yet there is a ſeaſon for every action: And ſo there is a time to ſpeak, and a time to keep ſilence; there

is

is a time when the words of a poor ſimple man may profit: and that poor man in the Preacher which delivered the City by his wiſdom, found, that without this opportunity, the power both of wiſdom and eloquence loſe but their labour, and cannot charm the deaf Adder. God therefore, before his Son that bringeth mercy, ſent his ſervant the Trumpeter of repentance to level a very high hill, to prepare the way before him, making it ſmooth and ſtreight. And as it is in ſpiritual things, where Chriſt never comes before his Way-maker hath laid even the heart with ſorrow and repentance, ſince ſelf-conceited and proud perſons think themſelves too good and too wiſe to learn of their inferior, and therefore need not the Phyſitian: ſo in the rules of earthly wiſdom it is not poſſible for nature to attain any mediocrity of perfection, before ſhe be humbled by knowing her ſelf and her own ignorance. Not only knowledge, but alſo every other gift (which we call the gifts of fortune) have power to pull up earthly ——— Afflictions only level theſe Molehils of pride, plough the heart, and make it fit for Wiſdom to ſow her ſeed, and for Grace to bring forth her increaſe. Happy is that man therefore both in regard of heavenly and earthly wiſdom, that is thus wounded, to be cured; thus broken, to be made ſtraight; thus made acquainted with his own imperfections, that he may be perfected.

Suppoſing this to be the time of your affliction, that which I have propounded to my ſelf is, by taking this ſeaſonable advantage, like a true friend (though far unworthy to be counted ſo) to ſhew you your true ſhape in a glaſs, and that not in a falſe one to flatter you, nor yet in one that ſhould make you ſeem worſe then you are, and ſo offend you, but in one made by the reflexion of your own words and actions, from whoſe light proceeds the voice of the people, which is often not unfitly called the voice of God: but therein (ſince I purpoſed a truth) I muſt intreat liberty to be plain, a liberty that at this time I know not whether or no I may uſe ſafely, I am ſure at other times I could not: yet of this reſolve your ſelf, it proceedeth from love, and a true deſire to do you good, that you knowing the generall opinion, may not altogether neglect or contemn it, but mend what you find amiſs in your ſelf, and tain what your judgment ſhall approve; for to this end ſhall truth be delivered as naked as if your ſelf were to be anatomized by the hand of opinion. All men can ſee their own profit, that part of the wallet hangs before. A true friend (whoſe worthy office I would perform, ſince I fear both your ſelf and all great men want ſuch, being themſelves true friends to few or none) is firſt to ſhew the other, and which is from your eyes.

First therefore behold your errors: In discourse you delight to speak too much, not to hear other men; this some say becomes a pleader, not a Judge: for by this sometimes your affections are intangled with a love of your own arguments though they be the weaker, and rejecting of those which when your affections were setled, your own judgment would allow for strongest. Thus while you speak in your own Element, the Law, no man ordinarily equals you; but when you wander, (as you often delight to do) you then wander indeed, and give never such satisfaction as the curious time requires. This is not caused by any naturall defect, but first for want of election, when you having a large and fruitfull mind, should not so much labour what to speak, as to find what to leave unspoken; rich soils are often to be weeded.

Secondly, you cloy your auditory when you would be observed, speech must either be sweet or short.

Thirdly, you converse with Books, not men, and Books specially humane, and have no excellent choyce with men, who are the best Books: for a man of action and imployment you seldome converse with, and then but with your underlings, not freely, but as a Schoolmaster with his Scholars, ever to teach, never to learn. But if somtimes you would in your familiar discourse hear others, and make election of such as know what they speak, you should know many of these tales you tell to be but ordinary, and many other things which you delight to repeat and serve in for novelties, to be but stale. As in your pleadings you were wont to insult over misery, and to inveigh bitterly at the persons (which bred you many enemies whose poyson yet swelleth, and the effects now appear) so are you still wont to be a little careless in this point to praise or disgrace upon slight grounds, and that sometimes untruly, so that your reproofs or commendations are for the most part neglected and contemned; when the censure of a Judge (coming slow, but sure) should be a brand to the guilty, and a crown to the vertuous. You will jest at any man in publique, without respect of the persons dignity or your own. This disgraceth your gravity more then it can advance the opinion of your wit, and so do all actions which we see you do directly with a touch of vainglory, having no respect to the true end. You make the Law to lean too much to your opinion, whereby you shew your self to be a legall Tyrant, striking with that weapon where you please, since you are able to turn the edge any way. For thus the wise Master of the Law gives warning to young Students, that they should be wary left while they hope to be instructed by your integrity and knowledge, they should be deceived with your skill armed with authority. Your too much love of the world is too much seen, when having the living of 10000*l.* you relieve few

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or none. The hand that hath taken so much, can it give so little? Herein you shew no bowels of compassion, as if you thought all too little for your self; or that God had given you all that you have (if you think wealth to be his gift, I mean that you get well, for I know sure the rest is not) only to that end you should still gather more, and never be satisfied, but try how much you could gather to accompt for all at the great and generall Audit-day. We desire you to amend this, and let your poor Tenants in *Norfolk* find some comfort, where nothing of your estate is spent towards their relief, but all brought up hither to the impoverishing of your Country.

In your last, which might have been your best peece of service to the State, affectioned to follow that old rule which giveth Justice leaden heels and iron hands, you used too many delayes, till the Delinquents hands were loosed, and yours bound. In that work you seemed another *Fabius*, here the humour of *Marcellus* would have done better: What needed you have sought more evidences then enough? While you pretended the finding out of more, (missing your aim) you discredited what you had found. This best Judgments think, though you never used such speeches as are fathered upon you, yet you might well have done it, and but rightly: For this crime was second to none but the Powder-plot: That would have blown up all at one blow, a mercifull cruelty; this would have done the same by degrees, a lingring, but a sure way; one might by one be called out, till all opposers had been removed. Besides, that other Plot was scandalous to *Rome*, making Popery odious in the sight of the whole world: This hath been scandalous to the truth of the whole Gospel, and since the first nullity to this instant, when Justice hath her hands bound, the Devil could not have invented a more mischievous practice to our State and Church then this hath been, is, and is like to be. God avert the evil.

But herein you committed another fault, that you were too open in your proceedings, and so taught them whereby to defend themselves; so you gave them time to undermine Justice, and to work upon all advantages both of affections and honor, and opportunity, and breach of friendship: which they have so wel followed, sparing neither pains nor cost, that it almost seemeth an offence in you to have done so much indeed, then that you have done no more: you stopt the confessions & accusations of some, who perhaps had they been suffered, would have spoken enough to have removed some stumbling-blocks out of your way: and that you did not this in the favour of any one, but of I know not what present unadvised humours, supposing enough behind to discover all, which fel not out so. Howsoever, as the Apostle saith in another case,

you

you went not rightly to the truth, and therefore though you were to be commended for what you did, yet you were to be reprehended for many circumstances in the doing; and doubtless God hath an eye in this cross to your negligence, and the briers are left to be pricks in your sides, and thorns in your eyes. But that which we commend you for, are those excellent parts of Nature, and knowledge in the Law, which you are indued withall; but these are only good in their good use: wherefore we thank you heartily for standing stoutly in the Commonwealths behalfe, hoping it proceedeth not from a disposition to oppose Greatness (as your enemies say) but to do justice, and deliver truth indifferently without respect of persons; and in this we pray for your prosperity, and are sorry that your good actions should not always succeed happily. But in the carriage of this you were faulty, for you took it in hand in an evill time, both in respect of the present business which it interrupted, and in regard of his present sickness whom it concerned, whereby you disunited your strength, and made a gap for the enemies to pass out at, and to return and assault you.

But now, since the case so standeth, we desire you to give way to power, and so to fight that you be not utterly broken, but reserved intirely to serve the Commonwealth again, and do what good you can, since you cannot do all the good you would; and since you are fallen upon this work, cast out the goods to save the bottom, stop the leaks and make towards land, learn of the Steward to make friends of the unrighteous Mammon. Those *Spaniards* in *Mexico* who were chased of the *Indians*, tell us what to do with our goods in our extremities, they being to passe over a river in their flight, as many as cast away their gold swam over safe; but some more covetous, keeping their gold, were either drowned with it, or overtaken and slain by the Savages: you have received now learn to give. The *Beaver* learns us this lesson, who being hunted for his stones, bites them off: You cannot but have much of your estate (pardon my plainnesse) ill got, think how much of that you never spake for, how much by speaking unjustly or in unjust causes. Account it then a blessing of God if thus it may be laid out for your good, and not left for your heir to hasten the wasting of much of the rest, perhaps of all; for so we see God oftentimes proceeds in judgement with many hasty gatherers: you have enough to spare, being well laid, to turn the Tide, and fetch all things again. But if you escape (I suppose it worthy of an *if*) since you know the old use, that none called in question must go away uncensured; yet consider that accusations make wounds, and leave scarres; and though you see your tale behind your back, your self free, and the Covert before, yet remember there are stands, trust not

reconciled

reconciled enemies, but think the peace is but to ſecure you for further advantage, expect a ſecond and a third encounter, the main battell, the wings are yet unbroken, they may charge you at an inſtant, or death before them: walk therefore circumſpectly; and if at length by means of our good endeavours and yours, you recover the favour that you have loſt, give God the glory in action, not in words onely, and remember us with ſenſe of your paſt misfortune, whoſe eſtate hath, doth, and may hereafter lye in the power of your breath. There is a great mercy in diſpatch, delays are tortures wherewith we are by degrees rent out of our eſtates: do not you (if you be reſtored) as ſome others do, fly from the ſervice of vertue to ſerve the time, as if they repented their goodneſs, or meant not to make a ſecond hazard in Gods Houſe; but rather let this croſs make you zealous in Gods cauſe, ſenſible in ours, and more ſenſible in all, which expreſs thus. You have been a great enemy to Papiſts, if you love God, be ſo ſtill, but more indeed then heretofore: for much of your zeal was heretofore waſted in words: call to remembrance that they were the perſons that propheſied of that croſs of yours long before it hapned, they ſaw the ſtorm coming, being the principall contrivers and furtherers of the plot, the men that blew the coals, heat the Iron, and made all things ready, they owe you a good turn, and will, if they can, pay it you, you ſee their hearts by their deeds, prove then your faith ſo too. The beſt good work you can do, is to do the beſt you can againſt them, that is, to ſee the Law ſeverely, juſtly, and diligently executed. And now we beſeech you, my Lord, be ſenſible both of the ſtroak, and hand that ſtriketh: learn of *David* to leave *Shimei*, and call upon God, he hath ſome great work to do, and he prepareth you for it, he would neither have you faint, nor yet bear this croſs with a Stoical reſolution. There is a Chriſtian mediocrity worthy of your greatneſs. I muſt be plain, perhaps raſh. Had ſome notes which you have taken at Sermons, been written in your heart to practiſe, this work had been done long ago, without the envy of your enemies: But when we will not mind our ſelves, God (if we belong to him) takes us in hand; and becauſe he ſeeth that we have unbridled ſtomacks, therefore he ſends outward croſſes, which while they cauſe us to mourn, do comfort us, being aſſured teſtimonies of his love that ſends them: to humble our ſelves therefore before God, is the part of a Chriſtian; but for the world, and our enemies, the counſell of the Poet is apt, *Tune cede malis, ſed contra audentior ito.*

The laſt part of this counſell you forget, yet none need be aſham'd to make uſe of it, that ſo being armed againſt caſualties, you may ſtand firm againſt the aſſaults on the right hand and on the left. For this is

certain, the mind that is moſt prone to be puft up with proſperity, is moſt weak and apt to be dejected with the leaſt puff of adverſity. Indeed ſhe is ſtrong enough to make an able man ſtagger, ſtriking terrible blows; but true Chriſtian wiſdom gives us armour of proof againſt all aſſaults, and teacheth us in all eſtates to be content: for though ſhe cauſe our trueſt friends to declare themſelves our enemies, though ſhe give heart then to the moſt cowardly to ſtrike us, though an hours continuance countervail an age of proſperity, though ſhe caſt in our diſh all that ever we have done, yet hath ſhe no power to hurt the humble and wiſe, but onely to break ſuch as too much proſperity hath made ſtiff in their own thoughts, but weak indeed and fitted for renewing, when the wiſe rather gather from thence profit and wiſdom by the example of *David*, who ſaid, *Before I was chaſtiſed, I went wrong.* Now then, he that knoweth the right way, will look better to his footing. *Cardan* ſaith, That weeping, faſting, and ſighing, are the chief purgers of griefes. Indeed naturally they help to aſſwage ſorrow; but God in this caſe is the onely and beſt Phyſician: the means he hath ordained are the advice of friends, the amendment of our ſelves: for amendment is both Phyſitian and Cure. For friends, although your Lordſhip be ſcant, yet I hope you are not altogether deſtitute; if you be, do but look on good books, they are true friends, that will neither flatter nor diſſemble; be you but true to your ſelf, applying what they teach unto the party grieved, and you ſhall need no other comfort nor counſell. To them, and to Gods holy Spirit directing you in the reading of them, I commend your Lordſhip, beſeeching him to ſend you a good iſſue out of theſe troubles, and from henceforth to work a reformation in all that is amiſs, and a reſolute perſeverance, proceeding, and growth in all that is good, and that for his glory, the bettering of your ſelf, this Church and Commonwealth, whoſe faithfull ſervant whilſt you remain, I remain a faithfull ſervant to you.

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## *To Sir* Vincent Skinner, *expoſtulatory.*

Sir *Vincent Skinner*,

I See that by your needleſs delayes this matter is grown to a new queſtion: wherein for the matter it ſelf, if it had been ſtaid at the beginning by my Lord Treaſurer and my Lord Chancellor, I ſhould not ſo much have ſtood upon it: For the great and daily travels which I take in his Majeſties

Majesties service either are rewarded in themselves, in that they are but my duty, or else may deserve a much greater matter. Neither can I think amiss of any man, that in furtherance of the Kings benefit moved the doubt, that I knew not what warrant you had: But my wrong is, that you having had my Lord Treasurers and Mr. Chancellors warrant for payment above a moneth since, you (I say) making your payments belike upon such differences as are better known to your self, then agreeable to due respect of his Majesties service, have delayed all this time, otherwise then I might have expected either from our antient acquaintance, or from that regard as one in your place may owe to one in mine. By occasion whereof there ensueth to me a greater inconvenience, that now my name in sort must be in question amongst you, as if I were a man likely to demand that that were unreasonable, or to be denied that that is reasonable: And this must be, because you can pleasure men at pleasure. But this I leave with this, that it is the first matter wherein I had occasion to discern of your friendship: which I see to fall to this, That whereas Mr. Chancellor the last time, in my mans hearing, very honourably said that he would not discontent any man in my place, it seems you have no such caution. But my writing to you now is, to know of you where now the stay is, without being any more beholden to you, to whom indeed no man ought to be beholden in those cases in a right course. And so I bid you farewell,

FR. BACON.

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## *To Mr.* Toby Matthews.

Mr. *Matthews*,

DO not think me forgetfull, or altered towards you: But if I should say I could do you any good, I should make my power more then it is. I do fear that which I am right sorry for, that you grow more impatient and busie then at first; which makes me exceedingly fear the issue of that which seemeth not to stand at a stay. I my self am out of doubt, that you have been miserably abused when you were first seduced; and that which I take in compassion, others may take in severity. I pray God, that understands us all better then we understand one another, continue you, as I hope he will, at least within the bounds of loyalty to his Majesty, and natural piety to your Country. And I intreat you much to meditate sometimes upon the effect of Superstition in this last *Powder-Treason*, fit to be tabled and pictur'd in the chambers of *Meditation* as

another Hell above the ground; and well justifying the censure of the Heathen, that *Superstition is far worse than Atheism:* by how much it is less evil to have no good opinion of God at all, then such as are impious towards his divine Majesty and goodness. Good Mr. *Matthews*, receive your self back from these courses of perdition. Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue

*Your &c.*

FR. BACON.

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## *To the Lord Treasurer, concerning the Solli citors place.*

After the remembrance of my humble duty, though I know by late experience how mindfull your Lordship vouchsafeth to be of me and my poor fortune; and since it pleased your Lordship during your indisposition, when her Majesty came to visit your Lordship, to make mention of me for my imployment and preferment: yet being now in the Country, I do presume that your Lordship, who of your self had an honorable care of the matter, will not think it a trouble to be sollicited therein. My hope is this, that whereas your Lordship told me her Majesty was somwhat gravelled upon the offence she took at my Speech in Parliament, your Lordships favourable endeavour, who hath assured me that for your own part you construe that I spake to the best, will be as a good tide to remove her from that shelf: And it is not unknown unto your good Lordship, that I was the first of the ordinary sort of the lower House that spake for the Subsidie; and that which I after spake in difference, was but in circumstance of time, which methinks was no great matter, since there is variety allowed in Councel as a Discord in Musick to make it more perfect.

But I may justly doubt her Majesties impression upon this particular, as her conceipt otherwise of my insufficiencie and unworthiness: which though I acknowledge to be great, yet it will be the less, because I purpose not to divide my self between her Majesty and the causes of other men, as others have done, but to attend her business only; hoping that a whole man meanly able, may do as well as half a man better able: And if her Majesty thinketh that she shall make an adventure in using

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one that is rather a man of ſtudy then of practice and experience, ſurely I may remember to have heard that my Father (an example I confeſs rather ready then like) was made Sollicitor of the Augmentation (a Court of much buſineſs) when he had never practiſed, and was but 27 years old: And Mr. *Brograve* was now in my time called Attorney of the Dutchy, when he had practiſed little or nothing, and yet hath diſcharged his place with great ſufficiencie. But thoſe and the like things are as her Majeſty ſhall be made capable of them: wherein knowing what authority your Lordſhips commendations hath with her Majeſty, I conclude with my ſelf that the ſubſtance of ſtrength which I may receive will be from your Lordſhip. It is true, my life hath been ſo private, as I have had no means to do your Lordſhip ſervice: but yet, as your Lordſhip knoweth, I have made offer of ſuch as I could yield. For as God hath given me a mind to love the publique, ſo incidently I have ever had your Lordſhip in ſingular admiration, whoſe happy ability her Majeſty hath ſo long uſed to her great honour and yours. Beſides, that amendment of ſtate or countenance which I have received hath been from your Lordſhip: And therefore if your Lordſhip ſhall ſtand a good friend to your poor Ally, you ſhall but *tueri opus* which you have begun; and your Lordſhip ſhall beſtow your benefit upon one that hath more ſenſe of obligation, then of ſelf-love.

Thus humbly deſiring pardon of ſo long a Letter, I wiſh your Lordſhip all happineſs.

*Your Lordſhips in all humbleneſs to be commanded,*

*June* 6. 1595.

FR. BACON.

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## *To the Earl of* Salisbury *concerning the ſame.*

*It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

I Am not privy to my ſelf of any ſuch ill deſerving towards your Lordſhip, as that I ſhould think it an impudent thing to be a Suitor for your favour in a reaſonable matter, your Lordſhip being to me as (with your good favour) you cannot ceaſe to be: but rather it were a ſimple and arrogant part in me to forbear it.

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It is thought Mr. *Attorney* ſhall be Chief Juſtice of the Common-Place; in caſe Mr. *Sollicitor* riſe, I would be glad now at laſt to be Sollicitor: chiefly becauſe I think it will increaſe my practice, wherein God bleſſing me a few years, I may mend my ſtate, and ſo after fall to my ſtudies and eaſe, whereof one is requiſite for my body, and the other ſerveth for my mind: wherein if I ſhall find your Lordſhips favour, I ſhall be more happy then I have been, which may make me alſo more wiſe. I have ſmall ſtore of means about the King, and to ſue my ſelf is not fit; and therefore I ſhall leave it to God, his Majeſty, and your Lordſhip: for I muſt ſtill be next the door. I thank God, in theſe tranſitory things I am well reſolved. So beſeeching your Lordſhip not to think this Letter the leſs humble, becauſe it is plain, I reſt, &c.

FR. BACON.

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## *Again to the Earl of* Salisbury.

*It may pleaſe your good Lordſhip,*

I Am not ignorant how mean a thing I ſtand for, in deſiring to come into the Sollicitors place: For I know well it is not the thing it hath been, time having wrought alteration both in the profeſſion, and in that ſpecial place. Yet becauſe I think it will increaſe my practice, and that it may ſatisfie my friends, and becauſe I have been voiced to it, I would be glad it were done. Wherein I may ſay to your Lordſhip, in the confidence of your poor Kinſman, and a man by you advanced, *In idem ſer opem qui ſpem dediſti:* For I am ſure it was not poſſible for a man living to have received from another more ſignificant and comfortable words of hope: your Lordſhip being pleaſed to tell me during the courſe of my laſt ſervice, That you would raiſe me; and that when you were reſolved to raiſe a man, you were more carefull of him then himſelf; and that what you had done for me in my marriage, was a benefit for me, but of no uſe to your Lordſhip, and therefore I might aſſure my ſelf you would not leave me there, with many like ſpeeches: which I know too well my duty to take any other hold of, then the hold of a thankfull remembrance: And I know, and all the world knoweth, that your Lordſhip is no dealer of Holy-water, but noble and real; and on my part on ſure ground, that I have committed nothing that may deſerve any alteration; and if I cannot obſerve you as I would, your Lordſhip

ſhip will impute it to my want of experince, which I ſhall gather better when I am once ſetled.

And therefore my hope is, your Lordſhip will finiſh a good work, and conſider that time groweth pretious, and that I am now *vergentibus annis*; and although I know your fortune is not to want an hundred ſuch as I am, yet I ſhall be ever ready to give you my beſt and firſt fruits, and to ſupply, as much as in me lieth, a worthineſs by thankfulneſs.

FR. BACON.

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## *Sir* Fr. Bacon *to the Lord Chancellor.*

*It may pleaſe your Lordſhip,*

AS I conceived it to be a reſolution both with his Majeſty, and among your Lordſhips of his Councell, that I ſhould be placed Sollicitor, and the Sollicitor to be removed to be the Kings Serjeant; ſo I moſt humbly thank your Lordſhips furtherance and forwardneſs therein, your Lordſhip being the man that firſt deviſed the mean: wherefore my humble requeſt unto your Lordſhip is, That you would ſet in with ſome ſtrength to finiſh this your work, which (I aſſure your Lordſhip) I deſire the rather; becauſe, being placed, I hope for your many favours, to be able to do you ſome better ſervice: for as I am your Lordſhip cannot uſe me, nor ſcarcely indeed know me; not that I vainly think I ſhall be able to do any great matters, but certainly it will frame me to uſe a more induſtrious obſervance and application to ſuch as I honour ſo much as I do your Lordſhip, and not, I hope, without ſome good offices, which may deſerve your thanks. And herewithal, good my Lord, I humbly pray your Lordſhip to conſider that time groweth pretious with me, and that a married man is ſeven years older in his thoughts the firſt day: And therefore what a diſcomfortable thing it is for me to be unſetled ſtill. For ſurely were it not that I think my ſelf born for to do my Soveraign ſervice, and therefore in that ſtation will I live and die; otherwiſe for mine own private comfort, it were better for me that the King ſhould blot me out of his book, or that I ſhould turn my courſe to endeavour to ſerve him in ſome other kind, then for me to ſtand thus at a ſtop, and to have that little reputation which by my induſtry I gather, to be ſcattered and taken away by continual diſgraces, every new man coming in before me; and ſure I am I ſhall never have fairer promiſes and hope from

from all your Lordſhips, and I would believe you in a far greater matter; and if it were nothing elſe, I hope the modeſty of my ſuit deſerveth ſomewhat: for I know well the Sollicitors place is not as your Lordſhip left it, time working alteration ſomewhat in the profeſſion, much more in that ſpeciall place. And were it not to ſatisfie my wives friends, and to get my ſelf out of being a common gaze, and a ſpeech (I proteſt before God) I would never ſpeak word for it. But to conclude, as my honorable Lady was ſome mean to make me to change the name of another: ſo if it pleaſe you to help me, as you ſaid, to change mine own name, I cannot be but more and more bounden to you. And I am much deceived, if your Lordſhip find not the King well inclined; as for my Lord of *Salisbury*, he is forward and affectionate. Yours, &c.

FR. BACON.

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## *To King* JAMES.

*It may pleaaſe your excellent Majeſty,*

HOw honeſtly ready I have been, moſt gracious Soveraign, to do your Majeſty humble ſervice to the beſt of my power, and in a manner beyond my power as I now ſtand, I am not ſo unfortunate but your Majeſty knows; both in the Commiſſion of Union the labour wherof for men of my profeſſion, reſted moſt upon my hands; and this laſt Parliament for the Bill of Subſidy, both body and preamble. In the Bill of Attainders; of *Treſham*, and the reſt; in the matter of Purveyance, in the Eccleſiaſticall Petitions, in the grievances, and the like, as I was ever carefull not without good ſucceſs, ſometime to put forward that which was good, ſometime to keep back that which was worſe: ſo your Majeſty was pleaſed kindly to accept of my ſervices, and to ſay to me, ſuch conflicts were the warres of peace, and ſuch victories the victories of peace; and therefore ſuch ſervants as obtained them, were by Kings that reign in peace, no leſs to be eſteemed then Conquerors in the warres. In all which nevertheleſs I can challenge to my ſelf no ſufficiencie, that I was diligent and reaſonably happy to execute thoſe directions which I received either immediatly from your Royall mouth, or from my Lord of *Salisbury*. At that time it pleaſed your Majeſty alſo to aſſure me that upon the remove of the then Attorney, I ſhould not be forgotten, but be brought into ordinary place: and this was after confirmed

confirmed unto me by many of my Lords. And towards the end of the laſt Term, the manner alſo in particular ſpoken of, that is, that Mr. Sollicitor ſhould be made your Majeſties Serjeant, and I Sollicitor, for ſo it was thought beſt to ſort with both our gifts and faculties for the good of our ſervice. And of this reſolution both Court and Country took notice. Neither was this any invention or project of mine own, but moved from my Lords, I think firſt from my Lord Chancellor: whereupon reſting, your Majeſty well knoweth I never opened my mouth for the greater place, although I am ſure I had two circumſtances that Mr. Attorney that now is could not alleadge: the one, nine years ſervice of the Crown; the other, the being Couſin-german to my Lord of *Saliſbury*; for of my Fathers ſervice I will not ſpeak. But for the leſs place, I conceive it was never meant me: but after that Mr. Attorny *Hubbard* was placed, I heard no more of any preferment, but it ſeemed to be at a ſtop, to my great diſgrace and diſcontentment. For, gracious Soveraign, if ſtill when the waters be ſtirred, another ſhall be put in before me, your Majeſty had need work a miracle, or elſe I ſhall be a lame man to do your ſervices. And therefore my moſt humble ſuit unto your Majeſty is, That this which ſeemed to me intended, may ſpeedily be performed, and I hope my former ſervice ſhall be but as beginnings to better when I am better ſtrengthened. For ſure I am, no mans heart is fuller, I ſay not but many may have greater hearts, but I ſay, not fuller of love and duty towards your Majeſty and your children, as I hope time wil manifeſt againſt envy and detraction, if any be. To conclude, I humbly crave pardon for my boldneſs, &c.

Your, &c.

FR. BACON.

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## *Mr.* Edmond Anderſons *Letter to Sir* Francis Bacon.

*Noble Sir,*

THere is ever a certain preſumption to be had of the favour of great men, ſo as there be a reaſon added to accompany their juſtice; mine, that gives boldneſs to call upon your ſuccour, is, that I am fallen more under the malignity of rumor, then ſeverity of laws, though that hath ever ſet mine offence at the blackeſt mark: to force this latter cloud away, none can but the breath of a King: th'other which threatneth and

oppresseth more, every good Spirit may help to disperse. In this name, honorable Sir, I beseech your goodness to spend some few words to the putting of false fame to flight, which hath so often endangered even the innocent: And if the saving of a poor penitent man may come to be part of your care, let it ever be reckoned to your vertue, that you have not only assisted to preserve, but create a person so corrected by necessity, as the example of his repentance was not worthy to be lost, who will live and die thankfully yours,

EDMOND ANDERSON.

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## *Sir* Thomas Bodeley *to Sir* Francis Bacon *upon his new Philosophy.*

*Sir,*

AS soon as the Term was ended, supposing your leisure was more then before, I was coming to thank you two or three times, rather chusing to do it by word then letter; but I was still disappointed of my purpose, as I am at this present upon an urgent occasion, which doth tie me fast to *Fulham*, and hath made me now determine to impart my mind in writing. I think you know I have read your *Cogitata & visa*, which I protest I have done with great desire, reputing it a token of your singular love, that you joyned me with those your friends, to whom you would commend your first perusall of your draught: for which I pray you give me leave to say but this unto you, First, that if the depth of my affection to your person and spirit, to your works and your words, and to all your ability, were as highly to be valued as your affection is to me, it might walk with yours arm in arm, and claim your love by just desert; but there can be no comparison where our states are so uneven, and our means to demonstrate our affections so different, insomuch as for mine own I must leave it to be prized in the nature that it is, and you shall evermore find it most addicted to your worth. As touching the subject of your Book, you have set afoot so many noble speculations, as I cannot chuse but wonder, and I shall wonder at it ever, that your expence of time considered in your publique profession, which hath in a manner no acquaintance with Scholarship or Learning, you should have culled forth the quintessence and sucked up the sap of the chiefest kind of Learning. For howsoever in some points you do vary altogether from that which is and hath been ever the received doctrine of our Schools

and

and was always by the wiſeſt (as ſtill they have been deemed) of all Nations & Ages adjudged the trueſt, and yet it is apparent that in thoſe very points, in all your propoſals and plots in that book, you ſhew your ſelf a Maſter workman. For my ſelf, I muſt confeſs, and I ſpeak it *Ingenuè* that for the matter of learning I am not worthy to be reckoned in the number of ſmatterers; and yet becauſe it may ſeem that being willing to communicate your Treatiſe with your friends, you are likewiſe willing to liſten to whatſoever I or others can except againſt it: I muſt deliver unto you for my private opinion, that I am one of the crew that ſay there is, and we profeſs a greater holdfaſt of certainty in your Sciences, then you by your diſcourſe will ſeem to acknowledge: For where at firſt you do object the ill ſucceſs and errors of practitioners of Phyſick, you know as well they do proceed of the Patients unrulineſs: for not one of an hundred doth obey his Phyſitian in their own indiſpoſition, for few are able in that kind to explicate themſelves, or by reaſon their diſeaſes are by nature incurable, which is incident, you know, to many ſorts of maladies, or for ſome other hidden cauſe which cannot be diſcovered by courſe of conjecture; Howbeit I am full of this belief, that as Phyſick is miniſtred now-a-days by Phyſicians, it is much to be aſcribed to their negligence or ignorance, or other touch of imperfection that they ſpeed no better in their practiſe: for few are found of that profeſſion ſo well inſtructed in their Art, as they might by the precepts which their Art doth afford, which though it be defective in regard of ſuch perfection, yet for certain it doth flouriſh with admirable remedies, ſuch as tract of time hath taught by experimentall effects, and are the open high-way to that knowledge that you recommend. As for Alchimie and Magick, ſome concluſions they have that are worthy the preſerving: but all their skill is ſo accompanied with ſubtilties and guiles, as both the Crafts and the Crafts-maſters are not onely deſpiſed, but named with deriſion. Whereupon to make good your principall aſſertion, methinks you ſhould have drawn the moſt of your examples from that which is taught in the liberall Sciences, not by picking out caſes that happen very ſeldom, and may by all confeſſion be ſubject to reproof, but by controlling the generals, and grounds, and eminent Poſitions and Aphoriſms which the greateſt Artiſts and Philoſophers have from time to time defended: for it goeth for currant among all men of learning, that thoſe kind of Arts which Clerks in times paſt did term *Quadruials*, confirm their propoſitions by infallible demonſtrations. And likewiſe in *Trivials*, ſuch leſſons and directions are delivered unto us, as will effect very neer, or as much altogether, as every faculty doth promiſe. Now in caſe we ſhould concur to do as you adviſe, which is to renounce our common notions, and can-

cell all our Theorems, Axioms, Rules and Tenents, and so to come babes *ad regnum naturæ*, as we are willed by Scriptures to come *ad regnum cœlorum*. There is nothing more certain in my understanding, then that it would instantly bring us to Barbarism, and after many thousand years leave us more unprovided of Theoricall furniture, then we are at this present: For that were indeed to become *Tabula rasa*, when we shall leave no impression of any former principles, but be driven to begin the world again, to travell by trials of actions and sense, (which are your proofs by particulars) what to place in *intellectu* for our generall conceptions, it being a Maxim of all mens approving, *In intellectu nihil esse quod non prius fuit in sensu*. And so in appearance it would befall us, that till *Plato's* year be come about, our insight in learning would be of less reckoning then now it is accounted. As for that which you inculcate of a knowledge more excellent then now is among us, which experience might produce if we would but essay to extract it out of Nature by particular probations, it is no more upon the matter, but to incite us unto that which without instigation by a naturall instinct men will practise of themselves: for it cannot in reason be otherwise thought, but that there are infinite in all parts of the world, (for we may not in this case confine our cogitations within the bounds of *Europe*) which embrace the course which you propose, with all diligence and care, that any ability can perform. For every man is born with an appetite of knowledge, wherewith he cannot be glutted, but still as in a dropsie thirst after more. But yet why men should hearken to any such perswasions, as wholly to abolish those setled opinions, and generall Theories to which they have attained by their own and their Ancestors former experience, I see nothing yet alledged to induce me think it. Moreover, I may speake as I suppose with good probability, that if we should make a mentall survey what is like to be effected all the world over, those five or six inventions which you have selected, and imagined to be but of modern standing, would make but a slender shew among so many hundreds of all kinds of natures which are daily brought to light by the enforcement of wit or casuall events, and may be compared or partly preferred above those that you have named. But were it so here, that all were admitted that you can require for the augmentation of our knowledge, and that all our Theorems and generall Positions were utterly extinguished with a new substitution of others in their places, what hope may we have of any benefit of learning by this alteration? Assuredly as soon as the new are brought *ad ἀκμὴν* by the Inventors and their followers by an interchangeable course of naturall things, they will fall by degrees in oblivion to be buried, and so in continuance to perish outright,

outright; and that perchance upon the like to your present pretences by proposall of some means to advance all our knowledge to an higher pitch of perfectness; for still the same defects that antiquity found, will reside in mankind, and therefore other issues of their actions, devices and studies, are not to be expected then is apparent by Records were in former time observed. I remember here a note which *Paterculus* made of the incomparable wits of the *Grecians* and *Romans* in their flourishing state, that there might be this reason of their notable downfall in their issue that came after, because by nature, *Quod summo studio petitum est ascendit in summum, difficilisque imperfecto mora est*: insomuch that men perceiving that they could not go further, being come to the stop, they turned back again of their own accord, forsaking those studies that are most in request, & betaking themselves to new endevours, as if the thing they sought had been by prevention fore-prized by others. So it fared in particular with the eloquence of that age, that when their successors found that hardly they could equall, by no means excell their predecessors, they began to neglect the study thereof, and speak for many hundred years in a rusticall manner, till this later revolution brought the wheel about again by inflaming gallant spirits to give the onset a-fresh, with straining and striving to climb unto the top and height of perfection, not in that gift alone, but in every other skill in any part of learning. For I do not hold it any erroneous conceit to think of every science, that as now they they are professed, so they have been before in all precedent ages, though not alike in all places, nor at all times alike in one and the same; but according to the changes and turning of times with a more exact and plain, or with a more rude and obscure kind of teaching.

And if the question should be asked what proof I have of it, I have the doctrine of *Aristotle*, and of the deepest learned Clerks of whom we have any means to take any notice, That as there is of other things, so there is of Sciences *ortus & interitus*: which is also the meaning (if I should expound it) of *nihil novum sub sole*, and is as well to be applied *ad facta* as *ad dicta*; *ut nihil neque dictum neque factum, quod non est dictum aut factum prius*. I have further for my warrant that famous complaint of *Solomon* to his son against the infinite making of books in his time, of which in all congruity great part were of observations and instructions in all kind of literature, and of those there is not now so much as one Pamphlet (only some parcels of the Bible excepted) remaining to posterity. As then there was not in like manner to be found any footing of millions of Authors that were long before *Solomon*, and yet we must give credit to that which he affirmed; that whatsoever

was

was then or before, it could never be truly pronounced of it, behold this is new. Whereupon I must for my final conclusion infer, Seeing all the endeavours, study and knowledge of mankind in whatsoever art or science have ever been the same as they are at this present, though full of mutabilities according to the changes and accidental occasions of ages, and Countries and Clerks dispositions, which can never but be subject to intention and remission both in their devices and in their practises of their knowledge. If now we should accord in opinion with you, First to condemn our present knowledge of doubt and incertitude (which you confer but by averment) without other force of argument, and then to disclaim all our Axioms and Maxims, and general assertions that are left by tradition from our Elders to us, which (for so it is to be pretended) have passed all probations of the sharpest wits that ever were *Abecedarii*, by the frequent spelling of particulars to come to the notice of new generals, and so afresh to create new principles of Sciences, the end of all would be, that when we should be dispossessed of the learning which we have, all our consequent travel will but help us in a circle to conduct us to the place from whence we set forwards, and bring us to the happiness to be restored *in integrum*, which will require as many ages as have marched before us to be perfectly atchieved. And this I write with no dislike of increasing our knowledge with new-found devices (which is undoubtedly a practice of high commendation) in regard of the benefit they will yield for the present, that the world hath ever been, and will assuredly continue very full of such Devisers, whose industry that way hath been very obstinate and eminent, and hath produced strange effects above the reach and the hope of mens common capacities; and yet our Notions and Theorems have always kept in grace both with them and with the rarest that ever were named among the learned.

By this you see to what boldness I am brought by your kindness, That (if I seem to be too sawcy in this contradiction) it is the opinion that I hold of your noble disposition, and of the freedom in these cases that you will afford your special friend, that hath induced me to do it. And although I my self, like a Carriers horse, cannot bawk the beaten way in which I have been trained; yet since it is my censure of your *Cogitata* that I must tell you, to be plain, you have very much wronged your self and the world, to smother such a treasure so long in your coffer: For though I stand well assured (for the tenor and subject of your main discourse) you are not able to impanel a Jury in any University that will give up a verdict to acquit you of error, yet it cannot be gainsaid that all your Treatise over doth abound with choice con-

conceipt of the preſent ſtate of learning, and with ſo worthy contemplations of the means to procure it, as may perſwade with any Student to look more narrowly to his buſineſs, not only by aſpiring to the greateſt perfection of that which is now adayes divulged in the Sciences, but by diving yet deeper as it were into the bowels and ſecrets of nature, and by inforcing of the powers of his judgment and wit to learn of St. Paul, *Conſectari meliora dona*: which courſe would to God (to whiſper ſo much into your ear) you had followed at the firſt when you fell to the ſtudy of ſuch a ſtudy as was not worthy ſuch a Student. Nevertheleſs being ſo as it is, that you are therein ſetled, and your Country ſoundly ſerved, I cannot but wiſh with all my heart, as I do very often, that you may gain a fit reward to the full of your deſerts. Which I hope will come with heaps of happineſs and honour.

From *Fulham*, Feb. 19. 1607.

*Yours to be uſed and commanded*,

THO. BODELEY.

Sir, one kind of boldneſs doth draw on another, inſomuch as methinks I ſhould offend to ſignifie, that before the tranſcript of your book be fitted for the Preſs, it will be requiſite for you to caſt a Cenſors eye upon the ſtile and the elocution; which in the framing of ſome periods, and in divers words and phraſes, will hardly go for current, if the Copie brought to me be juſt the ſame that you would publiſh.

THO. BODELEY.

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## *Mr.* George Brook *to a Lady in Court.*

*Madam*,

THe meſſage which you ſent me of her Majeſties gracious purpoſe altered towards me, hath put me into that extaſie, that I know not whereupon to reſt my ſelf, not having power to believe that which I am bound to know. Is it poſſible that you ſhould be ſo weak in grace with her Majeſty, as not to prevail in ſo ſmall a matter for any man but of an intire reputation? or ſhall I believe that her Majeſty, who ſuffers not the merit of her ſervants to be buried with them, ſhould not hold me

me equivalent with any new *Melchiſedech* without father or mother. I proteſt (Madam) I could not preſage any ill ſucceſs to my ſelf, but onely out of the means of my ambition, and have held it therefore ſuperfluous to claim any favour in vertue of ſupererogation, eſteeming it too great a derogation from my ſelf for ſo poor a thing as a Spittle-houſe to raiſe the dead to ſpeak for me, or challenge any thing more then my own. But it is neither the ſtrangeneſs of the matter, nor the hardneſs of my belief that can alter the decree of a Prince. But I muſt take it in good payment, that is no leſs then for as great a diſgrace as can outwardly befall me; yet muſt I ever hold my ſelf beholding to this ſuit: for though I loſe the Hoſpital, yet have I loſt many errors; withall I have weighed my friends in a balance, and taken a juſt meaſure of my fortune. I muſt not deſpair, it is not impoſſible for a man well taught to make a retreat into himſelf, neither will I yet deſpair of my ſuit, onely for this reaſon, that this change cannot proceed of her Majeſties proper motion, but muſt be procured by ſome blind practiſe that dares not ſee the light, though it may be my fortune to bring it forth bluſhing; howſoever it be, it ſhall never diſtemper my dutifull affection towards her Majeſty, though that be for ever barred from her knowledge: for they who are able to prevent her goodneſs, will be ever likely to prevent my ſervice. That the place is already meant to a Divine, cannot be true, nor my impediment: For there is no kind of her Majeſties ſervants and ſubjects ſo provided for, there being ſuch ſtore of places that fall daily both better then this in value, and more proper for their function. Your Ladiſhip hath been hitherto an honorable and faithfull interceſſor for me; Good Madam, be not weary to continue ſo ſtill, as I ſhall do ever to acknowledge it, and if I be able, in part to deſerve it.

G. B.

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## *To his Wife.*

LEt me intreat you to read my Letter once again, and if you can find no cauſe of quarrell, do but then think what you have done all this time to ſend me ſuch a Cartoll; you cannot be more void of fault then I of ſuſpition, and what you ſpeak I cannot underſtand. But doth my impriſonment abridge me that I cannot give you counſell? Or have you reſolved to follow the counſell of the Lady you know? Know then, as my ill fortune cannot deject me, ſo ought it much leſs to make you brave

and

and insolent. You have your choyce of two courses, let me know which you will take, that I trust not to a broken Reed. And yet what need I care, seeing that you who were my chief care, do now begin to sever your self: I will not yet condemn you, you may see how unapt I am to entertain ill thoughts. I will yet both hold and write my self

*Your loving Husband,*

G. BROOKS.

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## *King* James *to the Major and Aldermen of* London *after he was proclaimed, March* 28. 1605.

*To our trusty and wel-beloved* Robert Loe, *Lord Major of our City of* London, *and to our welbeloved the Aldermen and Commons of the same.*

TRusty and welbeloved, we greet you heartily well. Being informed of your great forwardness in that just and honorable action of proclaiming us your soveraign Lord and King, immediately after the decease of our late deceased Sister the Queen; wherein you have given a singular good proof of your ancient fidelity, a reputation hereditary to that our Citie of *London*, being the Chamber of our Imperiall Crown, and ever free from all shades of tumultuous and unlawfull courses; We could not omit with all possible speed we might, to give you hereby a Test of our thankfull mind for the same; and withall assurance that you cannot crave any thing of us fit for the maintenance of you all in generall, and every one of you in particular, but it shall be most willingly performed by us, whose speciall care shall ever be to provide for the continuance and increase of your present happiness, desiring you in the mean time to go constantly forward in doing all and whatsoever things you shall find necessary or expedient for the good government of our said City, in execution of justice, as you have been used to do in our said deareſt Sisters time, till our pleasure be known to you in the contrary. Thus not doubting but you will do, as you may be fully assured of our gracious favour towards you in the highest degree, we bid you heartily farewell.

*Hallyrud-House March* 28. 1603.

JAMES R.

## *The Roman Catholiques Petition to King* James *for Toleration.*

MOst puiſſant Prince, and orient Monarch! Such are the rare perfections and admirable gifts of wiſdom, prudence, valour, and juſtice, wherewith the bountifull hand of Gods divine Majeſty hath endued your Majeſty, as in the depth of your provident judgment we doubt not but you foreſee what concerneth both the ſpiritual and temporal Government of all your Kingdoms and Dominions. Notwithſtanding your Graces moſt afflicted Subjects and devoted Servants the Catholiques of *England*, partly to prevent ſiniſter informations which haply may poſſeſs your ſacred ears before our anſwer be heard, partly as men almoſt overwhelmed with perſecutions for our conſciences, we are inforced to have ſpeedy recourſe in hope of preſent redreſs from your Highneſs, and to preſent theſe humble lines unto your Royal perſon to plead for us ſome commiſeration and favour. Alas, what allegiance or duty can any Temporal Prince deſire or expect at his Vaſſals hands, which we are not addreſſed to perform? How many Noblemen and worthy Gentlemen, moſt zealous in the Catholique Religion, have endured, ſome loſs of lands and livings, ſome exile, others impriſonment, ſome the effuſion of blood and life, for the advancement of your bleſſed Mothers right unto the Scepter of *Albion*? Nay, whoſe finger did ever ake but Catholiques, for your Majeſties preſent title and dominions? How many fled to your Court, offering themſelves as hoſtages for their friends to live and die in your gracious quarrel, if ever adverſary had oppoſed himſelf againſt the equity of your cauſe? If this they attempted with their Princes diſgrace to obtain your Majeſties grace, what will they do, nay what will they not do to live without diſgrace in your Graces favor? The main of this Realm, if we reſpect Religion, ſetting petty Sects aſide, conſiſts of four parts: Proteſtants, who have domineered all the Queens dayes; Puritans, who have crept up apace amongſt them; Atheiſts or Polititians, who were bred upon their brawls and contentions in matters of faith; and Catholiques, who as they are oppoſite to all, ſo are they deteſted of all, becauſe error was ever an enemy to truth. Hardly all, or any two of the firſt three can be ſuppreſſed: Therefore we beſeech your Majeſty to yield us as much favour, as others of contrary Religion to that which ſhall be publiquely profeſſed in *England* ſhall obtain at your hands: For if our fault be like leſs, or none at all,

all, in equity our punishment ought to be like less, or none at all. The Gates, Arches, and Pyramids of *France* proclaimed the present King *Pater patriæ & Pacis restitutor*, that is, the Father of his Country, and Restorer of their peace; because that Kingdom being well neer torn in peeces with Civil wars, and made a prey to foraign foes, was by his providence, wisdom and valour acquitted in it self, and hostile strangers expelled: the which he principally effected by condescending to tolerate them of an adverse Religion to that which was openly professed. Questionless, Dread Soveraign, the Kingdom of *England* through the cruel persecution of Catholiques, hath been almost odious to all Christian Nations: Trade and traffique is exceedingly decayed, Wars and blood hath seldom ceased, Subsidies and Taxes never so many, discontented minds innumerable. All which your Princely Majesties connivance to your humble suppliants the afflicted Catholiques, will easily redress, especially at this your Highness first ingress. *Si loquaris ad nos verba levia, erunt tibi servi cunctis diebus (1 King 12..7.)* that is, if you speak comfortable things unto them, or if you hearken unto them in this thing, they will be servants unto you, or they will serve all their days,] say the sage Councellors of *Solomon* to *Roboam*. For, enlargement after affliction resembleth a pleasant gale after a vehement tempest; and a benefit in distress, doubleth the value thereof. How gratefull will it be to all Catholique Princes abroad, and honorable to your Majesty, to understand how Queen *Elizabeths* severity is changed into your Royal clemencie; and that the lenity of a man reedified what the misinformed anger of a woman destroyed; that the Lyon rampant is passant, whereas the passant had been rampant. How acceptable shall your Subjects be to all Catholique Countries, who are now almost abhorred of all, when they shall perceive your Highness prepareth not pikes or prisons for the Professors of their Faith, but permitteth them Temples and Altars for the use of their Religion. Then we shall see with our eyes, and touch with our fingers that happy benediction of *Isa.* 14.7. in this Land, that swords are turned into mattocks or ploughs, and lances into sithes; and all Nations admiring us will say, *Hi sunt semen cui benedixit Dominus*, that is, these are the seed which the Lord hath blessed.

We request no more favour at your Graces hands, then that we may securely believe and profess that Catholique Religion which all your happy Predecessors professed, from *Donaldus* the first converted, unto your late blessed Mother martyred; a Religion venerable for antiquity, majestical for amplitude, constant for continuance, irreprehensible for doctrine, inducing to all kind of vertue and piety, disswading from all sin and wickedness; a religion beloved by all primitive

Paſtors, eſtabliſhed by all Oecumenicall Councels, upholden by ancient Doctors, maintained by the firſt and beſt Chriſtian Emperours, recorded almoſt alone in all Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtories, ſealed with the blood of millions of Martyrs, adorned with the vertues of ſo many Confeſſors, beautified with the purity of thouſands of virgins, ſo conformable unto naturall ſenſe and reaſon; and finally, ſo agreeable with the ſacred Texts of Gods Word and Goſpell: The free uſe of this Religion we requeſt, if not in publick Churches, at the leaſt in private houſes; if not with approbation, yet with toleration without moleſtation. Aſſuring your Grace, that howſoever ſome Proteſtants or Puritans incited by morall honeſty of life, or innated inſtinct of nature, or for fear of ſome temporall puniſhment, pretend obedience unto your Highneſs Laws; yet certainly the onely Catholiques for conſcience ſake obſerve them: For they defending that Princes Precepts and Statutes oblige no ſubject under the penalty of ſin, will have little care in conſcience to tranſgreſs them, which principally are tormented with the guilt of ſin. But Catholiques profeſſing merit in obeying, and immerit in tranſgreſſing, cannot but in Soul be grievouſly tortured for the leaſt prevarication thereof: Wherefore, moſt mercifull Soveraign, we your loving afflicted ſubjects, in all dutifull ſubjection, proteſt before the Majeſty of God, and all his holy Angels, as loyal obedience, and immaculate allegiance unto your Grace, as ever did faithfull ſubjects in *England* or *Scotland* unto your Highneſs Progenitors, and intend as ſincerely with our goods and lives to ſerve you, as ever did the loyalleſt Iſraelites King *David*, or the truſtieſt Legions the Roman Emperours. And thus expecting your Majeſties cuſtomary favour and gracious bounty, we reſt your devoted ſuppliants to him whoſe hands do manage the hearts of Kings, and with reciprocate mercy will requite the merciſull.

*Your Majeſties moſt devoted ſervants*
*the Catholiques of England.*

Sir

## *Sir* Walter Raleigh *to King* James *before his triall.*

IT is one part of the Office of a juſt and worthy Prince, to hear the complaints of his vaſſals; eſpecially ſuch as are in great miſery. I know not amongſt many other preſumptions gathered againſt me, how your Majeſty hath been perſwaded, that I was one of them who were greatly diſcontented, and therefore the more likely to prove diſloyall. But the great God ſo relieve me in both worlds as I was the contrary, and I took as great comfort to behold your Majeſty, and always learning ſome good, and bettering my knowledge by hearing your Majeſties diſcourſe. I do moſt humbly beſeech your Soveraign Majeſty not to believe any of thoſe in my particular, who under pretence of offences to Kings, do eaſily work their particular revenge. I truſt no man under the colour of making examples, ſhould perſwade your Majeſty to leave the word *Mercifull* out of your Stile; for it wil be no leſs profit to your Majeſty, & become your greatneſs, then the word *Invincible*. It is true, that the Laws of *England* are no leſs jealous of the Kings then *Cæſar* was of *Pompey's* wife: for notwithſtanding ſhe was cleared for having company with *Claudius*, yet for being ſuſpected, he condemned her. For my ſelf, I proteſt before Almighty God, and I ſpeak it to my Maſter and Soveraign, that I never invented treaſon againſt him; and yet I know I ſhall fall *in manibus eorum a quibus non poſſum evadere*, unleſs by your Majeſties gracious compaſſion I be ſuſtained. Our Law therefore (moſt mercifull Prince) knowing her own cruelty, and knowing that ſhe is wont to compound treaſon out of preſumptions and circumſtances, doth give this charitable advice to the King her Supream, *Non ſolum ſapiens eſſe ſed & miſericors, &c. cum tutius ſit reddere rationem miſericordiæ quam judicii.* I do therefore on the knees of my heart beſeech your Majeſty from your own ſweet and comfortable diſpoſition, to remember that I have ſerved your Majeſty twenty years, for which your Majeſty hath yet given me no reward; and it is fitter I ſhould be indebted unto my Soveraign Lord, then the King to his poor Vaſſal; Save me therefore, moſt mercifull Prince, that I may ow your Majeſty my life it ſelf, then which there cannot be a greater debt. Limit me at leaſt, my Soveraign Lord, that I may pay it for your ſervice when your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe. If the Law deſtroy me, your Majeſty ſhall put me out of your power, and I ſhall have none to fear but the King of Kings.

WALTER RALEIGH.

## *Sir* Walter Raleigh *to Sir* Robert Car, *after Earl of* Somerſet.

*SIR,*

AFter many loſſes, and many years ſorrows, of both which I have cauſe to fear I was miſtaken in their ends: It is come to my knowledge, that your ſelf (whom I know not but by an honorable favour) hath been perſwaded to give me and mine my laſt fatal blow, by obtaining from his Majeſty the Inheritance of my Children and Nephews, loſt in Law for want of a word. This done, there remaineth nothing with me but the name of life: His Majeſty, whom I never offended, (for I hold it unnatural and unmanlike to hate goodneſs) ſtaid me at the graves brink; not that I thought his Majeſty thought me worthy of many deaths, and to behold mine caſt out of the world with my ſelf, but as a King that knoweth the poor in truth, hath received a promiſe from God that his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed.

And for you, Sir, ſeeing your fair day is but in the dawn, mine drawn to the ſetting; your own vertues and the Kings grace aſſuring you of many fortunes and much honour: I beſeech you begin not your firſt building upon the ruines of the innocent, and let not mine and their ſorrows attend your firſt plantation. I have ever been bound to your Nation as well for many other graces, as for the true report of my trial to the Kings Majeſty; againſt whom had I been malignant, the hearing of my cauſe would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compaſſion, and the minds of the greateſt number then preſent into the commiſeration of mine eſtate. It is not the nature of foul Treaſon to beget ſuch fair paſſions; neither could it agree with the duty and love of faithfull Subjects (eſpecially of your Nation) to bewail his overthrow that had conſpired againſt their moſt natural and liberal Lord. I therefore truſt that you will not be the firſt that ſhall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curſe of them that enter the fields of the fatherleſs: which, if it pleaſe you to know the truth, is far leſs in value then in fame. But that ſo worthy a Gentleman as your ſelf will rather bind us to you (being ſixe Gentlemen not baſe in birth and alliance) which have intereſt therein: And my ſelf with my uttermoſt thankfulneſs will remain ready to obey your commandments.

WALTER RALEIGH

*Sir*

## *Sir* Thomas Egerton *Chancellor, after Lord* Elleſmere, *to the Earl of* Eſſex.

*SIR,*

HOw things proceed here touching your ſelf, you ſhall partly underſtand by theſe incloſed. Her Majeſty is gracious towards you, and you want not friends to remember and commend your former ſervices. Of theſe particulars you ſhall know more when we meet. In the mean time by way of caution take this from me: There are ſharp eyes upon you, your actions publique and private are obſerved: It behoveth you therefore to carry your ſelf with all integrity and ſincerity both of hands and heart, leſt you overthrow your own fortunes, and diſcredit your friends that are tender and carefull of your reputation and well-doing. So in haſte I commit you to God, with my very hearty commendations, and reſt

*Your aſſured loving Friend,*

*At the Court at Richmond,*
21 *Octob.* 1599. THO. EGERTON, *C.S.*

## *Lord Chancellor* Elleſmere *to King* James.

*Moſt gracious Soveraign,*

I Find through my great age, accompanied with griefs and infirmities, my ſenſe and conceipt is become dull and heavy, my memory decayed, my judgment weak, my hearing imperfect, my voice and ſpeech failing and faltering, and in all the powers & faculties of my mind & body great debility. Wherefore, *conſcientia imbecilitatis*, my humble ſuit to your moſt ſacred Majeſty is, to be diſcharged of this great Place wherein I have long ſerved, and to have ſome comfortable Teſtimony under your Royal hand, that I leave it at this humble ſuit with your gracious favour: So ſhall I with comfort number and ſpend the few dayes I have to live, in meditation, and prayers to Almighty God, to preſerve your Majeſty and all yours in all heavenly and earthly felicity and happineſs.

This-

This suit I intended some years past, *ex dictamine rationis & ex scientiæ:* Love and fear stayed it; now Necessity constrains me to it. I am utterly unable to sustain the burthen of this great service; for I am come to St. *Pauls* desire, *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo.* Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Majesty most favourably to grant it.

*Your Majesties most humble and loyal poor Subject and Servant,*

THO. ELLESMERE *Canc.*

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## *Again to the same King.*

*Most gracious Soveraign,*

YOur royal favour hath placed and continued me many years in the highest place of ordinary Justice in this your Kingdom, and hath most graciously borne with my many, but unwilling errors and defects, accepting in stead of sufficiencie, my zeal and fidelity, which never failed. This doth encourage and stir in me an earnest desire to serve still. But when I remember St. *Pauls* rule, *Let him that hath an office wait on his office*, and do consider withall my great age and many infirmities, I am dejected and do utterly faint: For I see and feel sensibly, that I am not able to perform those duties as I ought, and the place requires; and thereupon I do seriously examine my self what excuse or answer I shall make to the King of Kings, and Judge of all Judges, when he shall call me to accompt; and then my conscience shall accuse me, that I have presumed so long to undergo and weild so mighty and great a charge and burthen: and I behold a great Cloud of witnesses ready to give evidence against me.

1. Reason telleth me, and by experience I find, *Senectus est tarda & obliviosa, & insanabilis morbus.*

2. I heard the precepts and councel of many reverend, sage, and learned men, *Senectuti debitur otium, solve senectutem mature, &c.*

3. I read in former Laws, that old men were made *temeriti & rudè donati:* And one severe Law that saith, *Sexagenarius de ponte*, whereupon they are called *Depontani.* And *Plato lib. 6. de legibus*, speaking of a great Magistrate which was *Præfectus legibus servandis*, determineth

neth thus, *Minor annis* 50 *non admittatur; nec major annis* 70 *permittatur in eo perseverare.* And to this Law, respecting both mine office and my years, I cannot but yeeld. But leaving foreign Laws, the Stat. *anno* 13. E. 1. speaketh plainly, *Homines excedentes atatem* 70 *annorum non ponantur in Assisis & Juratis.* So as it appeareth that men of that age are by that Law discharged of greater painfull and carefull, especially Judiciall Offices.

4. Besides, I find many examples of men of great wisdom, knowledge and judgment, meet and worthy to be followed; of which (leaving all other) I will remember that of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*, who after long service, was upon his humble suit discharged of the office of Chancellor of *England* in respect of his great age. Seeing then such a cloud of witnesses against me, which in my private Soliloquies and Meditations, are daily and continually represented to my view, and mine own conscience (more then a thousand witnesses) concurring with me; Pardon me, my most gracious Soveraign, to conclude with good *Barzillai*, *Quot sunt dies annorum vitæ meæ, quare servus tuus sit oneri domino nostro Regi, obsecro ut revertar servus tuus & moriar, &c.* So I most humbly beseech your sacred Majesty, graciously to regard the great age, infirmity, and impotency of your most devoted, obedient, loyall and faithfull servant. Let me not be as *Domitius* after was, *Maluit deficere quam desinere.* But with your Princely favour give me leave to retire myself from the careful service of this great office, and from the troubles of this world, and to spend the small remnant of this my life in meditation and prayer, & I wil never cease to make my humble supplications to Almighty God to bless & prosper your Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, all your Royal issue, with all heavenly and earthly felicity, which is the last and best service your poor, aged, weak and decayed servant can do for you.

THO. ELLESMERE *Canc.*

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## *Sir* Francis Norris *to King* James.

*Most gracious Soveraign,*

THe advantage which mine adversary hath taken, in first presenting his complaint freely and uncontrolled, would have afflicted me greatly, had I not known that your Majesty hath given to your Judges

Injunction, *Auditne alteram partem:* That I entered into discourse with the Lord *Willoughby* in Church or Church-yard, may make it manifest, that I had no disposition at all to quarrell. The rest of the world is wide enough for men so affected. They that prophane such places, trust more to the place the ntheir own worth. That I was improvidently in such a place by him surprized, muffled in my own Cloak, and treacherously buffeted, shewed that I suspected no such assault as was there made upon me, and where I was so disgracefully and ignobly assaulted by the Lord *Willoughby*, and he in no sort by me, yet wel I hope to satisfie every indifferent judgement, much more the supream Judge, that I had nothing in my intention either towards the Master or the Man. It is true, most gracious Soveraign, that after the Lord *Willoughby's* dishonorable indignity by me expelled, I seeing an unknown face coming fiercely with his sword upon me for my life, (in defence whereof God himself, the law of Nature and Nations doth warrant us to contend) I was forced to have forgone it at a Ruffins command, or by resisting to yeild it up to your Majesty, to whom I have vowed it (whensoever you shall command it) to your service. This I presume to write to a King in whom rests the spirit of honor; and by that spirit I hope your Majesty will judge, that he which will run from his own defence, being injuriously assaulted, will also run from the defence of his Soveraign Master. I also presume in all humility to address my self to a Prince indued with the spirit of Justice, joyned to the divine vertue of compassion; by both which I nothing doubt your Majesty will judge when you shall be truly informed, of the preceding and succeeding wrongs offered me, that I am and will be

*Your Majesties most humble and loyall subject,*

FR. NORRIS.

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## *A Patent for the Admiralty of* Ireland.

RIght trusty and welbeloved Cousin and Councellor, We greet you well. Whereas we are graciously pleased, as well for the increase of our Navy and Navigators, as also for the better enabling and enriching of

of our subjects in our Realm of *Scotland*, to give way and liecnce unto our loving subjects of *Scotland*, and so many of them as may make a full, able, and compleat company for Traffick and Merchandizing into the East Indies, to erect and set up among themselves a Company, to be called *The East Indian Company of Scotland*, making their first Magazin Storehouse for the said Company in some parts of our Realm of *Ireland*. But for that our Ports and Seas upon the Coasts of our said Realm of *Ireland*, have of late, and still are likely, without our speciall aid and assistance, to be much troubled and annoyed with Pirats, and other Sea-Robbers, to the great discouragement of our loving Subjects and Merchants passing that way: We, for the avoyding of those inconveniences, and for the better heartning of the said Company in their intended voyage and traffick, have, for reasons to us best known, resolved (notwithstanding any other imployments of our Ships there) by our Letters Patents under our great Seal of *England*, and at the humble request and Petition of our loving Subjects of the said Company, to nominate and appoint *A. B.* our trusty servant, to be imployed in those Seas and Coasts of *Ireland*, as fully and amply as our servant Sir *F. H.* is now for our narrow Seas. And to the end he may with more courage and less prejudice to our said servant Sir *F.H.* by his diligence and industry in the said imployment free those Seas from the said annoyances, our pleasure is, That you by your Deed Poll do give unto our said Servant such and the like power and authority for the *Irish* Seas and Chanell of St. *George*, as the said Sir *F. H.* hath for the Narrow Seas: So always as the power and authority of the said *A. B.* may begin where the power and authority of the said Sir *F. H.* doth end, that is to say, from our Island of *Scilie* in our Realm of *England*, unto and alongst the Coast of *Ireland*, and the Chanell of St. *George*. So not doubting of your speedy effecting of what is here required for the furtherance of so good a work, We bid you heartily farewell.

*From our Court at, &c.*

## *A Commiſsion to divers Lords, &c. for the delivery of* Ulushing, Brill, &c. *May* 14. *Fac.* 14.

*IAMES* by the grace of God King of *England*, &c. To the right Reverend Father in God, our right truſty and welbeloved Councellor *George* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to our right truſty and welbeloved Councellor *Tho. Elleſmere* Lord Chancellor of *England*, and to our right truſty and welbeloved Couſins and Councellors *Tho.* Earl of *Suffolk* Lord Treaſurer of *England*, *Edward* Earl of *Worceſter* Lord Keeper of our Privy-Seal, *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox* Lord Steward of our houſhold, *Charls* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral of *England*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke* Lord Chamberlain of our houſhold, *Tho.* Earl of *Exeter*, *John* Earl of *Mar*, and *Alexander* Earl of *Dumfermlin*; and to our right truſty and right welbeloved Councellors, *Tho.* Viſcount *Fenton*, *Tho.* Biſhop of *Winton*, *Edward* Lord *Zouch* Lord Warden of our Cinque-Ports, *William* Lord *Knowls* Treaſurer of our houſhold, *John* Lord *Stanhop*, and *Tho.* Lord *Bannings*; and to our right truſty and welbeloved Councellors, Sir *John Digby* Knight our Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *John Herbert* Knight one of our principal Secretaries of State, Sir *Fulk Grevil* Knight Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of our Exchequer, Sir *Tho. Parry* Knight Chancellor of our Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, Sir *Edward Coke* Knight Chief Juſtice of our Bench, and Sir *Julius Ceſar* Knight Maſter of our Rolls, greeting.

Whereas the States-Generall of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries have divers times ſollicited us by their reſident Ambaſſador Sir *Noel Caron* Knight, that we would be pleaſed to render into their hands the Towns of *Fluſhing* in *Zeland*, with the Caſtle of *Ramakins*, and of *Bril* in *Holland*, with the Forts and ſconces thereunto belonging, which we hold by way of caution, untill ſuch ſums of money as they owe unto us be reimburſed, upon ſuch reaſonable conditions as ſhould be agreed on between us and them for the reimburſing and repayments of the ſaid monies: And whereas we have recommended the conſideration of this ſo mighty and important an affair to the judgment and diſcretion of you the Lords of our Privy-Councel, and have received from you after long and mature deliberation and examination of the circumſtances an advice, That as the preſent condition of our State now ſtandeth, and as the nature of thoſe Towns is meer cautionary, wherein we can challenge

lenge no intereſt of propriety; it would be much better for our ſervice, upon fair and advantagious conditions to render them, then longer to hold them at ſo heavy a charge. Now foraſmuch as in our Princely wiſdom we have reſolved to yield up our ſaid Towns, with the ſaid Caſtle and Sconces belonging unto them, upon ſuch conditions as ſhall be moſt for our advantage as well in point of honour as of profit, Know ye therefore that we have aſſigned and appointed you the ſaid Archbiſhop, L. Treaſurer, L. Privy-Seal, L. Steward, L. Admiral, L. Chamberlain, E. of *Exeter*, E. of *Mar*, E. of *Dunfermlin*, Vicount *Fintons*, L. Biſhop of *Winton*, *L. Zouch*, *L. Knowls*, *L. Stanhop*, *L. Banning*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *John Herbert*, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Sir *Tho. Lake*, Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Sir *Tho. Parry*, Sir *Edw. Coke*, Sir *Julius Ceſar*, our Commiſſioners, and do by theſe preſents give full power & authority unto you or the more part of you for us and in our name to treat and conclude with the ſaid Sir *Noel Caron* Knight Ambaſſador from the States of the United Provinces, being likewiſe for that purpoſe ſufficiently authorized from the ſaid States his ſuperiors, touching the rendition and yielding up of the ſaid Town of *Flushing*, with the Caſtle of *Ramakins* in *Zeland*, and of the Town of *Bril* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereto belonging, and of the Artillery and Munition formerly delivered by the States, with the ſame which are now remaining in them or any of them, and have not been ſpent and conſumed. And for the delivery of them into the hands of the ſaid States on ſuch terms as by you ſhall be thought fit for our moſt honour and profit; and for the manner thereof to give inſtructions to our ſaid ſeveral Governours of the ſaid Garriſons, according to ſuch your concluſion. And this our Commiſſion or the enrollment or exemplification thereof ſhall be unto you and every of you a ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in that behalf. In witneſs &c. Witneſs our ſelf at *Weſtminſter*, the 31 day of *May*, in the 14 year of our Reign, &c. and of *Scotland* the 49.

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## *A Commiſsion to Viſcount* Liſle *Governour, to deliver them up*, 22 *May*, 14. Jac.

JAMES by the grace of God, &c. To our right truſty and welbeloved Cozen, *Robert* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Lord Chamberlain to our dear Conſort the Queen, and our Governour of our Town of *Flushing*, and of the Caſtle of *Ramakins*, greeting. Whereas we by

by Our Letters Patents sealed with Our great Seal of *England*, bearing date at *Westminster* the 22. day of *April*, in the fifth year of Our reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, of *Scotland* the 36. for the consideration therein expressed, did make, ordain, and constitute you the said Viscount *Lisle*, by the name of Sir *Robert Sydney* Knight, for Us to be the Governour and Captain of the said Town of *Vlushing*, and of the Castle of *Ramakins* in the *Low-Countries*, and of all the Garrisons and Souldiers that then were, or hereafter should be there placed for Our service and guard of the said Town and Castle, to have, hold, exercise and occupy the Office of the said Governor and Captain of the said Town and Castle by your self, or your sufficient Deputie or Deputies, to be allowed by Us during Our pleasure; giving unto you full power and authority by your said Letters Patents, to take the Oath and Oaths of all Captains & Souldiers then serving, or that hereafter should serve in the same Town and Castle, as in like causes was requisite, with divers other powers therein mentioned, as by Our said Letters Patents at large appeareth. And whereas the States generall of the United Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, have divers and sundry times for many years together sollicited Us by their Resident Ambassador Sir *Noel Caron* Knight, that We would be pleased to render into their hands the said Town of *Vlushing* in *Zealand*, with the said Castle of *Ramakins*, and the Town of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts & Sconces thereunto belonging, which We hold by way of Caution until such sumsof mony as they owe unto Us, be reimbursed upon such reasonable conditions as should be agreed upon between Us & them for the reimbursing and repaiment of the said monies. And whereas thereupon We recommended the consideration of this so weighty and important an affair to the judgement and discretion of the Lords of the Privy Councell, and have received from them (after long and mature deliberation and examination of Circumstances) an advice, that as the present condition of Our State now standeth, and as the nature of those towns is lying onely Cautionary, wherein we can challenge no intereſt of propriety, it should be much better for our service upon fair and advantangious conditions to render them, then longer to hold them at so heavy a charge. Now forasmuch as in Our Princely Wisdom We have resolved to yeild up Our said Towns with the said Castle, and Sconces belonging unto them, upon such conditions as shall be most fit for Our advantage, as well in point of honor as of profit: And to that end by Our Commission under Our great Seal of *England*, have assigned and appointed the Lords and others of Our Privy Councell Our Commissioners, and thereby give full power and authority unto them, or the more part of them for Us, and in Our name to treat and conclude with

with the said Sir *Noell Caron* Knight, Ambassador from the States of the United Provinces, being likewise for that purpose sufficiently authorized from the said States his superiors, touching the rendition and yeilding up of the said Town of *Vlushing*, with the Castle of *Ramakins* in *Zealand*, and of the said town of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereunto belonging, and of the Artillery or Munition formerly delivered by the said States, with the same Towns, and Castles, and Forts, and which are now remaining in them, or any of them, and have not been spent or consumed. And for the delivery of the said Towns, Castle, Forts, Artillery, and Munition into the hands of the said States, upon such terms as by the said Lords, and other of our Privy Councell, or the more part of them, shall be thought fit for our most honor and profit, and for the manner thereof to give instructions to our several Governors of our said Garrisons according to such their conclusion, which conclusion according to our said Commission is already made and perfected.

We do therefore hereby give power and authority unto, and do charge and command you the said Lord *Lisle* for us aud in our name to render and yield up into the hands of the said States of the United Provinces, or to such persons as shall be lawfully deputed by them, the aforesaid Town of *Vlushing*, and Castle of *Ramakins*, whereof now you have charge by vertue of our Letters-Patents aforesaid, together with the Artillery and Munition now remaining in them or any of them, heretofore delivered by the said States with the said Town and Castle, and as yet not spent or consumed; observing and performing in all points such instructions as you shall receive under the hands of the said Lords and others of our Privy-Councel, or the more part of them, concerning the rendring up and delivery of the said Town. And we do further give you full power and authority, and by these presents do charge and command you, for us and in our name to discharge and set free all the subordinate Officers, Captains and souldiers under your charge, of that oath and trust which heretofore they have taken for the keeping and preserving of that Town and Castle to our use and service; and for that purpose to make such Declaration, Proclamation, and other signification of our Royal pleasure, commandment and ordinance in that behalf, as in your wisdom you shall think fit; and these our Letters-Patents, or the inrollment or exemplification thereof shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. In witness, &c. Witness our self at *Westminster*, the 22 day of *May* in the 14 year of our reign of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the 49.

*Countess*

## *Counteſs of* Nottingham *to the Daniſh Ambaſſador.*

SIR,

I Am very ſorry this occaſion ſhould have been offered me by the King your Maſter, which makes me troubleſom to you for the preſent. It is reported to me by men of honour, the great wrong the King of the *Danes* hath done me, when I was not by to anſwer for my ſelf: For if I had been preſent, I would have letten him know how much I ſcorn to receive that wrong at his hands. I need not to urge the particular of it, for the King himſelf knows it beſt. I proteſt to you Sir, I did think as honorably of the King your Maſter, as I did of my own Prince; but now I perſwade my ſelf there is as much baſeneſs in him as can be in any man: For although he be a Prince by birth, it ſeems not to me that there harbours any Princely thought in his breaſt; for either in Prince or Subject, it is the baſeſt that can be to wrong any woman of honour: I deſerve as little that name he gave me, as either the mother of himſelf or of his children; and if ever I come to know what man hath informed your Maſter ſo wrongfully of me, I ſhould do my beſt for putting him from doing the like to any other: but if it hath come by the tongue of any woman, I dare ſay ſhe would be glad to have companions. So leaving to trouble you any further, I reſt, Your friend

M. NOTTINGHAM.

## *Sir* Charls Cornwallis *Lieger in* Spain, *to the Spaniſh King, July* 23. 1608.

YOur Majeſty hath ſhewed the ſincerity of your Royal heart in applying remedy to many inconveniences and injuſtice offered by your Miniſters to the King my maſters ſubjects in their goods and bodies, and therein have performed not only what belongeth to your Kingly dignity, but alſo what might be expected from a Prince ſo zealous of juſtice and of ſo good intention. It reſteth that now I beſeech you to caſt your Royal eyes upon another extreme injuſtice offered not only to their bodies and goods, but to their very ſouls; who being by your Majeſties

jeſties agreement confirmed with your oath to live within theſe your Kingdoms free from moleſtation for matter of opinion and conſcience, except in matters of ſcandal to others, are here laid hold on and impriſoned by your Majeſties Officers of Inquiſition continually upon every light occaſion of private information of ſome particular perſons of their own Country, who being fugitives out of their own houſes, and having according to the nature of our people removed not only their bodies, but their hearts from the ſoil that bred them, and from their brethren that were nouriſhed with them, do here ſeek to grace themſelves by profeſſing and teaching the obſervations of the Romiſh Church; and that not out of any zeal, but as plainly appeareth by many of their actions, out of malice and envy. By the Commiſſioners authorized by both your Majeſties for the agreeing of the Peace, it was clearly diſcerned, that if upon private or particular informations his Majeſties vaſſals here ſhould be queſtioned for matter of Religion, it was not poſſible that they ſhould exerciſe any commerce in theſe kingdoms, where they ſhould be no one moment aſſured either of their goods or liberties. It was therefore provided that they ſhould in no ſort be impeached but in caſe of ſcandal; and that ſcandal, with your Majeſties favour, muſt be underſtood to grow out of ſome publike action, not out of private opinion or ſingle conſcience; for if otherwiſe, very vain and inutile had been that proviſion. How the word *ſcandal* is in the moſt uſual and common ſenſe to be underſtood, is in no books more evident then in the Divine Scriptures themſelves. Our Saviour, in regard of his publique teaching of the Goſpel, and the aboliſhing of the Law-Ceremonial, was ſaid to be to both houſes of *Iſrael* a ſtone of ſcandal. The ſin of *David*, if it had lain covered in his own heart, or been committed in private, ſhould not have been either publiſhed or puniſhed as a ſcandal to the enemies of God. St. *Paul* himſelf declareth, that his own eating of fleſh offered to Idols could not be an offence, but only his eating before others of weak conſcience whereby to give the ſcandal. Beſides, I humbly beſeech your Majeſty conſider how fitly that of the Apoſtle *Quis es qui judicas alienum ſervum*, may be applied to thoſe Officers of the Inquiſition attempting to lay hands on the ſubjects of another Prince your Majeſties confederate, offering none offence to the Laws, or publike prejudice to their profeſſion: yea, in divers parts of your Majeſties dominions the ſubjects of my Maſter have ſuffered this reſtraint. The Inquiſitor-Generall lately deceaſed, who in all his actions ſhewed himſelf a conſiderate Miniſter, and carefull in regard of your Majeſties honour of the obſerving of what you have capitulated, upon my complaint never failed to give the remedy that in juſtice I required. He being now with God,

and one of my Soveraigns ſubjects having been long without cauſe detained by the Inquiſitors in *Lisbon*, and another of good account, a man moderate and temperate in all his actions, lately apprehended by that Office in *Almonte*, and reſtrained in their priſon at *Sivil*: I am commanded from his Majeſty, and importuned by my Country-men, who all with one voice complain and proteſt that they dare not longer continue their commerce without preſent order for remedy of ſo extream and perillous an injuſtice, do beſeech your Majeſty that you will be pleaſed not only to give preſent order for the releaſe of thoſe that without ſcandal are known for the preſent in your priſons, but alſo that in time to come the true intention of that Article be obſerved, which is, That without known offence and ſcandal the King my Maſters ſubjects be not moleſted. The accompliſhment of this (conſidering how much it imports your Majeſty in honour, your Majeſty and the Archduke having in that Article in no other ſort then in all the reſt covenanted by eſpecial words, that your ſelves would provide that in no caſe but only in giving ſcandal to others, the ſubjects of my Soveraign ſhould be troubled for their conſciences) I cannot but expect from ſo juſt and ſincere a Prince: And therefore will not trouble your Majeſty with more words; but offering my ſelf in all things within my power to your Majeſties ſervice, I remain with a deſire to be reckoned in the number of your Majeſties humble and affectionate ſervants,

*C. C.*

*July* 23 *ſtilo novo*, 1608.

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## *Sir* Charls Cornwallis *to the Spaniſh King, Jan.* 16. 1608.

THe largeneſs and liberality of your Majeſties Royall hand being ſuch, that it hath made your Greatneſs and Munificence of ſo much note through moſt parts of this world; I aſſure my ſelf it is far removed from the thoughts of your Princely heart to ſtraiten in matter of Juſtice, that ſo naturally and neceſſarily belongeth to your Kingly Office: your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to refer to the Conſtable, the Duke of *Infantaſque*, and two of the Regents of your Councell of *Arragon*, the underſtanding and determining of the extream and barbarous uſage, outrage and ſpoyl committed by ſhips ſet out in courſe under the commiſſion, & at the charge of your Majeſties Viceroy of *Sardinia*, and his ſon-in-law *Don Lewis de Calatana*, and others by their procurement: thoſe Lords and others there authorized by that Commiſſion, very

very nobly and juſtly deſiring that of the ſpoyl committed there might be made intire ſatisfaction, gave order divers months ſince; but your Majeſties Viceroy adding to his former offence, contempt of your Majeſties authority, hath not onely diſobeyed in his own perſon, but contradicted and withſtood in others the accompliſhment of your commandements; it ſeemeth that God is pleaſed for the good of your Majeſties Eſtate and Government to diſvizard that man, and make apparent to the world how unfit he is to be truſted with your command of ſo great importance, whoſe covetous and ungodly condition is come to ſuch height, as hath drawn him not onely to ſpoil unlawfully, and ſo barbarouſly to uſe the ſubjects of ſo great a King your confederate, and thereby to hazard a breach of the amity between your Majeſties ſo neceſſary for both your Eſtates, and ſo utile to the whole Commonwealth of Chriſtendom, but alſo to neglect and contemn the authority of your Majeſty his own Soveraign, to whom, beſides the obligation of his naturall allegiance, he is ſo infinitely bound for preferring and truſting him with a matter of ſo great conſequence and dignity. By this paper incloſed your Majeſty ſhall underſtand the manner of proceeding of the King my Maſter againſt ſuch of his ſubjects as commit the like crimes and outrage againſt any of yours, and thereby conceive what my ſaid Soveraign expecteth of your Majeſty in this and the like, and what I am commanded in conformity thereof to require, which is, that there be no proceeding in ſo clear and plain a caſe, by way of proceſſe or ſuit in Law, which in this kingdom as by experience is known, are immortall; but that according to the ſixth Article of the Peace, and the moſt Chriſtian and juſt example ſhewed by my Soveraign, who ſo punctually and conſcionably in all things obſerveth with your Majeſty, you will be pleaſed that there be not onely an intire and immediate ſatisfaction to the parties, but that as well your ſaid Viceroy, and *Don Lewis* his ſon-in-law, as all others their aiders, partners, and receivers in that crime may be criminally proceeded againſt, and ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as ſo enorm and unlawfull actions have juſtly deſerved: The performance of this (conſidering with what patience the King my Maſter out of his love to your Majeſty, notwithſtanding the daily complaints and importunities of the parties, & the generall exclamation of other his ſubjects, who hold it rather agreeable with his honor and Kingly Office, not ſo long to permit unſatisfied or unpuniſhed ſo intollerable an outrage, hath more then three whole years attended it) I cannot but expect from ſo juſt and pious a Prince without further delay or protraction of time. *Jan.* 16. *novo ſtilo.* 1608.

## *Sir* Charls Cornwallis *to the Spaniſh King.*

WEll knoweth your Majeſty in your Royall wiſdom, how neceſſary to Kings is the conſervation of authority and reſpect to their Kingly dignities; as alſo that the greateſt and moſt abſolute precept of Juſtice, is to do to others what we would be done unto our ſelves: How religiouſly & punctually the King my maſter hath obſerved theſe unto your Majeſty, hath appeared by many demonſtrations, and not the leaſt in the deniall he made to *Antonio de Perez* to abide in his Kingdom, or to have acceſſe to his perſon; onely out of a conceit he had, that he came with a mind determined to diſauthorize your Majeſty in his ſpeeches, or to make offer of ſome practiſe againſt your eſtates in his overtures. Your Majeſties own Royall and gratefull inclination I know to be ſuch, as you are not without deſire to pay my Soveraign with the like equivalent retribution: but with your Majeſties pardon and favour, duty inforceth me plainly to tell you, that the Miniſters of theſe your Kingdoms ſhew not the like affection; where not one, but many my of Soveraigns worſt affected ſubjects are daily received, cheriſhed and honored with entertainments in your ſervice. Were that ſort of people contented onely to abuſe your Majeſties Kingly munificence and Chriſtian charity, and to deceive your Miniſters with their falſified genealogies, and with putting the *Don* upon many whoſe fathers and Anceſtors were ſo baſe and beggerly, as they never arrived to be owners of ſo much as convenient apparell to cover their nakedneſs, it were much more tolerable: but when having here taſted the warmth of your Majeſties liberall and pious hand, they become furniſhed in ſuch ample and abundant manner, as their poor and miſerable anceſtors durſt never ſo much as dream of, like *Æſops* ſerpent they turn their venemous ſtings towards the boſoms that gave them heat and life, and endeavour with all the force and Art they have, to give cauſe of diſtaſte, and by conſequence of diviſion between your Majeſty and your faithfulleſt and moſt powerfull Confederate, in uneven paiment for your Majeſties ſo great and gracious favour. With generalities for the preſent I will not deal, as he whoſe cares and deſires have ever been to ſoften, and not to ſharpen. Two *Iriſh* in your Court, the one a ſon, as by his own Countreymen is generally reported, either to a vagabond Rimer, a generation of people in that Countrey of the worſt account; or to give him his beſt title, of a poore Mechanicall Surgeon. The other deſcended rather of more

more baſe and beggerly parents; neglecting what by the Laws of God they ow to their own Soveraign, and as little regarding their obligation to your Majeſty, who from the duſt of the earth and miſerable eſtate hath made them what they are, notwithſtanding that they cannot be ignorant of the ſtrait charge and commandements your Majeſty hath given, that all due reſpect be had to the King my Maſter, and his Miniſters and ſubjects; the firſt in irreverend and irreſpective behaviour towards my ſelf and ſome of mine; the other in obſtinate defending his companions unmannerlineſs, delivering by way of direct aſſeveration, that I am an heretique, and ſuch an one as to whom it is not lawfull under the pain of deadly ſin, to uſe any courteſie or reverence whatſoever, have of late miſcarried themſelves, as I hold it not agreeable either with what I ow to the King I ſerve, or the honor I have to repreſent his perſon, to paſſe over with ſilence, but to preſent it inſtantly to your Majeſty. The names of the parties are, *Magg Ogg*, a Sollicitor (as here is ſaid) for the fugitive Earle of *Tyrone*, condemned by the verdict of his own Contreymen, beſides his delict of Treaſon, of thirteen ſeveral murders. The other names himſelfe *Condio Mauricio*, and is here (as I am informed) allowed for a —— for his vagabonding Countreymen, hath put on the habit of a Prieſt, and hath of your Majeſty thirty crowns a moneth in Penſion. The parties and the offences I have made known unto your Secretary of State, and I cannot doubt your Majeſty in conformity of what the King my maſter hath by ſo many arguments demonſtrated towards your Majeſty and your Miniſters, will command ſuch exemplary puniſhment to be made of them, as a behaviour ſo undecent, a ſlander and reproach ſo intolerable, and an opinion ſo deſperate and dangerous, and ſo contrary to what your Majeſty and all thoſe of your Councell, Nobility and Clergy do practiſe, do worthily merit, &c. *Feb.* 1608.

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## *Sir* Charls Cornwallis *to the Spaniſh King.*

YOur Majeſty to whom *God* hath given ſo large an Empire, & ſo much exceeding that of other Princes, and whom he hath bleſſed with ſo great an inclination to piety, clemency, and other vertues becoming your Royall dignity and Perſon, will I know hold it evil beſeeming ſo rare a greatneſs, to come behind any King how pious & vertuous ſoever, either in the obſervance of the laws of mutual charity and friendſhip, or in love or zeal to juſtice, which to all Kingdoms and Governments gives the

assuredst foundation; and in defect whereof by the Spirit of God himself, Kingdoms are said to be translated from one Nation to another. The first King that God gave unto his people, he elected of higher stature then the rest by the shoulders upwards, signifying thereby how much Kings are to strive to exceed and excell in the height and measure of vertue and justice; also how fit it is for them to over-look with their authorities and providences the higheſt head of their Ministers, and to observe how they guide themselves.

By the contents of this paper inclosed, your Majesty shall perceive the Christian and Kingly care the King my Master hath had, not onely of the observances of the Articles of Peace since the same between your Majesties were concluded; but of the punctuall accomplishment of the true Laws of amity and friendship, which are more surely and expressively imprinted in Royall and Noble hearts, then possibly they can be written or charactered by any pen in paper. In your Majesties Kingdoms (pardon I humbly beseech you if I speak plainly) much contrary to that example, the King my Masters subjects suffer all manner of spoils, oppressions and miseries, and are (as well I may term them) made a very prey to the hungry and greedy; your Viceroyes and others enter their ships under cover and colour of Peace and Justice, finding them rich, they lay crimes to their charge, whereof there appears neither proof nor probability; yet serve their pretences to possess them of their goods, & to put the poor Merchants to a demand in Law: wherein were truth alone the ballance they should be weighed by, (though that form of redress were far short of the immediate remedy provided by the King my Soveraign for your Majesties subjects) yet were it much more allowable and to be endured; but having here complained two whole years without any course at all taken for redress, as in the cause with the Duke of *Feria* three intire years, as in that with the Viceroy of *Sardinia* one year and more, as in that of his Majesties servant *Adrian Thibaut*, taken and spoiled by your Majesties Generall *Don Luis*; as in that of *Estry* and *Bispich*, imprisoned and bereaved of their goods by *Iuan de Vendoza Alcalde* of *Madrid*, we are after so long a time spent in misery and charge countervailing a great part of the value of the goods taken from us, inforced still to all punctualities and extremities of forms of law, and to abide the uttermost perill of all advantages that by the inventions, wits & tongues of Lawyers can be devised, to obscure and hide the light and right of truth. The false colour given by every of these, and the barbarous cruelty used to the parties, would require too long and tedious a declaration. It satisfieth that none of their pretences are proved; nay, which is more they are so false and fabulous as to no indifferent understanding they appear so much as probable. My

My humble deſire is, your Majeſty would be pleaſed to paſs your own Royal eyes upon this paper; and therefore to affect all poſſible brevity, I will paſs unto your Majeſties other inferior miniſters of your Ports, of which few there are (thoſe in *Biſcay*, and ſome in *Portugal* only excepted) where we have not divers oppreſſions, impriſonments, and unjuſt imbargements, in *Sivil* eſpecially; whereof forty ſeveral ſuits, and as many falſe ſentences given, raiſed and purſued by a man now dead, and therefore in charity left unnamed. We have hitherto in your Majeſties Councel of war (where before thoſe noble Lords all paſſed by the equal line of Juſtice) not failed in my remembrance in the overthrowing of any, ſave one miſtaken that paſſed in a wrong name, and another concerning merchandiſe that had their manufacture in *Embden*, (whereof I ſuppoſe thoſe Lords were not rightly informed) only excepted. In that Court I muſt acknowledge we have had redreſs, but yet with your Majeſties favour a miſerable one; our gain being whether we ſhall be owners of our own or not, our expences and charges certain, and the time without meaſure large, whereby many have been undone, ſome dead in priſon in *England* for want of what was unjuſtly detained from them here. Yet neither the falſe Judges in *Sivil* nor Promoters ever chaſtiſed, or for any thing that I yet have underſtood, ſo much as ever reprehended or found fault with.

I haſte to a concluſion, fearing leſt I ſhould dwell too long in a matter ſo unſavoury and unpleaſing to your Majeſties pittifull ears and Chriſtian heart, ſo much of it ſelf diſpoſed to all clemency and piety. I will for the next reſort to the ſhips, cordage, corn, and other victuals and proviſions taken from the King my Soveraigns ſubjects for your Majeſties own ſervices, and the relief of the extreme neceſſity in your Gallies, and Gatriſons of the Navy, of whom ſome have been enforced for want of payment of their monies to ſend their ſhips home unfreighted, a loſs extreme to poor Merchants that live by trade and time, to repair to this Court, and here remain ſome of them 14 moneths, and others two years and more, till their very charges had eaten out a great part of what was due unto them, and in the end recover only their own without any relief or recompence either for their expences, times loſt, or damages. I will only inſtance two, becauſe their cauſes are moſt ſtrange and pittifull, and yet unſatisfied; the one named *Thomas Harriſon*, and the other *Richard Morris*: The firſt ſerved your Majeſty with his ſhip, till the ſame with one of his ſons and all of his men were ſwallowed with the ſeas, and hath been here more then four years ſuing for his recompence and ſalary, recommended by the King my Soveraign, by Letters from your Majeſties Ambaſſadors in *England*, and by my ſelf all that long

time

time furthered with my earneſt ſollicitation; which hath begot infinite promiſes, but to this day no manner of payment or performance: The other, who ſometimes hath been a man of wealth and reputation, and falling into great poverty, ſerved your Majeſty with all that in the world he was worth, and all that in value above 6000 Ryals. I bluſh I proteſt to think of it, and my heart is grieved to mention it to ſo great a King, of whoſe liberality and magnificence the world taketh ſo much notice. His right and his neceſſity being well known unto your Officers, he hath been more then three years and a half fed with hopes, and put off with ſchedules and ſending from one Port to another for the receipt of his mony, till he hath indebted himſelf the moſt part of the ſum, and at preſent wanteth wherewith both to feed and cover him. Now at laſt he is promiſed payment out here of your Royal cheſts, but after ſo many ceremonies and circumſtances to be performed with your Officers in other parts, as God knows hunger may end the poor man before they begin to ſatisfie him. By all this will plainly appear to your Majeſty, that your Majeſties ſubjects are by the favour and Chriſtian juſtice of the King my maſter entred into the new Teſtament and law of Grace, having reſtitution and remedy without the delayes of ceremony and formality; and we ſtill remain under the old, and tyed in all things to the hand-writing of the Law, to the burthenous circumſtances and intolerable dilatory formalities of proceeding in this your Kingdom, and what elſe your unpittifull Miniſters will out of uncharitable and unſenſible minds of other mens harms charge and impoſe upon us.

Well doth your Majeſty conceive, that would the King my Maſter wink at the like courſes to be taken by his ſubjects and miniſters with ſuch of yours as they might meet upon the ſeas, the Engliſh are not of ſo little invention, but they could deviſe as good colours and pretences; nor their Lawyers of ſo ſmall skill and ſo much conſcience, but they could form and protract ſuits; nor the ſhips of *England* ſo weakened and leſſened, but they could equal and ſurmount their loſſes. I have out of mine own humble affection to your Majeſty, out of my generall and ever continuing deſire to hold firm the ancient amity ſo neceſſary for your own eſtates, and utile for the whole common-weal of Chriſtendom, out of the force of duty I owe to my King and Country, thus far adventured to unburthen my ſoul and thoughts, not doubting but your Majeſties magnanimous and Chriſtian heart will be moved as well in deſire to equal the pious and immutable example of the King my Maſter, as in a juſt compaſſion of a Nation now confederate with you, and that ſo gladly would entertain any cauſe to love and ſerve you, to give preſent remedy to thoſe wofull and intolerable oppreſſions; and that ſince

you

you have firmed and conſented by your Articles of Peace of new orders (which being confirmed by your oath ſtand now in force of Laws) you would be pleaſed in like manner to give them a new form of indilatory execution, conformable to that of the King my Soveraign, &c.

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## *King* James *to the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *Mar.* 4. 1616.

*IACOBUS Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei defenſor, &c. Academiæ Cantabrigiæ communi ſalutem.*

*SI jus civitatis impetret à nobis Cantabrigia, veremur ne æmula urbis potentia creſcente minuatur Academiæ ſecuritas, ſat erit apud nos metus veſtri judicium feciſſe, nec enim tam vobis convenit Academiæ periculum deprecari quam nobis, ſponte noſtra quicquid in ſpeciem illi noxium ſit avertere. Glorietur urbs illa ſe à Majoribus noſtris electam doctrinarum ſedem, ingeniorum officium, ſapientiæ paleſtram. Quicquid his titulis addi poteſt nimis, & non honeſtatur plebeia Civitatis appellatione Muſarum domicilium vel ſane literatorum dicatur Civitas, vel quod in villa noſtræ villa & in incolitarum tegitur celebritate. Hæc ejus fuerint privilegia Academiæ dignitatem comiter obſervare (cujus frequentia facta & ſeipſa major affluentia bonarum artium ſtudioſos amicè excipere quorum congreſſu diſtata eſt) Literatorum deinque honori ancillari unde hæc illa nata eſt felicitas, hæ artes quibus crevit tenenda, non aucupandam titulorum novitas incerti eventu faceſſat popularis vocabuli faſtus, unde certa oriatur æmulationis neceſſitas quæ eo turpior urbi eſt futura quo majori erga Academiam obſtrictam & reverentiam, nolumus ſacrum illum muſarum aſylum minuti prætoris enſe temerari nec ſtrepere tetrica edicta, ubi ſeptem geminus veſtri Chori auditur concentus ſatis & in vetera purpura invidiæ nova pompa tam illi futura, & ſupervacua quam vobis ſuſpecta. In noſtra ſolvis tutela & poſt Deum opt. max. Alma ſcientiarum Mater noſtro fovebitur ſceptro indefeſſa illius fœcunditas non abortiet ad prætorii gladii terriculum nullum honoris titulum Cantabrigiæ indulgemus, qui cum Academiæ ſollicitudine conjunctus ſit. Valete. Datum è Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſt. 4 Calend. Mar. 1616.*

JACOBUS REX.

## *Mr.* Ruthen *to the Earle of* Northumberland.

*My Lord,*

IT may be interpreted discretion somtimes to wink at private wrongs, especially for such a one as my self, that have a long time wrastled with a hard Fortune, and whose actions, words and behaviour are continually subject to the censure of a whole State; yet not to be sensible of publique and Nationall disgrace, were stupidity and baseness of mind: For no place, nor time, nor State can excuse a man from performing that duty and obligation wherein Nature hath tied him to his Countrey and to himself. This I speak in regard of certain infamous verses lately by your Lordships means dispersed abroad to disgrace my Countrey and my self, and to wrong and stain by me the honor of a worthy and vertuous Gentlewoman, whose unspotted and immaculate vertue your self is so much more bound to admire and uphold, in that having dishonorably assaulted it, you could not prevail. But belike, my Lord, you dare do any thing but that which is good and just. Think not to bear down these things either by greatness or denyall; for the circumstances that prove them are so evident, and the veil wherewith you would shadow them, is too transparant. Neither would I have you flatter your self, as though, like another *Giges*, you could passe in your courses invisible. If you owe a spight to any of my countrey-men, it is a poor revenge to rail upon me in verse: or if the repulse of your lewd desire at the Gentlewomans hands, hath inflamed and exasperated your choler against her, it was never known that to refuse *Northumberlands* unlawfull lust was a crime for a Gentlewoman deserving to have her honour called in question. For her part, I doubt not but her own unspotted vertue will easily wipe out any blot which your malice would cast upon it; and for me and my Countreymen (know my good Lord); that such blowes as come in rime, are too weak to reach or harm us. I am asham'd in your Lordships behalfe for these proceedings, and sorry that the world must now see how long it hath been mistaken in *Northumberlands* spirit: and yet who will not commend your wisdom in chusing such a safe course to wrong a woman & a prisoner; the one of which cannot, and the other by nature & quality of the place, may not right his ownwrongs. Wherefore (setting aside the most honorable order of the Garter, and protesting that whatsoever is here said, is no way intended to the Nobility and Gentry of *England* in generall, which I doubt not but will condemn this

your

your diſhonorable dealing, and for which both my ſelf, and I dare truly ſay all my Countrymen ſhall be even as ready to ſacrifice our bloods as for our own mother *Scotland)* I do not only in regard of our own perſons affirm, that whatſoever in thoſe infamous Verſes is contained is utterly falſe and untrue, and that your ſelf hath dealt moſt diſhonorably, unworthily, and baſely, but this I'll ever maintain. If theſe words ſound harſhly in your Lordſhips ear, blame your ſelf, ſince your ſelf forgetting your ſelf have taught others how to diſhonour you: And remember that though Nobility make a difference of perſons, yet Injury acknowledgeth none.

PATRICK RUTHEN.

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## *Sir* Henry Yelvertons *ſubmiſsion in the Star-chamber.*

*My Lords,*

I Humbly beſeech you to think that I ſtand not here either to outface the Court, or to defend this cauſe otherwiſe then juſtly I may; only I deſire in mine own perſon to ſecond the ſubmiſſion which hath been opened by my Councel: for hitherunto hath nothing been opened unto you, but that which hath paſſed under the adviſed pen of others, and hitherto hath appeared from my ſelf neither open nor inward acknowledgment.

My Lords, it may ſeem ſtrange to the hearers, that againſt a Bill ſo ſharpned I ſhould abruptly fall upon a ſubmiſſion or confeſſion, whereby I may ſeem to bow down my neck to the ſtroke. But my Lords, in this I weighed not my ſelf, but I did it to amplifie the honour and mercy of his Majeſty, from whom I may ſay Clemencie ſprings as the blood that runs in his own veins. For, my Lords, when this Charter was ſometime queſtioned, & divers of my Lords here preſent had out of their great wiſdoms diſcovered that ſhame in it (which I muſt here confeſs I did not then ſee) & had related the ſame to his Majeſty, it pleaſed his Maj. out of his great favour to me his unworthy ſervant to ſend me this meſſage by two great honorable perſons here preſent, and therefore under your Lordſhips favour I think not fit to hide ſo great a favour of his Maj. from the eyes of the people, who offered to my choice either to ſubmit to himſelf in private, or defend here openly; and when I ſaw I fell into ſuch faithful hands, I remember my anſwer then was, that the offer was gracious, and the choice was eaſie, and his mercy free. After came this Information againſt

me: I took it but as trial whether I would make his Majeſty King of my confidence, or not: And though there was offered unto me and my Councel ſuch a way of defence as I might have eſcaped, yet I proteſt I did reject it, becauſe I would not diſtruſt his Majeſties mercy to let go the anchor-hold I had thereof; and whatſoever becomes of me, I proteſt I ſhall ſtill honour the King, though I go lame to my grave. I humbly confeſs the manifold errors of this Charter to your Lordſhips, wherein I have miſcarried; and I beſeech his Majeſty and your Lordſhips to think they are rather crept in unawares, then uſher'd in by conſent. The errors are of divers natures, ſome of negligence, ſome of ignorance, ſome of miſpriſion; I miſtook many things, I was improvident in ſome things, too credulous in all things. But I who was choſen, when I had ſo much provoked his Majeſty by mine unexperienced years, and having ſince found ſo many favours from his Majeſties hands, and this day having ſerved him full ſeven years, who this day hath tranſlated me from a low eſtate unto a place whereof I enjoy now only the name, and now ſince hath ſo much quickned and enlightned me by his gracious countenance, and aſſured me by his daily favours to make me to depend upon him; and that I ſhould deliberately and determinately take any flowers from his Crown to place them on the heads of others, or to betray his Majeſties intereſt into the hands of others, I hope his Majeſty will vouchſafe me ſo much favour not to value me at ſo low a rate, as to think theſe things came in *de induſtria*: For if I had felt any ſuch Eccho ariſe in my breaſt, I proteſt I would have laid hands on my ſelf, and judged my ſelf unworthy of any ſociety.

My Lords, the corruption of my hands are far inferior to the corruption of the heart; and the hand that runs wilfully into error, works meerly from the corruption of the heart, and that makes it the more inexcuſable, as the bleeding of a wound inwardly ever becomes mortal; and were I conſcious to my ſelf, I would not have any color of excuſe. I thank his Majeſties Councel, that howſoever theſe hands were at firſt miſtruſted, yet ſince they are not at all miſdoubted, nor the leaſt corruption laid to my charge. But this doth moſt grieve me, that my faithfulneſs to his Majeſty ſhould be ſuſpected: And I humbly deſire upon my knees, that his Clemencie in this caſe may ſtop the iſſue of his Juſtice; that though a long time his face hath been hid, yet now at length his mercy will break through the clouds to ſupport me that am now fallen. I lay my ſelf at his Majeſties feet to do with me as it pleaſeth him, and humbly deſire his Majeſty would take me to his own ſentence. I never thought of my ſelf otherwiſe then clay in his Majeſties hands, to mould me to honour or diſhonour. When I look and behold this ſolemnity and ſpectacle

about

about me, I make no other account of it then *Pompa mortis*; and ſuch a Prince as he is, knows that Life and Reputation are equall, if the laſt be not the greateſt. I know your Lordſhips have ſuch power, and his Majeſty takes ſuch pleaſure in you, you are ſo dear in his eyes, that he can deny you nothing, and therefore I would deſire you that you would be ſuiters in my behalf, that his favour might once again ſhine upon me. I know his grace and clemency ſleepeth, if I be not unworthy to partake, and the rather becauſe the River that did run another way, is now turned into the Sea again, and the Charter given up, ſurrendred and cancelled. I know much life might be added to the ſinewes of my happineſſe by your Lordſhips interceſſions for me; in vouchſafing whereof I ſhall pledge a perpetuall aſſurance of better ſervice for the time to come, and ſhall be bound and engaged to every one of your Lordſhips: ſo that my deſire is, that his Majeſty might firſt be acquainted with this ſubmiſſion before you proceed into the merits of the cauſe, remaining ſtill a priſoner to his Juſtice, knowing his Majeſty may if he pleaſe, turn me to vanity.

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## Ferdinand *the ſecond, Emperour, to the Catholique King.*

*Moſt gracious King, my moſt loving Nephew,*

FAther *Jacinthus* comes over to your Court to negotiate with your Majeſty in the Popes name, about a buſineſs much concerning the conſervation of our holy Faith, and conſequently the ſupport of our Family, as your Majeſty ſhall underſtand of the ſaid Father, to whom I refer my ſelf, as alſo to *Don Balthazar de Zuniga*, to whom I have written more diſtinctly, fearing to be over-tedious to your Majeſty, and being well aſſured how well your Majeſty ſtands inclined to either of theſe points.

## Ferdinand *the Emperour to* Don Balthazar de Zuniga, *October* 15. 1621.

*To the Honorable and sincerely beloved* Don Balthazar de Zuniga, *Cousin and Councellour of State to the most excellent and Catholique King of* Spain.

*Honorable and sincerely beloved,*

WHat my mind and purpose is touching the translating of the Electorship to the Duke of *Bavaria*, according to the promise I made him, and wherefore I think that business so necessary and profitable, as for *Germany* in generall, so particularly for securing our House from all attempts of Heretiques, as his Holiness exhorts me not to be further delayed: You shall understand as well by conference with Father *Jacinthus*, whom his Holiness hath for that purpose addressed unto me, his Majesty of *Spain* my Nephew, and other Catholiqne Princes of *Germany*, as by these ensuing reasons, whereof the principall are, That when I repeat from the beginning the whole course of my Reign, and the difficulties through which I have attained my Kingdoms and Provinces, I behold with reverence the admirable providence of God over me, which makes me the more bound to repose my trust in him, and not to omit any occasion which may tend to the advancement of his glory, and the honor of so admirable tried providence: and therfore that I should use that most notable victory to the honor of God, and extirpation of all seditious factions, which are nourished chiefly among the *Calvinists*, and that I should withdraw my self from that judgement that the Prophet threatens to the King of *Israel*, *Because thou hast dismissed a man worthy of death, thy Son shall be for his soule.* The Palatine keeps now in *Holland*, exiled not onely from the Kingdom which he rashly attempted, but despoiled almost of all his own Territories, expecting as it were the last cast of Fortune; whom, if by an impious kind of commiseration and subtile Petitions, I be perswaded to restore to his Electorall dignity, and nourish in my bosome as a troden half living snake, what can I expect less then a deadly stinging? For it is in vain for me to think that he should be able to discern the greatness of such a benefit: For the Polititians saying is true, *Ultionem quæsivi, gratiam oneri habere*; especially since the injuries he did me are so heynous, his

his projects so subtile, that although I should overcome him with Christian charity, yet I should never be able to take him from the guilt of his offences, and make him soundly faithfull unto me; but he will always gape at all occasions whereby he may free himself from fear of his ill deservings, and cover his own prostituted honor with new attempts. Add hereunto the *Calvinists* institution, of whose Sect the proper genius is to hold nothing either fraud or wickedness, which is undertaken for the Religion; no sanctity of oath, nor fear of dishonour hinders them. From such an one, what caution can either the house of *Austria*, or other Catholique Princes with whom he is no less in enmity, because for Religion, as because they are interessed in the war, receive? The King of *England* will be engaged, but of the same Religion; nor is there any thing more easie then when there is occasion of perpetrating any wickedness, to palliate it with a pretext of a breach of the League. Histories are fraughted with examples; in some there are no cautions sufficient in such a business: then to drive him where he cannot hurt, all other means are frail, and he which once believed is despised. It is likewise a consideration of no less moment, that the *Palatine* being restored will draw all his power and policie, as hitherto, so hereafter, where he thinks he can do most hurt, and that most easily, to wit, to *Bethlem-Gabor* and the *Turks*, whom he hath already incited to hostility against me, and will never cease hereafter to instigate the *Calvinists* intire hopes in them. These, untill they recover breath, and recollect their forces, they endeavour to disarm and exhaust me of monies, ranging in my territories as they have done hitherto by fire and sword. But if with them also, whom notwithstanding I cannot trust alike, I should make peace, what conditions will *Gabor* who remains yet unconquered require, if I should restore the *Palatine* (already conquered) to his Electoral dignity?

Therefore since long before God granted me that famous victory, I firmly forecast with my self, that the *Palatine* could not be restored to his Electoral dignity without the extreme danger of the Catholiques and my house, I offered freely on my own motion, but being directed questionless by God, the Electorship to the Duke of *Bavaria*, a most eager Defender of the Catholique cause, whose territories on the other side lie as a Rampire between me and other Princes of *Germany*; and since I made so good use of his help, and so profitable in the recovery of my Kingdoms and Provinces, and continue yet to this day, time it self more then the said Duke doth cry out that I should accomplish my promise without further delay, and by translation of the Electorship take away quite all hopes from the Palatine and them that sollicite us so importu-

importunately for a restitution, that we may be freed from all molestation; which thing, since it needs the help of his Majesty of *Spain*, although I know his Majesty be propense enough of himself to all things which appertain to the honor of God, and the security of our House, yet I thought good to admonish you of this occasion, lest this opportunity of establishing of our Religion and Family escape, which I conceive might conveniently be done by you. Neither do I suppose his Majesty to be ignorant, that it was alwayes judged of our Ancestors, that the House of *Austria*, which by Gods permission doth now signiorize far and neer upon the earth, to have its chief foundation here in *Germany*, which is the more to be defended, the nearer its ruine depends thereupon. In times past this House hath had proof of many adversaries to its greatness, as the Histories under *Maximilian* the first, *Charles* the fift, *Ferdinand* the second, and *Rodulf* the second do shew: the perfidiousness of *Holland* against his Majesties Grandfather *Philip* the second, fetcht her food from the Palatinate, neither can his Majesty ever reduce the rebellious *Hollanders* to obedience, unlesse his root be pluckt up; which onely motive, besides these which I alledged before, might justly induce him not to suffer a fallen enemy to rise and resume (as his stomack will never fail him) strength again.

But albeit it is not to be dissembled that the *Lutheran* Princes, especially the Elector of *Saxony*, will not approve haply of this translation, because they fear it conduceth too much to the corroborating of the Catholique Cause: Nevertheless, since he cannot accuse that act of *Charls* the fifth, who for a far lighter cause deprived *John Frederick* of the Electorship, and confer'd it on *Maurice* this Dukes great Uncle; and perceiving that all the Councels of the *Calvinists* do aim to bring in the Turk, he will not condemn his translation: For no less is the *Lutherans* hatred against the *Calvinists*, as the Catholiques and they think less danger do proceed from the later. It is to be hoped therefore, that the Elector of *Saxony*, and other *Lutheran Princes*, when they see the business brought to this point, will not so far disapprove thereof, as to put themselves in Arms; which I shall shortly understand of the most excellent Archduke *Charls* my brother, who is for this cause to treat with the Elector of *Saxony*. And these motives as they are of great consequence, so I imagine you, which are daily of his Majesties Councell, have pondered them as diligently as my self, and therefore that you will omit nothing that is pertinent to establish this business, whereby we obtain the long and wished fruit thereof, which is the propagation of the honor of Almighty God through the Empire, and the augmentation of the common safety, Family and Dignity.

Beloved

Beloved *Don Balthazar*, I understand that there was a motive of great consideration omitted in my Letter; to wit, that if we had more countenance of his Catholique Majesty then we have at this present, the Empire should always remain in the hands of Catholiques, and so according to reason in our House, to whose advancement the Duke of *Bavaria* will willingly concur in recognition of such a benefit, being promoted by an Emperour of that House, to so eminent and high a dignity as in our letters.

*Vienna Octob.* 15. 1621.

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## *King* James *to* Ferdinand *the Emperour concerning the Palatinate. Novemb.* 12. 1621.

I *Ames* by the grace of God King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. wisheth health and constant peace unto the most mighty and invincible Prince *Ferdinando*, by the same grace elected *Roman* Emperour, King of *Germany*, *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Archduke of *Austria*, &c. our loving friend and cousin.

Most mighty and invincible Prince, Brother, Cousin, and speciall loving Friend; It is not unknown unto the whole world, much less to your Imperiall Majesty, how earnestly we have hitherto sought and endeavoured as well by the diligence of our Ambassadors whom we have sent, as by the intercession of the chief *German* Princes, the appeasing of those *Bohemian* wars ever since they first began, and with what ardent zeal and affection we have so much hunted after the desire of peace: Let it not therefore seem strange unto any man, that we take it ill, that all the very time when we were (to the uttermost of our power) treating of peace, and giving our best furtherance for the overture of wholsome means to effect it; even then notwithstanding, we found clean contrary effects to ensue thereupon; whereat we much marvelled, seeing the Treaty was in hand, and already begun on all sides: as namely among the rest, that our son-in-law was wholly despoiled and robbed of his hereditary patrimony that remained unto him, excepting the Lower Palatinate, which was all by commandment of your Imperiall Majesty, taken and possessed by the Duke of *Bavaria*, according as himself confessed, with strong hand and force of Arms, and that for such reasons as are meerly new, and such as the like were never hitherto once heard of. That notwithstanding it plainly appeareth by the answer given unto

our Ambaſſador, that your Imperial Majeſty had cauſed the ſuſpenſion of that Ban or preſcription in thoſe Countries, yet did your Imperial Majeſty permit the taking of Arms again in hand: which alſo after the ſame your Imperial Majeſties anſwer, was yet again likewiſe commanded to be done in the Lower *Palatinate*, whereby there hath therein been ſince raiſed a grievous and cruel war, and moſt part of the Country taken in by the *Spaniards* powerfull ſtrength. But as we diligently obſerved thoſe things, we cleerly ſee what great trouble and miſery hath been occaſioned by this our great patience and long delaying, forbearing and doubtfulneſs, which without all doubt may be hereafter further occaſioned, and which may perhaps prove heavier then the chief reaſons of this miſery it ſelf. And therefore we hold it beſt and moſt expedient that your Imperial Majeſty do at length put a period to this moſt unhappy buſineſs: And for that end and purpoſe have thought good at this time to propound what we preſcribe our Son in law on th'one part to perform towards your Imperial Majeſty, which we have always councelled and exhorted our Son in law to do, nor will we ſo much as in the leaſt once doubt of the contrary and adverſe ſucceſs therein, but are perſwaded that your Imperial Majeſty will be moſt graciouſly moved to receive our Son in law into grace and favour, to redeliver unto him his hereditary lands and titles which he had enjoyed before thoſe *Bohemian* wars, and fully to reſtore him to his former honours and dignities. In regard whereof the Count *Palatine* ſhall perform unto your Imperial Majeſty as followeth.

1. He ſhall for himſelf and his Son wholly renounce and acquit all pretence of right and claim unto the Crown of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Countries thereof.

2. He ſhall from henceforward yield all conſtant due devotion unto the Imperial Majeſty, as do other obedient Princes Electors of the Empire.

3. He ſhall upon his knee crave pardon of the Imperial Majeſty.

4. He ſhall not hereafter any manner of way either unfittingly carry or demean himſelf towards the Imperial Majeſty, or diſturb your Kingdoms or Countries.

5. He ſhall upon reaſonable conditions reconcile himſelf with other his neighbour Princes and States of the Empire, and hold good friendſhip with them.

6. And ſhall really do all other like things as is above contained, and that ſhall be reaſonable and neceſſary.

Which propoſed Conditions if your Imperial Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to receive and accept of, the ſame will be a notable teſtimony of your Imperial

perial Majesties goodness and grace: which how well and acceptable it will be unto us, shall be acknowledged and shewed by our very willing service and unfeigned friendship as well towards your Imperial Majesty as towards the most renowned house of *Austria*. But if it shall fall out contrary to our expectation, that these our just demands and well-willed presentation shall not find acceptance, or after this our diligent endeavor you shall seek to delay us by the using some new tergiversation, and pretend to use that long councel and deliberate advice of the Princes of the Empire upon these our propounded conditions, whereas notwithstanding your Imperial Majesty expressly promised in your last answer freely to declare what should be your purpose and resolution therein: So that there being no ground to the contrary (as we call God and the world to witness there is not) and being forced and constrained by the duty and natural affection which we owe and bear to our Children for the preservation of their honour and welfare, we are resolved to try the uttermost of our power for their relief; especially seeing we sue for, desire, and would obtain and retain no new title of honour for our Son in law, but only to have again those of his own now lost, which he then had and enjoyed when we matched him with our dear and only daughter: For if in this distress we should leave our Children and their Partisans without councel help and protection, it would be a foul stain to our honour.

Let not therefore your Imperial Majesty in regard hereof blame us at all, if we with a mighty and puissant Army by force and strong hand seek to recover that which by propounded and reasonable conditions we could not obtain for the continuance of our friendship. But for as much as it is most certain this cannot be without the great hurt and prejudice of all Christendom, the breach of publike peace, and the wounding of our contracted amity and friendship with the house of *Austria*, which we have ever hitherto by manifold testimonies uprightly, faithfully and inviolably observed: It is therefore requisite and necessary that your Majesty of your innate gracious mildness and goodness, and of that most reverent discretion wherewith you are endowed, to seek in time to meet with and prevent these so great evils likely to ensue, and use brotherly love & good will. God almighty long preserve your Imperial Majesties life, and at last so direct your heart, that sweet peace and the concord of all Christendom now rent asunder, may be recovered and again maintained.

At our Royal Residence-Town of
*Royston, Novemb.* 12. 1621. *IACOBUS REX.*

## *His Imperial Majesty to King* James, *Jan.*14. 1621.

*Constans atque eadem nobis semper fuit mens, idem desiderium, non tam verbis quam re ipsa demonstrandi quanti tranquillitatem in Imperio publicam & mutuæ amicitiæ cum vicinis Principibus, potissimum Serenitatis vestræ sincere colendæ studium æstimaremus. Inde si præteriti temporis successus de rebus in utroque* Palatinatu *tam superiore quam inferiore innovat. de quo literis ad nos datis Serenitas vestra conqueritur deflexisse videri possint, illi culpa venit omnis imputanda, quem ab improba cupiditate aliena regna captantem, nec divini nec humani juris respectus, nec supremi Domini sui reverentia, nec sacri jus-jurandi religio, nec prudentissimi Soceri concilium cohibere potuerint; imo qui justo Dei judicio ea acie in fugam profligatus usque adeo obstinatione sua pertinaciter etiamnum inheret, ut continuis machinationibus per* Jagarndorfium, Mansfeildum, *aliosq; crudeles pacis publicæ perturbatores, Acharonta potius movere quam saniori-bus acquiescere consiliis ab usurpatoque regni nostri titulo desistere (non officiis per Serenitatem vestram per quam sane diligenter interpositis, sua ex parte quid deferens) videatur, nec ullum in hanc usque horam animi pœnitentis signum dederit. Itaque in tractatu de pace instituenda uti condescendamus videt Serenitas vestra ab eis quos principaliter id concernit quam nulla nobis causa vel occasio præbeatur. Id quidem ingenue profitemur, in exulceratissimo eo negotio, cujus calamitas universum pene orbem involvit, eum Serenitatis vestræ candorem, eam animi moderationem, & equitatis justitiæq; respectum enituisse, ut nihil sit vicissim quod non ejusdem desideriis salva suprema auctoritate nostra Cæsarea, salvisq; Imperii legibus libenter tribuamus, qui pro innata nobis benignitate —— æquisque conditionibus Arma poni & optatam afflictissimæ* Germaniæ *pacem restitui, quam legitimæ executiones insisti per cædes & sanguinem Christianum glorioſa nomini nostro trophæa figi nunquam non maluimus. In gratiam itaque Serenitatis vestræ, ut res ipsa deprehendat quanti nobis sit perpetuum cum eadem amicitia cultum novo fomite subinde revocari, licet hactenus prosperos militiæ nostræ successus divina benignitas tribuit, acquiescimus, ut benevolo tractatu almæ pacis redintigrandæ rationes opportunæ ineantur, eumque in finem ad evitandum viarum temporumque dispendia nunc in eo sumus ut serenissimæ Principi Dominæ* Elizabethæ *Claræ Eugeniæ natæ, Infanti Hispaniarum, Archiducissæ Austriæ, Ducissæ Burgundiæ, Stiriæ, Cariathiæ, Carniolæ, & Wirtinburgiæ, & Provinciarum Belgii Burgundi-*

*gundiarumq; Dominæ, Consobrinæ ac sorori nostræ charissimæ, ut istic in aula sua, quorsum vestra quoque Serenitas si ita libuerit suos cum plena facultate ablegare poterit primum eumque proximum assequendæ pacis gradum cessationem ab armis æquis conditionibus nomine nostro Cæsari stabiliendum permittemus, prope diem expediturî Legatum nostrum virum nobilem, qui diligentissime in gravissimo hoc negotio mentem nostram plenius aperiet, atque inde ad Serenitatem vestram animum nostrum ad redintegrandæ pacis studia proclivem, qui non aliter quam quibuscunque benevolentiæ officiis cum Serenitate vestra certare studet magis magisque testificetur, cujus interim consilia generosa prapotens Deus publico orbis commodo in felicissimos eventus disponat. Dat. Viennæ, 14 Jan. 1621.*

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## *Earl of* Bristol *to King* James.

MOst gracious Soveraign, it may please your Majesty to remember, that at my coming out of *Spain* I signified unto your Majesty how far the Duke of *Lerma* had upon severall occasions intimated unto me an extraordinary desire of this King and State, not onely to maintain peace and amity with your Majesty, but to lay hold of all things that may be offered for the nearer uniting of your Majesty and your Crowns; and that from this generality he had descended often to have discourse with me of a match for the Princes Highness with the second daughter of *Spain*, assuring me, that in this King and his Ministers there was a forward disposition thereunto. But from me he received no other answer but to this effect, That I in the treaty of the former match for the late Prince, had received so strange and unexpected answer from them, & that their demands seemed so improper and unworthy, that I conceived that your Majesty had little reason to be induced again to give eare to any such overture, or that I should again enter into any such treaty, much less to be the motioner thereof: Although I would confess, that if I were fully perswaded of the sincerity of their intentions, and of a possibility of having the said match effected, I know not any thing wherein I would more willingly imploy my endeavours; but as the case now stood, I was certain, that if I should but make any such motion in *England*, I should but draw imputation of much weakness upon me there, and no whit advance the cause, for that your Majesty and your Ministers would make no other construction of the motion, but as construed to divert the Match of *France*; which was treated of, for that your Majesty who but the year before had received so unpleasing and unequall

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an anſwer, ſhould now be perſwaded that there was here ſo great a change, as that a match was really deſired, there would now need more then ordinary aſſurance. But the Duke of *Lerma* continuing ſeverall times the ſame profeſſion, and telling me beſides that the greateſt Caſes might be altered by circumſtances, and that the Age of this Prince was much more proper then that of his brother; I freely let the Duke know that in caſe I might ſee that it was really deſired here, and that I might be able to propound unto my Maſter conditions of ſo much advantage and certainty as might put him and his miniſters out of doubt that this overture was not again revived from hence either for diverſion or winning of time, I would then willingly intimate unto your Majeſty the inclination and deſire I found here of having a propoſition for this match once again ſet on foot. The Duke told me he would have a further conference with me, and that he then no ways doubted to give ſuch ſatisfaction as might well aſſure your Majeſty and your Miniſters, that they ſincerly deſired the match in generall, and would omit nothing on their ſide for the accomodating of particulars that might give furtherance unto it. But the very night before the Duke had appointed a meeting with me, there came a Poſt diſpatcht out of *England* from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador upon the arrivall of Sir *Thomas Edmonds* into *England*, who brought word that the match with *France* was abſolutely concluded, and that within few days it was to be publiſhed: Whereupon the Duke at our meeting the next morning, told me that it would be needleſs now to deſcend to any particulars in the buſineſs whereof we are to treat, ſince that they had newly received advertiſement that the match with *France* was fully concluded. And thus for the preſent the matter reſted untill ſome five or ſix weeks after; about which time my ſelf was to go into *England*, and ſo taking leave of the Duke, he asked me whether I had not received advertiſement that the match with *France* was publiſhed. I told him no, but I had certainly heard that it was not as yet fully concluded: Whreupon he intreated me, that in caſe I found not the *French* match in ſuch forwardneſs as it could not be ſtayed, I would let him know of it; and that if I ſhould ſee any kind of poſſibility that the buſineſs we had ſpoken of might be ſet on foot, I would advertiſe him, and that thereupon he would proceed to thoſe particulars which he formerly intended for my ſatisfaction.

Herewith I acquainted your Majeſty, and finding the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *England* had notice from the Duke of our former proceedings, and order to further them by all poſſible means he could, eſpecially if he ſhould underſtand that your Majeſty were not fully reſolved of the *French* match, I thought it fit by this means to let the Duke

Duke understand in what estate I found those businesses in *England*; and thereupon with your Majesties permission, I wrote a letter unto him to this effect.

That although it were true that the Match with *France* had been treated of with much earnestness on both sides, and with great likelihood of being concluded; yet there daily arose so many difficulties, and new cases of delay, that I judged it far from any perfect conclusion, neither did I see cause absolutely to despair of the businesses which our selves pretended, unless the difficulty of the Conditions should make it desperate. But if those things should be expected by *Spain*, which in the Treaty for the late Princess were demanded, it were better by much not to renew the business, then by impossible or unfitting propositions on either side to give distaste, or lessen the friendship which now was betwixt your Majesties. And therefore except that in *Spain* they would be contented with such conditions as your Majesty most fittingly and conveniently might yield unto, and all other Catholique Princes were willing to content themselves with, I neither saw cause to hope for good success, or reason to set the treaty on foot. But in case I might know that the conditions in point of Religion might be such as I should see a possibility of your Majesties condescending unto them, I should be far from despairing of some good effect; for that I knew that divers not of the meanest nor least power with your Majesty were hereunto well inclined, and would give their helping hands.

Hereupon the Spanish Ambassador dispatcht his Secretary into *Spain*, and received answer from the Duke, that he should give me all assurance that there was a great desire and inclination to the making of the Match, and that at my return into *Spain* they no way doubted but that I should receive such satisfaction, as should make it appear on their part there should be nothing wanting for the effecting of it.

It now remaineth what hath passed herein since my last coming to this Court. I arrived here in *Madrid* only a day or two before Christmass; and having some six dayes after my audience appointed by the King, whilst I was in a withdrawing chamber expecting the Kings coming forth, the Duke of *Lerma* came thither to bear me company; and after many respectfull demands of your Majesty, and the Queens and the Princes health, and some few complements unto my self concerning my welcom again unto this Court, he fell to speak of the false Alarms we had in *England* concerning a Spanish Armado, seeming much to be displeased that any credit should be given to any thing to his Majesties dishonour and want of fidelity (as he termed it,) But your Majesty (he said) did never believe it: And it seems he heard of some pleasant answer

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your Majeſty ſhould make to ſome one of your Miniſters, that in great haſte came unto your Majeſty when you were a hunting, and told you that the Spaniſh Fleet was in the Channel. From this he entred into great proteſtations of the ſincerity of this Kings affection and intention towards your Majeſty, telling me that I ſhould now ſee how much they deſired to work a greater neerneſs and uniting between your Majeſties: And that of the principal buſineſs of which we had in former time ſpoken, meaning the Marriage, he deſired to ſpeak with me, but it muſt be at more leiſure. I anſwered, that I would not fail ſhortly to wait upon him, and that he ſhonld find me anſwerable to the profeſſions I had made, which was, that being induced thereunto by ſuch ſufficient and good grounds as might ſatisfie my Maſter both for the conveniencie and fittingneſs of having ſuch a Treaty ſet on foot, and likewiſe might take away all objections of their intents of entertaining and diverting your Majeſty hereby, I would be as ready to do all good offices and give furtherance to the buſineſs, as any Miniſter the King of *Spain* had. And this was all that at our firſt meeting paſſed in this buſineſs.

About ſome eight days after, I having not in all this time ſtirred out of my houſe under colour of being ill diſpoſed, though the truth was indeed to inform my ſelf of ſome particulars which concerned your Majeſties ſervice, before I would ſpeak with the Duke: He being (as I have ſince underſtood) ſomething troubled that in all this time I made no means to come unto him, one morning by nine of the clock very privately came to my houſe, without advertiſing of his coming (as the cuſtom is here) untill the Coach ſtayed at my gate, and then he ſent in a Gentleman to me, telling me that the Duke was there to ſpeak with me. When I had conducted the Duke into a room where we were private, he fell into th'aforeſaid matter, and in the manner as I ſhall here ſet down unto your Majeſty, without making any other pretence or intent of his coming, or without uſing in the ſpace of an houre any ſpeech touching any other buſineſs.

After ſome few queſtions of your Majeſty and the Queen, he began to ask many things of the Prince, as of his age, his ſtature, his health, his inclination, to what ſports he was chiefly given? And then ſuddenly, as it were with a paſſionate expreſſion of affection, he deſired God to bleſs him, and to make him the means by which your Majeſties might be conjoyned in a neerer alliance, and your Kingdoms in a perpetual amity: ſaying unto me, that he was out of doubt of my good inclination to this buſineſs, both by what had formerly paſſed between our ſelves, as likewiſe by my proceedings in *England*, whereof he had been fully informed by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador. And therefore he would in few words deal

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with me with much cleerneſs and freeneſs, aſſuring himſelf he ſhould receive the like meaſure from me; and thereupon entred into a ſolemn proteſtation, how much this King deſired the Match; and for himſelf he ſolemnly ſwore, there was no one thing in the world he more deſired to ſee before he dyed, then the effecting thereof. But my Lord Ambaſſador (ſaid he) you muſt deal as juſtly with me to let me underſtand whether you conceive the like deſire to be in the King of *England* and his Miniſters, and then I ſhall proceed to ſpeak further unto you.

I anſwered the Duke, That I ever eſteemed more the reputation of a man of truth and integrity, then of skill and ſubtilty: which I did hope he did well perceive by what I was to ſay, for that I was much more deſirous fairly to go off from this buſineſs, then eaſily to go into it. And therefore if he would have me ſpeak my conſcience, I neither conceived that either in your Majeſty or any of your Miniſters there was any kind of inclination thereunto; for that they having formerly given ſo reſolute and diſtaſtefull an anſwer, your Majeſty had juſt cauſe never again to caſt ſo much as your thoughts this way: And though it might be alleadged, that the fitneſs of the Prince his years, and other civil regards might cauſe new reſolutions, yet the difference of Religion were ſtill the ſame, and the ſame were the truths, and opinions of Divines in matter of conſcience; and therefore it would not but be a thing of great difficulty to perſwade your Majeſty and your Miniſters that a Match ſhould be hearkened unto, much leſs deſired from hence, but upon the ſame terms the very thought and remembrance whereof is yet unpleaſing in *England*. So that to deal plainly with him, I neither found in your Majeſty or in the Councel any kind of thought or imagination of any poſſibility of having any ſuch motion again revived. But this I found not to grow from any particular diſlike or want of affection in your Majeſty to *Spain*, or that many of the greateſt or the principalleſt perſon in *England* judged not the neerneſs and alliance of *Spain* equally valuable with any other of Chriſtendom; but that out of a diſtaſtefulneſs of the former anſwer given from hence, all expectation of any buſineſs of this nature was abſolutely extinguiſhed, and therefore again to revive it there would need more then ordinary endeavours or ordinary aſſurances: But in caſe that they might be given, I know that this Match would neither want well-willers nor aſſiſtants; and for my own part I would freely make profeſſion that no man more deſired it then my ſelf, nor would more willingly imploy his endeavours for the furthering thereof, when by the deſcending to particulars I ſhould ſee both in regard of the conditions and the aſſurances of ſincere proceeding, the motion worthy and fit by a

diſcreet and good ſervant to be offered to his Maſter; neith[illegible] then ſhould I be wholly out of hope of good ſucceſs, though I would not but eſteem it a buſineſs of infinite difficulty.

The Duke replied, That any diſcourſe that I thought fit herein ſhould be condeſcended unto, for that all time was loſt that was ſpent in generalities: And therefore if I ſo liked, he would move this King, that one or two beſides himſelf might be appointed to have conference with me; for that if he ſhould only retain it in his hands, by reaſon of his many occupations it would have a ſlower progreſs then he wiſhed; but if I would by way of conference digeſt the difficulties into heads and particulars, he would as often as he might be preſent at our meeting: But for his own part, he ſaid he apprehended few but what would ariſe out of the difference of Religion.

I told the Duke, that I very well approved of the deſcending into particulars, neither ſhould I refuſe conference with any herein whom the King would appoint to ſpeak with me: But if his meaning were, that theſe perſons ſhould be nominated or joyned by way of Commiſſion, I thought fit to let him underſtand that I neither had any time, nor did at preſent ſpeak of this buſineſs either by order or direction, no nor ſo much as by your Majeſties privity, but as a Miniſter that deſired to lay hold of all occaſions for the increaſing of further love & neerneſs betwixt his Maſter and the Prince to whom he is imployed, I ſhould be glad to the uttermoſt of my power to advance and further this cauſe, as that which I apprehended to be the greateſt which the world now affordeth for the firm uniting of your Majeſties and your eſtates.

The Duke told me, that the King would make no ſcruple to declare his good inclination and deſire to have this Match proceeded in; and that for the accommodating of the difficulties, he had already uſed divers diligences with the Pope, as likewiſe with the greateſt Divines of this Kingdom, whereof he named ſome unto me, whom he ſaid he found very well inclined to the Match: he told me alſo he would be glad they might ſpeak with me, to the end I might truly underſtand of them all kind of ſcruples that could be alleadged. I anſwered, I deſired nothing more; and that I could not but approve of thoſe courſes he preſcribed, as the moſt probable to produce a good effect, and that I hoped God would give happy ſucceſs unto the buſineſs: But I ſhould be bold in one thing to deliver my opinion, which was, No wayes to intereſs our Maſters herein, unleſs by the underſtanding and cleering the difficulties on both ſides, there ſhould be great appearances and probabilities that the buſineſs would take effect: For if their names ſhould be herein uſed, and after their Treaty ſhould not be ſucceſsfull, it would but exaſperate and breed

breed a greater diſtaſte betwixt your Majeſties. The Duke told me, he himſelf miſliked not my opinion; though he ſaid that howſoever that buſineſs ſucceeded, yet your Majeſty ſhould have reaſon to accept kindly this Kings good intention, for that if it miſcarried, it ſhould appear not to be their default, but that they had ſtretched as far as honor and conſcience would give them leave. And thus much he ſaid I might write unto your Majeſty if I thought fit, or to my confident friends in *England* upon his word and aſſurance: and ſo telling me that he would preſently appoint thoſe that ſhould confer with me in this buſineſs, we then parted.

Within two days after I went to the Duke, and after that I had ſpoken with him about the buſineſs of *Cleves* according to my inſtruction, whereof I gave an account unto Mr. Secretary in a diſpatch directed unto him, we fell again into the ſpeech of the match.

The Duke told me had well conſidered of that which I had ſaid unto him, and much approved it, not to intereſt our Maſters in the buſineſs, until we ſhould ſee ſome likelihood of good ſucceſs.

And for that he ſuppoſed the difference of Religion like to prove the onely difficulty of conſideration, he thought it fit that it ſhould be firſt cleared; and therefore he would break the matter with the Cardinall of *Toledo*, & the Kings Confeſſor, and with them he joyned another learned man, one Father *Frederick*, who ſince I underſtand is a Jeſuite, but truly hath the report of a moderate man. Theſe the Duke ſaid ſhould have order to confer with me as far as might be, reſerving ſafe the grounds and ſincerity of their Religion. I anſwered the Duke, that I was well ſatisfied herewith, and that if their demands were ſuch as might content any other Catholique Prince, I ſhould have hope of good ſucceſs; if otherwiſe, I ſhould judge it a happineſs to be put out of doubt and ſuſpence, and ſo we paſſed from this ſubject.

I preſume to ſet down to your Majeſty all the paſſages of this buſineſs with ſo much length and fulneſs, for that I no way dare adventure to offer unto your Majeſty any opinion or belief of my own, either for the fitneſs of the match, or the ſincerity of their intention, or the poſſibility of accommodating differences of Religion. But your Majeſty ſeeing undiſguiſed all that hath hitherto paſſed, with every circumſtance, may be pleaſed out of the conſideration and knowledg of thoſe particulars to frame unto your ſelf both ſuch a beliefe of their direct meaning, and ſuch a reſolution of the further proceeding herein, as ſhall be moſt ſuitable to your Majeſties wiſdom: onely I think it fit to ſet down further unto your Majeſty the particular ends which may be conceived they aim at by ſetting this buſineſs afoot at this preſent, in caſe they ſhould not

intend really to perform it: The first may be to stagger and divert your Majesties Treaty with *France*: The second for entertaining your Majesty with fair hopes and promises, thereby to keep you from declaring your self opposite unto them in the present business of *Juliers* and *Cleves* which remaineth still uncompounded. But this being so, your Majesty may be pleased to understand that they serve themselves with this occasion, not that there could be any such thing primarily in their intention, for that the expression of their desire to the match was the last year long before these differences happened.

Further, the Duke of *Lerma* should be the most false and dishonorable man living, without Christianity or soul, if he should voluntarily damn himself with oathes and protestations of a thing that he sincerely meant not; and truly he should deal contrarily to the wisdom of his other proceedings, wherein he layeth all occasions of distaste or discourtesie upon other inferior Ministers, labouring still to clear himself of the imputation of them, if in this he should make himself the author and instrument of so unjust and indirect proceeding between Princes. But the course of most security and caution is, that your Majesty suffer none of your other resolutions to be interrupted by this overture; onely if your Majesty be pleased for a while to entertain and suspend the conclusion of the match with *France*, I conceive it can be little to your Majesties disadvantage.

It lastly now remaineth, that I become an humble suiter unto your Majesty for your clear and full directions in this business, desiring if your Majesty will have it further entertained, that I may have ample instructions from your Majesty, both that I may intimate what may be expected in point of Dowry, and in all other things to be required by your Majesty, as likewise how far I may proceed in satisfying in point of Religion. For it is not to be supposed that they wil proceed with that freeness and directness which is to be wished, unless in a fitting measure they shall see me likewise able and willing to declare my self in such points wherein they may expect satisfaction. I intend not hereby to move for a formall Commission to treat, but onely a private instruction for my direction and warrant how to behave my self as may be most advantagious to the cause, and your Majesties ends. So humbly desiring your Majesty to command this Bearer to be dispatched back with all convenient speed. I commend your Majesty to the holy protection of God.

Your Majesties faithfull subject and servant,

BRISTOL.

## Abignoto *to Conde* Gondomar, *concerning the death of* Philip *the third.*

VPon the laſt day of *February*, being *Sunday*, 1620. his Catholique Majeſty, after he had heard Maſs and the Sermon in the Chappel, was taken with a Feaver, which continued with him eight dayes with a ruddineſs and pimples which appeared plainly in his face, which afterwards began to diminiſh: but he was ſuddenly taken with a vomiting and a great feaver, which continued with him till the 21. day; and the Phyſitians were of opinion to have him riſe out of his bed, which was accordingly done both that day and the next: but about dinner-time happened unto him a great ſwouning, which much aſtoniſht him; and the 23. day, in the night, his feaver did redouble upon him with a vomiting and a flux in the belly, and a great melancholy and an opinion that he ſhould die: which feaver continued with divers reduplications, the Phyſitians having an ill opinion of him till on Saturday night the 27. when his reduplications were more violent, his water bad; and the King perſevered in ſaying how he ſaw well that he ſhould die, he commanded that the Image of our Lady of *Antiochia* ſhould be carried about, which was performed on Sunday the 28. in a ſolemn Proceſſion, wherein the Councellors of *Spain* aſſiſted.

In the evening commandment was given to the Churches, that the bleſſed Sacrament ſhould be ſet upon the Altar, and the body of S. *Iſidore* ſhould be placed in the Court. On Munday the 29. about four of the clock in the evening, his diſeaſe then grew violent, and ſome ulcers appeared on his belly, on his reins, and on his thighs; and the King ſtill aſſuring himſelf that he ſhould die, the Phyſitians then feeling his pulſe affirmed that undoubtedly they aſſented unto the King in the opinion he conceived of his infirmity. At the ſame time the Preſident of *Caſtile* was ſent for, and the Confeſſor, who having had ſome ſpeech with the King and the Duke of *Oſſuna*, they went and fetcht the Councellors, before whom and the Grandees of *Spain* who were preſent, the King ſealed his Teſtament, which *John de Serita* Secretary of State had ſet down in writing in his preſence. Afterwards they cauſed him to eat ſomewhat; and being adviſed how it would be good for him to ſleep, he made this anſwer in Spaniſh, *En jornada tan longa y tiempe tan bréve ne conviéne repoſar*; Upon ſo long a journey, and ſo ſhort a time to perform.

form it, I must not rest. Then he sent for the Prince, and the young Child *Don Carlo*, to whom having spoken for a good while, at length in particular to the Prince he said aloud how he recommended unto him the Child, and that he grieved that he should have been unprovided, but he hoped he left him in the hands of a good & loving brother. Then said he to the Prince, that he requested him that he would not do as he did at his coming to the Crown, in removing his Fathers old Officers and Servants, but that he would imploy those who were experienced in affairs of the Commonwealth: he then commended unto him particularly *John de Luenza* Secretary of the Memorials, and his Confessor, and afterwards the Duke of *Ossuna*. Then was presently brought in the Infanta *Maria*, and the Infante-Cardinal. He cryed out when he saw the Infanta and said, *Maria*, I am full sorry that I must die before I have married thee; but this thy brother shall have care of. He then turned towards her brother, and said unto him, Prince, do not forsake her till you have made her an Empress. Then he spake unto the Cardinal Infant, whom he appointed to be a Priest so soon as he should come to be of fit age, and said that he should be much grieved if he thought he would not undertake this profession. He had sent for Madam the Princess, but she swouned upon her entry at the chamber-door, which was the cause that she was conducted back again unto her own chamber, fearing lest it might be prejudicial unto her being great with child. Which being reported to the King, he shewed great compassion thereat, and said that he ever constantly believed that Madam the Princess loved him as well as any of his own children. After that he began to speak of the Queen, saying how she should lose a good Husband, and that he had always loved her dearly. Afterwards he distributed between the Prince and the Infanta the Reliques and other memorials he had, except one Crucifix which hung at the testern of the bed, and said unto the Prince that he could not give it him then, because it was the same with which his Grandfather and Father had dyed; but he commended it to him to be held with great reverence after his death, and that the Popes had given unto it special Indulgences. Afterwards giving them all his blessing, he caused them to go forth; and so calling for the blessed Sacrament, which was administred unto him about midnight, he received the Extreme unction at two of the clock in the morning, and so commended himself unto God. Yet did he not for all this forbear to seal to a great number of papers which were brought him: And complaining very much, he refused such meat as they would have had him take. About noon the Body of St. *Isidore* was placed neer unto his bed, his Confessor and Father *Florence* perswading him to make a vow for his health, and that he would build a

Chappel

Chappel to the same Saint, which he did, but withall said, *Peró ya es tárde*, But now it is very late. He continued all the rest of the day speaking continually to the Father Confessor, Father *Florence*, and *Rochas*. Many processions of penance were solemnized in the Town, and the Councel assembled twice. About the evening his infirmity renewed with violence, and having languished the whole night, in the morning his departure was published, though indeed it was not till about nine of the clock in the morning, the last of *March*, the self same day of our return. Which will inform you of all things passed, at least of such as came any ways to our knowledge. The Queen stir'd not out of her bed all that day, for fear lest either trouble or grief of mind (whereof she gave plentiful testimony by her tears) might prejudice her health, or the fruit of her body, which she hath passed over (thanks be to God) whereof we send you word, that the good news may shut up the discourse of an accident so lamentable and unlooked for.

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## *King* James *to the Earl of* Bristoll *Ambassador in Spain, Octob. 3. 1622.*

*Right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Councellor, we greet you well.*

THere is none knowes better then your self how we have laboured ever since the beginning of these infortunate troubles of the Empire, notwithstanding all opposition to the contrary, to merit well of our good brother the King of *Spain*, and the whole House of *Austria*, by a long and lingring patience grounded still upon his friendship and promises, That care should be had of our honour, and of our Childrens patrimony and inheritance. We have acquainted you also from time to time since the beginning of the Treaty at *Bruxels* how crosly things have there proceeded, notwithstanding the fair professions made unto us both by the King of *Spain*, the Infanta & all his Ministers, and the Letters written by him unto the Emperor, and them effectually (at the least as they endeavoured to make us believe) but what fruits have we of all these, other then dishonour and scorn? Whilst we are treating, the Town and Castle of *Heidilbergh* taken by force, our Garrison put to the sword, *Manheim* besieged, and all the hostility used that is within the power of an Enemy, as you will see by the relation which we have commanded our Secretary to send you.

Our

Our pleasure therefore is, That you shall immediatly as soon as you can get audience, let the King understand how sensible we are of those proceedings of the Emperour towards us; and withall are not a little troubled to see that the *Infanta* having an absolute commission to conclude a suspension and cessation of Arms, should now at last when all objections were answered, and the former (solely pretended) obstacles removed, not onely delay the conclusion of the Treaty, but refuse to lay her command upon the Emperours Generals for abstaining from the siege of our Garrisons during the Treaty upon pretext of want of authority. So as for avoyding of further dishonor, we have been enforced to recall both our Ambassadors, as well the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who is already returned to our presence) as also the Lord *Chichester*, whom we intended to have sent unto the Emperour to the Dyet at *Ratisbone*. Seeing therefore that out of our extraordinary respect meerly to the King of *Spain*, and the firm confidence we ever put in the hopes and promises which he did give us, desiring nothing more then for his cause principally to avoid all occasions that might put us into ill understanding with any of the House of *Austria*, We have hitherto proceeded with a stedfast patience trusting to the treaties, and neglecting all other means which might probably have secured the remainder of our childrens inheritance. Those Garrisons which we maintained in the Palatinate, being rather for honor sake to keep a footing untill the generall accommodation, then that we did rely so much upon their strength as upon his frienpship, and by the confidence & security of ours are thus exposed to dishonor & reproach: you shal tell that King, that seeing all those endeavours and good offices which he hath used towards the Emperour in this business, on the behalf of our son-in-law, upon confidence whereof that our security depended, which he continually by his Letters and Ministers here laboured to beget and confirm in us, have not sorted to any other issue then to a plain abuse both of his trust and ours; whereby we are both of us highly injured in our honour, though in a different degree we hope, & desire that out of a true sense of this wrong offered unto us, he will as our deer and loving brother faithfully promise and undertake upon his honor, confirming the same also under his hand and seal, either that the Castle and Town of *Heidelbergh* shall within threescore and ten dayes after this your audience, and demand made, be rendred into our hands, with all things therein belonging, to our son-in-law, or our daughter, as neer as maybe, in the state wherin they were taken; and the like for *Manheim* and *Frankindale*, if both or either of them shall be taken by the enemy whilst these things are in treating; as also that there shall be within the said term of threescore and ten

days

days, a ceſſation or ſuſpenſion of Arms in the Palatinate for the future upon the ſeverall Articles and Conditions laſt propounded by our Ambaſſador Sir *Richard Weſton*, and that the generall treaty ſhall be ſet on foot again upon ſuch honorable terms and conditions as were propounded unto the Emperour in a letter written unto him in *November* laſt, and with which the King of *Spain* then (as we underſtand) ſeemed ſatisfied, or elſe in caſe all theſe particulars be not yeilded unto, and performed by the Emperour, as is here propounded, but be refuſed or delayed beyond the time afore mentioned, that then the King of *Spain* do joyn his forces with ours, for the recovery of our childrens honors and patrimony, which upon this truſt hath been thus loſt. Or if ſo be his forces at this preſent be otherwiſe ſo imployed, as that they cannot give us that aſſiſtance which we here deſire, and as we think we have deſerved, yet at the leaſt he will permit us a free and friendly paſſage through his Territories and Dominions for ſuch forces as we ſhall ſend and imploy into *Germany* for this ſervice: of all which disjunctively, if you receive not of the King of *Spain* within ten days at the furtheſt, after your audience and propoſition made, a direct aſſurance under his hand and ſeal, without delay or putting us off to further Treaties and Conferences, that is to ſay, of ſuch reſtitution, ceſſation of Arms, and proceeding to a generall treaty, as is before mentioned, or elſe of aſſiſtance and joyning his forces with ours againſt the Emperour, or at leaſt permiſſion of paſſage for our forces through his ſaid Dominions, that then you take your leave and return unto our Preſence without further ſtay; otherwiſe to proceed in the negotiation of the marriage of our Son, according to the inſtruction we have given you. Given, &c. at *Hampton Court*, *Octob.* 3. 1622.

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## *Earl of* Briſtol *to King* James, *Octob.* 21. 1622.

MAy it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, I received your Majeſties Letter of the 9. of *Septemb* the 23. of the ſame moneth, & by them underſtand that your Majeſty hath received much ſatisfaction by what I had formerly written unto your Majeſty both concerning the reſtitution of the Prince Palatine, as likewiſe of this Kings reſolution to proceed to the concluſion of the Match: but that your Majeſty findeth the effects very unſuitable, both by the proceeding at *Bruxels*, & in the *Palatinate*, as alſo by what you underſtand from *Rome* by Mr. *Gage* of the

Popes demands. I hope by the arrival of Mr. *Cottington* your Majeſty will have received ſatisfaction in ſome meaſure, at leaſt that there hath been no diligence or time omitted either for the redreſſing of any thing that hath been amiſs, or for the advancing of your Majeſties affairs.

The very day I received your Letters, I ſent a Gentleman poſt unto the King who was gone into the Eſcurial, to demand audience, which he preſently granted me, and I repaired thither unto him upon the third of *October*, the Conde *de Gondomar* being likewiſe commanded to wait upon the King, I was there well received; and preſently upon my arrival the Conde *de Olivarez* came to me to the lodgings which were appointed for me to reſt in. To him I delivered fully in the preſence of Sir *Walter Aſhton* and the Conde *de Gondomar*, what I had to negotiate with the King, both in the buſineſs of the Match, and of the Palatinate. In the Match I repreſented how much it imported your Majeſty that a ſpeedy reſolution might be taken therein, both in regard of the Prince being your Majeſties onely ſon, now arrived to the age of 22 years, and for the ſetling of your affairs in *England*. I repeated unto him all the paſſages in this Treaty, how many years had been already ſpent in it; that after ſo long an expectation, the diligences uſed in *Rome* for the obtaining of the Diſpenſation had wrought but ſmall effect, ſince the Pope had lately made ſuch demands as were altogether impoſſible for your Majeſty to condeſcend unto; and therefore your Majeſty ſeeing the buſineſs ſtill delayed, held it fit that ſome ſuch courſe might be taken that both your Majeſties might ſpeedily know what you were to truſt unto; and therfore had comanded me to ſignifie unto this King your uttermoſt reſolution how far you would condeſcend in point of Religion towards what the Pope had demanded; & if herewith this King could be ſatisfied, your Maj. deſire that we might proceed to a final and ſpeedy concluſion; otherwiſe that this King would likewiſe cleerly declare himſelf, that your Majeſty might loſe no more time in the diſpoſing of the Prince your ſon. Hereunto the *Conde de Olivarez* anſwer'd with ſome length, the ſubſtance I ſhall only preſume to ſet down briefly to your Majeſty. He propoſed a ſincere intention and reſolution in the King to make the Match, and that there ſhould not be one day loſt; for the ſpeedy diſpatch thereof imported them as much as your Majeſty; and to the end that no time may be loſt, this King had the next day after for Don *Balthazar de Zuniga* appointed Don *Ferdinando de Giron* in his place in the Commiſſion: That for the going of Mr. *Gage* from *Rome*, and the Popes demands, they were abſolutely ignorant of them; That the King had done all that I my ſelf deſired for the redreſs of this error: That I might aſſure your Majeſty that you ſhall find all ſincerity and cleer proceeding, without any houres delay more then of neceſſity the nature of the buſineſs required.

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As for the buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, I preſented at large the merits of your Majeſties proceeding, the many promiſes made from hence; yet notwithſtanding the whilſt your Majeſty was treating at *Bruxels*, *Heidelberg* one of the three places which were only left, and where your Majeſty had Garriſons, was beſieged by the Archduke *Leopold* and Monſieur *Tilly*; that this King had withdrawn his Forces, and ſo expoſed the *Palatinate* abſolutely to the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Conde *de Olivarez* anſwered me, by acknowledging how much your Majeſties proceedings had deſerved at the Emperor and this Kings hands: That whatſoever your Majeſty could expect, or had been at any time promiſed, ſhould by this King be really performed: That the Prince Palatines own courſes hitherto had been the only hinderance of the effecting of it: That he referred it unto your Majeſties own juſt judgment, whether the calling of this Kings forces out of the Palatinate were with any ill intention, or meerly for the defence of *Flanders*, which otherwiſe had been put in great hazard by Count *Mansfield*, as your Majeſty ſaw by what had really paſſed: That the ſiege of *Heidelbergh* was no way by the conſent or knowledge of this King or any of his Miniſters, but was generally diſapproved by them all.

I told them, I conceived that was not enough; for that your Majeſty had engaged your ſelf to this King, that in caſe your Son-in-law would not conform himſelf, you would not only forſake him, but would declare your ſelf againſt him, and give the Emperor aſſiſtance for the reducing of him to reaſon, and that your Majeſty could not but expect a like reciprocal proceeding from the King. He anſwered, your Majeſty ſhould ſee the Kings ſincerity by the effects; and that if *Heidelbergh* ſhould be taken, and the Emperor refuſe to reſtore it, or to condeſcend to ſuch accommodation as ſhould be held reaſonable, this King would infallibly aſſiſt your Majeſty with his Forces. And this he ſpake with great aſſurance, and wiſhed me to deſire your Majeſty to be confident you would find nothing but real and ſinc ere proceedings from hence.

I was then preſently called for to the King, to whom I ſpake firſt in the buſineſs of the Match, and delivered him the contents thereof in writing, which I have ſent to Mr. Secretary. I received from him the ſame anſwer in effect as from the Conde *de Olivarez*, That he deſired the Match no leſs then your Majeſty; That on his part there ſhould be no time loſt for the bringing of it to a ſpeedy concluſion. In the buſineſs of the *Palatinate* I ſpake unto the King with ſome length, repeating many particulars of your Majeſties proceedings, and how much your honour was like to ſuffer, that now whilſt you were treating, *Heidelbergh*

defended by your Garrisons, was like to be taken. The King answered me, He would effectually labour that your Majesty should have entire satisfaction; and rather then your Majesty should fail thereof, he would imploy his Arms to effect it for you. My Lord Ambassador Sir *Walter Ashton* accompanied me at my audience, and was a witness of all that passed as wel with the King, as with the Conde *de Olivarez*.

Within few dayes after the newes of the taking of *Heidelbergh* came hither: whereupon I dispatched again to the King in such sort as I have at large advertised Mr. Secretary *Calvert*. The effect of my Negotiation was, that they on the 13. of *October* dispatched Letters away of the Emperors and Duke of *Bavaria's* proceedings. But pressing them further in regard their former Letters have wrought so little effect, they have given me at present a second Dispatch, which I have sent unto the *Infanta*, and whereof Mr. Secretary will give your Majesty an account, which I conceive will procure your Majesties better satisfaction then hitherto you have received from the Emperor and his party.

For the businesse of the match, I have written to Mr. Secretary what is to be said at present; and will only add, that as I should not willingly give your Majesty hope upon uncertain grounds, so I will not conceal what they profess, which is, That they will give your Majesty real and speedy satisfaction therein. And if they intended it not, they are falser then all the Devils in hell; for deeper oaths and protestations of sincerity cannot be made.

It will only remain, that I humbly cast my self at your Majesties feet for that addition of Title wherewith it hath pleased you to honour me and my posterity. My gratitude and thankfulness wanteth expression, and shall only say unto your Majesty, That as all I have either of fortunes or honour, I hold it meerly of your bounty and goodness; so shall I ever cheerfully lay them down with my life into the bargain, for the service of your Majesty and yours.

So with my humble prayers for the health and prosperity of your Majesty, I humbly commend your Majesty to Gods holy protection, and rest,

*Your Majesties most humble servant and subject,*

*Madrid*, Octob. 21. 1622.

BRISTOL.

*King*

## *King* Philip *the third of* Spain *to the* Conde *of* Olivarez.

THe King my Father declared at his death that his intention never was to marry my sister the *Infanta Donna Maria* with the Prince of *Wales*, which your Uncle *Don Baltezer* well understood, and so treated this match ever with an intention to delay it, notwithstanding it is now so far advanced, that considering withall the averseness unto it of the *Infanta*, as it is high time to seek some means to divert the treaty, which I would have you find out, and I will make it good whatsoever it be; but in all other things procure the satisfaction of the King of *Great Britain*, who hath deserved very much, and it shall content me, so that it be not the match.

## Conde Olivarez *his Answer to the King.*

*Sir,*

COnsidering in what estate we find the Treaty of marriage between *Spain* and *Emgland*, and knowing certainly how the Ministers did understand this business, that treated it in the time of *Philip* the third, who is now in heaven, that their meaning was never to effect it; but by enlarging the treaties and points of the said marriage, to make use of the friendship of the King of *Great Britain*, as well in the matter of *Germany* as those of *Flanders*; and suspecting likewise that your Majesty is of the same opinion (although the demonstrations do not shew so) joyning to those suspitions that it is certain that the *Infanta Donna Maria* is resolved to put her self into the Monastery the same day that your Majesty shall press her to make the marriage, I have thought fit to present to your Majesty that which my good zeal hath afforded me in this occasion, thinking it a good time to acquaint your Majesty withall, to the end you may resolve of that which you shall find most convenient with the advice of those Ministers that you shall think fit.

The King of *Great Britain* doth find himself at this time equally in the two businesses, the one is the marriage to the which he is moved by the conveniences which he finds in your Majesties friendship with making an agreement with those Catholiques that he thinks are secretly in his Kingdom, and by this to assure himself of them, as likewise to marry his

his son to one of the house of *Austria*, knowing that the *Infanta Donna Maria* is the best born Lady in the world. Th'other businesse is, the restitution of the Palatinate, in which he is yet more ingaged. For (besides that his reputation is at stake there is added) the love and interest of his Grandchildren, sons of his onely daughter. So that both by the law of Nature, and reason of State, he ought to put them before whatsoever conveniences might follow by dissembling what they suffer. I do not dispute whether the King of *Great Britany* be governed in this business of the Palatinate by Art or friendship, I think a man may say he hath used both; but as a thing not precisely necessary to this discourse, I omit it. I hold it for a maxime, that these two Ingagements in which he finds himself, are unseparable: for although the marriage be made, we must fail in that which in any way of understanding is most necessary, which is the restitution of the Palatinate. This being supposed, having made the marriage in the form as it is treated, your Majesty may find your self, together with the King of *Great Brirain*, engaged in a war against the Emperour, and the Catholique league, so that your Majesty shall be forced to delare your self with your Arms against the Emperour and the Catholique league, a thing which to hear will offend your Majesties godly ears: or declaring your self for the Emperour and the Catholique league as certainly you will, your Majesty will find your self ingaged in a war against the King of *England*, and your sister married with his son, with the which all whatsoever conveniences that was thought upon with this marriage do cease if your Majesty shall shew your self Newtrall as it may be some will expound ——————

The first will cause very great scandall, and with just reason, since in matters of lesse opposition then of Catholiques against Heretiques, the Armes of this Crown hath taken the godly against the contrary part. And at this time the *French* men have taken part with the *Hollanders* against your Majesty, your piety hath been such, that you have sent your Arms against the Rebels of that Crown, leaving all the great considerations of State, only because those men are enemies of the faith and the Church. It wil oblige your Majesty, and good occasion to those of the League, to make use of the King of *France*, and other Catholique Princes ill affected to this Crown, for it will be a thing necessary for them to do so, and those even against their own Religion will foment and assist the Heretiques for hatred to us, without doubt they will follow the contrary part onely to leave your Majesty with that blemish that never hath befaln any King of these Dominions.

By the second the King of *England* will remain offended and disobliged, seeing that neither interesses nor hopes do follow the Ally-

Allyance with this Crown, as likewise the pretext of particular resentment: for having suffered his daughter and grand-children to be ruined for respect of the said Allyance. The Emperour, though he be well-affected, and obliged to us in making the translation at this time as businesses now stand (the Duke of *Bavaria* being now possessed of all the Dominions) although he would dispose all according to our conveniences, yet it will not be in his power to do it, as you and every body may see: And the memoriall that the Emperours Ambassador gave your Majesty yesterday, makes it certain, since in the List of the Souldiers, that every on of the League is to pay, he shews your Majesty, that *Bavier* for himself alone will pay more then all the rest joyned together; the which doth shew his power and his intention, which is not to accommodate matters, but to keep to himself the superiority of all in this broken time. The Emperour is now in the Dyet, and the translation is to be made in it. The opposition in this estate is, by conserving the means for conference, which your Majesties Ministers will do with their capacities, zeal and wisdom, and it is certain they wil all have enough to do; for the difficulty consists to find a way to make the present estate of affairs straight again, which with lingring, as it is said, both the power and time will be lost. I suppose that the Emperour, as your Majesty knows by his Ambassador, desires to marry his daughter with the King of *Englands* son, I doubt not but he will be likewise glad to marry his second daughter with the Palatines son.

Then I propound, that these two marriages be made, and that they be set on foot presently, giving the King of *England* full satisfaction in all his propositions for the more strict union and correspondency that he may agree to it: I hold for certain, that all the conveniences that would have followed the allyance with us, wil be as full in this, it doth accommodate the matter of the Palatinate, and the succession of his grand-children with his honor, & without drawing a sword, or wasting treasure.

After I would reduce the Prince Elector, that was an enemy, to the obedience of the Church, by breeding his sons in the Emperours Court, with Catholique Doctrine.

The business is great, the difficulty greater then perchance have been in any other case, I have found my self obliged to represent to your Majesty, and to shew (if you please to command me) what I think fit for the disposing of the things, and of the great Ministers that your Majesty hath; I hope with the particular notice of these things, (and all being helped with the good zeal of the *Conde de Gondemer*) it may be that God wil open a way to it, a thing so much for his and your Majesties service.

*King*

## *King* James *to the Earl of* Briſtol, *Octob.* 8. 1623.

WE have received yours brought us by *Greſly*, and the Copy of yours to our dear Son; and we cannot forbear to let you know how well we eſteem your dutifull, diſcreet and judicious relation and humble adviſe to our ſelf and our Son: whereupon having ripely deliberated with our ſelf, and communicated with our dear Son, we have reſolved with the great liking of our Son to reſt upon that ſecurity (in point of doubt of the *Infanta's* taking a Religious houſe) which you in your judgment ſhall think meet. We have further thought meet to give you knowledge, that it is our ſpecial deſire that the betrothing of the *Infanta* with words *de præſenti*, ſhould be upon one of the dayes in Chriſtmaſs *new ſtile*, that holy and joyfull time beſt fitting ſo notable and bleſſed an action.

But firſt we will that you repair preſently to that King, and give him knowledge of the ſafe arrival of our dear Son to our Court, ſo ſatisfied and taken with the great entertainments, perſonal kindneſs, favour and reſpect he hath received from that King and Court, as he ſeems not able to magnifie it ſufficiently, which makes us not know how ſufficiently to give thanks; but we will that by all means you endeavour to expreſs our thankfulneſs to that King, and the reſt to whom it belongs, in the beſt and moſt ample manner you can. And hereupon you may take occaſion to let that King know, that according to our conſtant affection to make a firm and indiſſoluble amity between our Families, Nations and Crowns, and not ſeem to abandon our honour, nor at the ſame time we give joy to our onely Son, to give our onely Daughter her portion in tears: By the advice of that Kings Ambaſſadors, we have entred a Treaty concerning the reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, as will more particularly appear to you by the copies herewith ſent. Now we muſt remember you, that we ever underſtood and expected, that upon the marriage of our ſon with the *Infanta*, we ſhould have a clear reſtitution of the *Palatinate* & Electoral dignity to our ſon-in-law, to be really procured by that King, according to the obligation of our honor, as you have wel expreſſed in your reaſons why the perſon of our Son-in-law ſhould not be left out of the Treaty, but that the Emperor ſhould findout a great title, or by increaſing the number of Electorate ſtiles wherewith to ſatisfie the Duke of *Bavaria*. We now therfore require you, that preſently in your firſt audience

dience you procure from that King a punctual anſwer what courſe that King will take for the reſtitution of the Palatinate and Electorate to our Son-in-law; and in caſe that either the Emperor or the Duke of *Bavaria* oppoſe any part of the expected reſtitution, what courſe that King will take to give us aſſurance for our content in that point, whereof we require your preſent anſwer; and that you ſo preſs expedition herein, that we may all together receive the full joy of both in Chriſtmaſs, reſting our ſelf upon that faithfull diligence of yours we have approved in all your ſervice. Though almoſt with the lateſt we muſt remember to you as a good ground for you to work on, that our Son did write us out of *Spain*, That that King would give us a Blank in which we might form our own Conditions concerning the *Palatinate*; and the ſame our Son confirms to us now. What obſervation and performance that King will make, we require you to expreſs, and give us a ſpeedy account, &c. *Given, &c.*

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## *Earl of* Briſtol *in anſwer to King* James, *Octob.* 29. 1623.

MAy it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, I have received your Majeſties Letters of the 8. of *October* on the 21. of the ſame moneth, ſome houres within night; and have thought fit to diſpatch back unto your Majeſty with all poſſible ſpeed, referring the anſwer to what your Majeſty hath by theſe Letters commanded me, to a Poſt that I ſhall purpoſely diſpatch when I ſhall have negotiated the particulars with this King and his Miniſters, wherein God willing all poſſible diligence ſhall be uſed.

But foraſmuch as I find both by your Majeſties Letter, as likewiſe by Letters which I have received from the Prince his Highneſs, that you continue your deſires ofhaving the Match proceeded in, I held it my duty that your Majeſty ſhould be informed that although I am ſet free in as much as concerneth the doubt of the *Infanta's* entring into Religion, for the delivering of the powers left with me by his Highneſs, yet by this new direction I now received from your Majeſty, that the Depoſories ſhould be deferr'd till *Chriſtmas*, the ſaid powers are made altogether uſeleſs and invalid, it being a clauſe in the bodies of the ſaid powers, that they ſhall onely remain in force till *Chriſtmas* and no longer, as your Majeſty may ſee by the copie I ſend herewith incloſed.

Your Majesty, I conceive, will be of opinion, that the suspending of the execution of the powers untill the force and validity of them be expired, is a direct and effectuall revoking of them; which not to do, how far his Highness is in his Honor ingaged, your Majesty will be best able to judge by viewing the powers themselves. Further, if the date of these powers do expire, besides the breach of the Capitulations, although the match it self jealousies and mistrusts be hazarded, yet the Princes coming at the Spring, will be almost impossible: For by that time new Commissions and Powers shall be after *Christmas* granted by the Prince, which must be to the satisfaction of both parties, I conceive so much of the year will be spent, that it will be impossible for the Fleets and other preparations to be in a readiness against the Spring; for it is not to be imagined that they will here proceed effectually with their preparations, untill they shall be sure of the Despotorios, especially when they shall have seen them severall times deferred on the Prince his part, and that upon pretexts that are not new, or grown since the granting of the Powers, but were before in being, and often under debate, and yet were never insisted upon to make stay of the business; so that it will seem that they might better have hindered the granting of them then the execution of them. Now, if there were not staggering in former resolutions, the which although really there is not, yet can it not but be suspected; and the clearing of it between *Spain* and *England*, will cost much time. I most humbly crave your Majesties pardon if I write unto you with the plainness of a true-hearted and faithfull servant, who ever hath cooperated honestly unto your Majesties ends. I knew them, I know your Majesty hath been long time of opinion, that the greatest assurance you could get, that the King of *Spain* would effectually labour the intire restitution of the Palatinate, was that he really proceeded to the effecting of the match, and my instructions under your Majesties hands, were to insist upon the restoring the Prince Palatine; but not to annex it to the treaty of the match, as that therby the match should be hazarded; for that your Majesty seemed confident that here it would never grow to a perfect conclusion without a setled resolution to give your Majesty satisfaction in the business of the Palatinate. The same course I observed in the carriage of the business by his Highness and my Lord Duke at their being here, who though they insisted on the business of the Palatinate, yet they held it fit to treat of them distinctly, and that the marriage should proceed as a good pawn for the other.

Since their departure my Lord Ambassador Sir *Walter Aston* and my self have been pressed to have this Kings resolution in writing concerning the Palatinate, and the dispatches which your Majesty will receive here-

herewith concerning that buſineſs, were writ before the receit of your Majeſties Letters; and doubtleſs it is now a great part of their care that that buſineſs may be well entred before the *Infanta's* coming into *England*: And his Highneſs will well often remember, that the Conde *de Olivarez* often proteſted a neceſſity of having this buſineſs compounded and ſetled before the marriage, ſaying, otherwiſe they might give a Daughter, and a War within three moneths after, if this ground and ſubject of quarrell ſhould ſtill be left on foot. The ſame language he hath ever held with Sir *Walter Aſhton* and my ſelf, and that it was a firm peace and amity as much as an allyance which they ſought with his Majeſty. So that it is not to be doubted, but that this King concluding the match, reſolveth to imploy his uttermoſt power for your ſatisfaction in the reſtitution of the Prince Palatine.

The queſtion now will be, whether the buſineſs of the Prince Palatine having relation to many great Princes that are intereſſed therein, living at diſtance, and being (indeed) for the condition and nature of the buſineſs it ſelf, impoſſible to be ended but by a formall treaty, which of neceſſity will require great length, whether the concluſion of the match ſhall any way depend upon the iſſue of this buſineſs, which I conceive to be far from your Majeſties intention; for ſo the Prince might be long kept unbeſtowed by any averſneſs of thoſe which might have particular intereſt in the Princes remaining unmarried, or diſlike with his matching with *Spain*. But that which I underſtand to be your Majeſties aim, is onely to have the concluſion of this match accompanied with a ſtrong engagement as can be procured from this King for the joyning with your Majeſty not onely in all good Offices for the entire reſtitution of the Palatinate, but otherwiſe if need require of his Majeſties aſſiſtance herein.

Theſe days paſt I have laboured with all earneſtneſs, and procured this Kings publique anſwer which I am told is reſolved of, and I ſhall within theſe few days have it to ſend to your Majeſty, as alſo a private Propoſition which will be put into your hands; and ſhall not fail further to purſue your Majeſties preſent directions of procuring this Kings Declaration, in what ſort your Maieſty may rely upon this Kings aſſiſtance, in caſe the Emperour or the Duke of *Bavaria* hinder the entire reſtitution of the Prince Palatine. But I conceive (if it be your intention) that I ſhould firſt here procure this Kings peremptory anſwer in the whole buſineſs, and how he will be aſſiſtant unto your Maieſty in caſe of the Emperours or the Duke of *Bavaria's* averſneſs. And that I ſhould ſend it to your Maieſty, and receive again your anſwer before I deliver the Powers for the Depoſorios, the match would thereby if not

be hazarded, yet I conceive the Infanta's going at Spring would be rendred altogether impoſſible. For if upon the arrival of the Approbation I cannot refuſe them, but upon ſome grounds; if I alleadge your Majeſties deſire of having the Depoſories deferred untill Chriſtmaſs, they know as well as my ſelf that his Highneſs Proxy is then out of date, beſides the infringing of the Capitulations; and they will judge it is a great ſcorn put upon this King, who ever ſince the Princes granting of the powers hath called himſelf the Infanta's Deſpoſado, and to that effect the Prince hath writ unto him in ſome of his Letters. Beſides, it will be held here a point of great diſhonour unto the Infanta, if the powers called for by her friends ſhould be detained by the Prince his part: and whoſoever elſe may have deſerved it, ſhe certainly hath not deſerved diſreſpect nor diſcomfort. Further, upon my refuſal to deliver the powers, all preparations which now go on cheerfully and apace will be ſtayed, and there will enter in ſo much diſtruſt, and ſo many troubles and jealouſies, that if the main buſineſs run not hazard by them, at leaſt much time will be ſpent to cleer them.

I muſt therefore in diſcharge of my duty tell your Majeſty, that all your Majeſties buſineſſes here are in a fair way; the Match and all that is capitulated therein, they profeſs punctually to perform.

In the buſineſs of the Palatinate, I continue my earneſt and faithfull endeavours, and they proteſt they infinitely deſire, and will to the utmoſt of their powers endeavour to procure your Majeſties ſatisfaction.

The Prince is like to have a moſt worthy and vertuous Lady, and who much loveth him, and all things elſe depending upon this match are in good and hopefull way.

This is now the preſent eſtate of your Majeſties affairs, as it appeareth unto me and to Sir *Walter Aſhton*, with whom I have communicated this Diſpatch, as I do all things elſe concerning your Majeſties ſervice. And I muſt cleerly let your Majeſty underſtand, that I conceive by the retaining of the powers when this King ſhall call for them, and offering to defer the Depoſories untill Chriſtmaſs, that your Majeſties buſineſs will run a hazard, what by the diſtaſte and diſguſt that will be raiſed here, and what by the art and induſtry of thoſe which are enemies to the match, whereof every Court hath plenty in Chriſtendom.

That therefore which I preſume with all humility, is, That you would be pleaſed to give me order with all poſſible ſpeed, that when the buſines ſhall come cleered from *Rome*, and that the powers of the marriage ſhall be demanded of me in the behalf of this King, that I may deliver them, and no ways ſeek to interrupt or ſuſpend the Depoſorios, but aſſiſt and help to a perfect concluſion of the match.

And

And for the busines of the Palatinate, I continue my earnest and faithfull endeavours to engage this King as far as shall be possible, both for the doing of all good offices for the Palatines entire restitution, herein I will not fail (as likewise for this Kings declaration of assistance in case the Emperor or Duke of *Bavaria* shall oppose the said restitution) to use all possible means; and I conceive the dispatch of the Match will be a good pawn in the busines, and the help and assistance which the Princes being once betrothed would be able to give in this Court to all your Majesties busineses would be of good consideration.

So fearing I have already presumed too far upon your Majesties patience, I humbly crave your Majesties pardon, and recommend you to the holy protection of God, resting

*Madrid, Octob.* 29. 1623.

*Your Majesties most humble and faithfull subject and servant,*

BRISTOL.

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## *Earl of* Bristol *to King* James, *Novemb.* 1. 1623.

MAy it please your most excellent Majesty, I find that upon the news that is now come from the Duke of *Pastrava*, that the Pope hath cleerly passed the Dispensation, which is now hourly expected here. There is an intention to call presently upon me for the Princes powers for the marriage left in my hands, the which I know not upon what ground or reason to detain, the Prince having engaged (in the said powers) the faith and word of a Prince no way to revoke and retract from them, but that they should remain in full force till Christmas, and delivered unto me a politique declaration of his pleasure, that upon the coming of the Dispensation I should deliver them unto this King, that they might be put in execution; and hereof likewise was there by Secretary *Serita* as a publique Notary an Instrument drawn, attested by all the witnesses present. If I shall alleadge your Majesties pleasure of having the marriage deferred untill one of the Holidays, although they should condescend thereunto, that is impossible, for the powers will be then expired. If I shall insist upon the restitution of the Palatinate, this King hath therein declared his answer; and it would be much wondred why that should be now added for a condition of the marriage, having ever hitherto been treated of as a busines apart, and was in being at the granting

granting of the ſaid powers, and hath been often under debate, but never ſpecified, nor the powers delivered upon any condition of having any ſuch point firſt cleered; and I muſt confeſs unto your Majeſty I underſtand not how with honour, and that exact dealing which hath ever been obſerved in all your Majeſties actions, the powers can be detained, unleſs there ſhould appear ſome new and emergent cauſe ſince the granting of them, whereof as yet I hear none ſpecified: Therefore being loath to be the inſtrument by whoſe hands any thing ſhould paſs, that might have the leaſt reflection upon your Majeſties or the Princes honour (which I ſhall ever value more then my life or ſafety) and judging it likewiſe to conduce more to your ſervice, and aſſuring my ſelf that your Majeſties late direction to have the marriage upon one of the holidays in Chriſtmaſs, was for want of due information that the powers will be then expired, I have thought it fit (with the advice of Sir *Walter Aſhton*) to raiſe no ſcruple in the delivery of the ſaid powers, but do intend when they ſhall be required to paſs on to the nominating of a prefixed day for the Depoſorio's: but I ſhall endeavour to defer the time, untill I may be advertiſed of your Majeſties pleaſure, if it may be within the ſpace of 24 dayes, and will labour to find ſome handſom and fair occaſion for the deferring of them, without alleadging any directions in that kind from your Majeſty or the Prince.

The reaſons why I have thought it fit to take this reſolution, are, Firſt I find by your Majeſties letters and the Princes, that your intent is to proceed in the marriage, and to that purpoſe your Majeſty and the Prince have ſet me free to deliver the powers according to the firſt intentions, by removing that ſcruple of the Infanta's entring into Religion, whereupon they were only ſuſpended.

Secondly, your Majeſties Letter only intimateth a deſire, not a direction of having the marriage upon one of the holidays of Chriſtmaſs: which I conceive is to be underſtood, if it may well and fittingly be ſo, not if there ſhall be impoſſibility therein by reaſon of the expiring of the powers before, and that the intention of having it then ſhould be overthrown thereby, when I am confident that what your Majeſty writeth is for want of due information of the clauſe of expiration of the powers.

Thirdly, if your Majeſty upon theſe reaſons and ſuch as I have formerly alleadged unto your Majeſty, ſhould (as I no way doubt but your Majeſty will) give me order for the preſent proceeding to the marriage, yet by my refuſing of the powers, and alleadging your Majeſties or the Princes directions, although afterwards all things ſhould be cleered, yet would it caſt ſome kind of aſperſion and jealouſie upon the ſincerity of your

your Majesties and the Princes proceedings. On the contrary side, if your Majesties intention be not to proceed in the match, whereof I see no ground, the intimation of that may be as well a moneth hence as now: And I judge it duty in a servant, especially in a business of so high a consequence, and wherein your *M*ajesty hath spent so much time, to give his master leisure to repair to his second cogitations before he do any act that may disorder or overthrow.

This I offer with all humility unto your Majesties wise and just consideration, and beseech you to make interpretation of my proceedings herein according to my dutifull and zealous care of your honour and service. I have of purpose dispatcht this Post with this Letter, to the end I may receive your Maiesties directions in this particular with all possible speed, which I hope shall be to proceed directly to the marriage according to the Capitulations, and so to order all things for the Princes her journy in the Spring. And for the Palatinate, your Maiesty may be confident there shall be diligence used in procuring a speedy and good resolution. So, *&c.*

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## *King* James *to the Palsgrave.*

*My most dear Son,*

WE have been carefull, and are at this present, to perform the promise which we made unto you, to imploy all our power to reestablish you into your estates and dignities; and having by the patience and industry which we have used, reduced matters within a more neer circle and of a less extent then the generality in which they were heretofore: We have thought good to give you knowledge of such things whereof hope is given to us that we shall in all apearance obtain them, to the end you may have recourse to your wisdom, and after a mature deliberation make choyce agreeable to the providence, honor, and safety of your estates; duly weighing and examining all circumstances: and therefore we present unto you these Propositions, to wit, In the first place a due submission to the Emperour, under convenient limitations, which first shall be granted and agreed in conformity to that which is Noble, with a safe conduct and assurance requisite and sufficient for the free and safe going and return of your Person and Train. This being done, we make you offer of a present and full restitution of all the Palatinate unto the person of your son, and that you shall be his Administrator during your life. And that after the death of

thee

the Duke of *Bavaria*, your son shall be re-establisht in the Electorall dignity; And for the better confirming the sound Amity, and assuring your Possessions, and enioying of all according to the contract, which is presently to be made, and also to serve for a preparation for the bettering of the said conditions to your person, which will be in all likelihood when the marriage will be resolved and concluded to be made betwixt your eldest son our Grand-child, and one of the Emperours daughters. In contemplation whereof they have approached a degree neerer, to wit, that the Electorall dignity shall come again to your person after the Duke of *Bavaria's* death. In which Treaty of marriage, to clear the principall difficulty which consisted with the education of your son with the Emperour, we have taken from them all hope therein (wherein we assure our selves you will be content) and are purposed that he shal have his education with our son, and with and in the presence of the *Infanta*, when she shall be in our Court. We have exactly shewed you the state of this Negotiation, which chiefly concerns you and yours, to the end you may fix your eyes upon your necessity and bare condition and manner of living, which dependeth on the courtesie and assistance of others, and that you may judge advisedly whether your ready entrance into the possession of your own, and with a kind of present liberty of living (with insurance in time to recover the possession of it) shall not be more convenient for you then a hazardous long expectation upon othet uncertain means: The former whereof I prefer before the later. We pray you to consider what probable and feasible means we may undertake to reduce your condition to that state as you promise your self; wherein we doubt not, but you will weigh our forces, and those of our Allyes, and such other whereof we may hope to be assured, to the end that if it should happen that we cannot obtain to the entire of that we desire by way of treaty, or that we should take another course, you may be partaker of Councels as well as the issues and uncertain events. And forasmuch as we are desirous to consider with you for your personall estate, and as we are obliged to have regard to the right of our only daughter, and to the inheritance of your children, with the hope of their posterity, by what way it may be most easily established, and by what fit means provision may be made best to that effect. And herein we remain your most affectionate Father,

*From White-Hall, Novemb.* 20. *Jacobus Rex.*

*The*

## *The Palſgraves Anſwer to King* James.

*SIR,*

I Take as a great honor and favour your Majeſties Letter of the 20. of *November*, delivered unto me by the hands of your Ambaſſador Sir *Dudley Carleton*, who hath further explained your Majeſties intention touching that which concerneth my reſtitution unto my honors and patrimonial eſtate, that you continue firm and conſtant (in conformity to your promiſes) to labour and effect by one way or other, ſo that the ſaid reſtitution may be intire and totall, as well in that which concerneth the Electorall dignity as the Palatinates; and that the Propoſitions which your Majeſty makes by your Letter (to content my ſelf to be Adminiſtrator to my ſon, and he to be inveſted with the ſaid dignity, and put into preſent poſſeſſion of the Palatinate) is but in all events if ſo be your Majeſty could not attain to the totall reſtitution (the deſired effect of your intentions) leaving me nevertheleſs to be at liberty to chuſe the leſſer of the two evils (if I may be permitted to term them ſo) the one by the totall reſtitution of my Eſtates, but with diminution, or rather annihilation (for ſo in effect it wil be) in reſpect of my perſon of the Electorall dignity; th'other of the recovery of both by war, the events whereof are uncertain. Firſt, I moſt humbly thank your Majeſty for the paternall care which you continue and ſhew in this occaſion; and which doth more comfort me, and my dear wife in our afflictions, then the fear of humane events can grieve or incline us to be willing to recover the loſs of goods with the loſs of honors. I will therefore uſe the liberty which your Majeſty is pleaſed to give me in anſwering every particular point of your Letter. In the firſt whereof I obſerve the proceeding of my enemies, who require a perſonall ſubmiſſion (intended to precede all other things) under the ſafe conduct of the Emperour; whereas by natural order uſed in theſe occaſions, the reſtitution which is materiall and ſubſtantiall, ought by reaſon to precede the other, being but a point of ceremony, at the leaſt it is neceſſary that all things be reſolved and concluded under ſuch aſſurances as ſhall be held convenient; and then if the intentions on the Emperours part be reall and ſincere, and without any aim to take advantage upon my perſon (as the Emperour *Charls* 5. did upon the Lantgrave of *Heſſen* under the ſubtilty of a diſtinction of a ſyllable in ſafe conduct *Ewis* for *Einis*) the ſaid ſubmiſſion may as well be made by a Deputy as otherwiſe, whereby I ſhall be freed

from the apprehensions which the execution at *Prague*, & other cruelties exercised by the Imperialists, may easily impress in the mind of him who is unwilling to lose himselfe by a *quiete de Cœur*. Besides, a simple consent to such a submission under the specified condition, to yeild the Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria*, will be sufficient to prejudice my cause for ever. For the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* who have always protested against the translation of the Electorate; and the other Princes of *Germany* who have like feeling, will disavow their protestations in regard of him who shall abandon his own pretentions, and in stead of favouring me upon some breach of the Treaty, or otherwise, may be my opposites. Moreover, the experience of things past teach us what issue we may hereafter expect of the like conditions consented to on our part. The Emperour having manifestly abused us in two already, First in the instrument which I signed for the conditionall resignation of the Crown of *Bohemia* in the year 1621. Then in my ratification of the suspension of Arms this last Summer. The first having served the Emperour to accelerate his Treaty then on foot with *Bethlem Gabor*: The second to intimidate the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, that they might not undertake any thing against the Emperour, both the one and the other being divulged to the same effect, according to the knowledge which the Emperour had of these designes before any thing was therin resolved and concluded: And so will the Emperour in all appearance make his profit of this present proposition, and strike with one stone two blows, by hindering the progres of *Gabor* on the one side, and by continuing on the other the intimidation of the Princes of *Germany*, who may with reason excuse themselves if they move not for him, who hath bound himself hand and foot, and consented to a submission, which being yeilded to, it will be always in the Emperours power to break or go on, as he shall hold it expedient for himself. I do also promise my self that your Majesty will have regard that by such submission and intreaty, my undue proscription and banishment (which being done in prejudice of the constitutions of the Empire, are therefore held by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* of no validity) be not approved, and thereby a mark of infamy set upon me and my posterity. Touching the second point, your Majesty may be pleased to remember, that on the part of *Spain* hope hath alwayes been given me from the beginning, of a totall and intire restitution to my own person; yea the Earl of *Bristol* hath assured me by his Letters from *Madrid* in *November* 1622. when the marriage was not so much advanced at this time. That the King of *Spain* (in case of refusall of the totall restitution) would joyn his forces with

those

those of your Majesty against the Emperor to constrain him thereunto: And yet in stead of the said restitution, the translation of my Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria* was since at *Ratisbone* agreed, and congratulated unto him from *Bruxels*; the inferior Palatinate dismembred by the grant of the *Bergstreat* one of the best peeces thereof to the Elector of *Mentz*; the superior with the Bailywicks granted to the Duke of *Nuburgh*, thereby to engage them further in the quarrel by the particular defence of that which generally the Imperialists have usurped upon me; they confiscate and seise the goods of my subjects, and those that follow my party, sparing neither widow nor orphans.

It seems therefore necessary above all things to have sufficient assurance for the total restitution of my Electorate and Palatinates, before any new treaty of marriage be proposed: Of the which treaties, as they are ordinarily handled and managed by the house of *Austria*, and drawn to length and delays, with the onely aim to the augmentation of their greatness, without respect to civil honesty, word or promise, I have a dolefull experience in my own house in the person of one of my predecessors *Frederick* the second, who contributed more to the first foundation which was laid for the greatness of the said house of *Austria* then any other German Prince, and for recompence was allured and drawn by the space of many years with treaties and promises of marriage, without any real intention (as was seen by the effect) ever to bring them to execution. Seeing therefore that he who had so well deserved of the house of *Austria*, (which in all external appearance held him in greater estimation then any other German Prince) was nevertheless so unworthily used by them in a treaty of marriage; I who have been unduly put into the Ban of the Empire, and spoiled of all my honours and goods, by the eagerness, hatred and usurpation of the Emperor himself (whose daughter is propounded for the marriage in question) know not what to hope but the same effect of fraud and deceit which my forenamed predecessor found, with a sorrowful repentance of the evil when it was past remedy. And the Emperor wanteth but two or three years of leisure, which he shall easily gain by a treaty of a marriage, to establish in *Germany* the translation of my Electoral dignity and Patrimonial estate, without any hope ever hereafter to recover the like opportunity as at this time, that my pretensions are not prejudiced by a long interposition of time, and that the memory, of undue proceeding in the publication of the Ban against my person, and the said translation of my Electoral dignity, and seisure of my patrimonial inheritance, are yet fresh in the affections and minds of the Princes of *Germany*, who are by the consideration of their own interests moved

with the greater compassion to see the wounds of my miseries yet fresh and bleeding, and with passion and earnest desire to see them remedied. And in this place I will say something in answer to the last point of your Majesties Letter, wherein you commanded me to consider the means probable and feasible whereby my condition may be reduced to the former state, and to weigh your Majesties forces with those of your Allies, and others whereof your Majesty may hope and be assured.

If your Majesty hopeth for my restitution in *Germany* as an effect of the marriage with *Spain*, nothing else is to be done but attend the event with patience: And if you continue to distinguish between the *Spaniards* and the *Imperialists*, there is no more to be said on this subject, but as they have with joint consent conspired my ruine with the same forces, the same councels, and the same designs, your Majesty will find (if you please to unmask the fair, seeming, and hidden malice of the *Spaniard*, the same effect, as in the end you found the open and declared violence and hostility of the Imperialists, who besieged your Majesties garrisons in my Towns taken into your protection. I will use the liberty you have given me to discourse of your Majesties forces and those of your Allies, and what may further with good probability be hoped from other friends and well-willers.

In the last rank I place what may be hoped from the Princes of *Germany*, who, to wit the two Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, and in effect all the rest except those of the Catholique league, have sufficiently declared the disavowing of the Emperors proceeding against me, and their opinions that the peace of *Germany* dependeth upon my restitution; besides the Levies which they made in the beginning of the last summer, though by the unlucky accident of the Duke *Christian* of *Brunswick* they were soon after dismissed. And certainly no want of any other thing to be converted to my aid, but the countenance of a great Prince to support them against the power of the house of *Austria*, the same affections remaining still in them, and the same resolution to imbrace the first good occasion that shall be presented for the liberty of *Germany*. Will there want hands for the accomplishing of such a work, when it shall be undertaken openly and earnestly? seeing that the number of those that have their interest conjoyned with mine, is great and mighty: For the greater part of the people both horse and foot which marched under the Catholique banner, were of a contrary Religion to the Catholique, and of affection (as it is notorious to all the world) more inclined to the ruine of those Leagues then to their preservation. But the conduct of some powerfull Prince is necessary as well to the men of war, as we have seen by experience the last year. The King of *Denmark* is

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he upon whom all have set their eyes: but he being a Prince full of circumspection, and unwilling to enter into play alone, answereth unto all instances which are made unto him to that end, That as the other Princes have their eyes upon him, so hath he his upon your Majesty.

It is not for me to judge; but since you have commanded me, I will weigh them by the ballance of common judgment. That the felicity wherewith God hath blessed the person of your Majesty, having conjoyned the three Crowns of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland* upon one head; the power of the one of the three alone having done great matters in the affairs of *Europe* on this side the sea, yea when it was counterballanced by the other, gives demonstration what your Majesty may do with the joynt forces of the three together, when you shall be pleased to take a resolution therein, chiefly the question being for the interest of your own Children; and by the voluntary contribution which we have already had in our support from your Majesty, we may easily comprehend what may be promised of them when the publike authority of your Majesty shall be conjoyned with their particular affections; there being no Prince in the world more loved and reverenced of his subjects, nor more soveraign over their affections and means for the service of your person and Royal house. Touching the Allies, it is to my great grief that the unhappiness of this time hath separated a great part of them, the united Provinces of *Germany*, who make profession of the same Religion whereof they acknowledge your Majesty for Defendor and Protector. But the same affection remaineth still in them entire and firm, though they have been constrained to yield to the present necessity of their affairs; and the occasion presenting it self, your Majesty may accompt of them.

The rest, the Estates of the united Provinces to whom we have recourse in our afflictions, who support themselves by the help of God, and the situation of their Country and Forces of their people alone untill this time against the puissance of *Spain*, seconded by the Imperialists. And in stead of fainting under such a burthen, or of giving ear unto the overtures and submissions which from day to day are presented unto them, they now put themselves to the offensive, by a good Fleet prepared and ready to set sail to the *West-Indies*, to the end they may at least interrupt the peaceable and annual return of the gold and silver of those parts, by which the house of *Austria* doth continually advance their greatness. This is commended by all good men and lovers of the publike liberty, as the sole and only means to cast to the ground the fearfull power of *Spain*, even as a great tree of large extent cut up by the root; but is held too great for such a little extent of Country as this is,

and

and yet practically, and to be done by forces answerable to the importance of such an enterprize: And if your Majesty would be pleased to use the Forces of this estate by sea and land, to the opposition of their enemies, and by consequence of mine, their profession of a loyall and sincere affection with the hazard of their lives and goods for the service of your Majesty, grounded upon the experience of things past, their present interest, and the judgement which may be made of the future, makes me assured that your Majesty may absolutely dispose of them; and by their means being firmly conjoyned with your Majesty, give the Law to *Europe*.

It is in obedience to your Majesties commandment that I have enlarged my self so far into this discourse, which I will send with my most humble thanks for the continuance of your most gracious and paternall bounty, particularly shewed in the care you have of the education of my eldest son in your Court, who with all the rest are at your Majesties disposing, and we hope to live notwithstanding our hard and dolefull condition, to yeild unto your Majesty the fruits of a devout and filiall gratitude, and I will remain untill the last day of my life,

*From the Hague, Decemb.* 30. 1623. *new stile.*

*Your Majesties most, &c.*

FREDERICK.

*Postscript.*

I am advertised from a good part, that the Elector of *Mentz* and the other Princes of the Popish league are very instant with the Elector of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* to perswade them to acknowledge the Duke of *Bavaria* as an Elector of the Empire: which if they obtain, it were easie to judge how much it would prejudice my affairs, and the common cause of the Empire. I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to prevent and hinder such an evil, by the interposition of good offices, and exhortations to the said secular Electors, be it by some Ambassador, by serious Letters, or such other way as you shall hold meet and suitable to the importance of the matter, which above all requireth singular celerity. Your Majesty shall increase more and more my obligations, and that of the publique of *Germany*, &c.

## Abignoto *from Madrid.*

THe Spaniard begins now to be ſenſible of the great diſobligation and groſs overſight he committed in ſuffering the Prince to go away without his *Infanta*: For it hath given occaſion of advantage to the *Engliſh*(who now ſeem indifferent whether they match with him or no) to proceed more ſtoutly, and to add to the former Articles which the Prince had ſworn at his being here, certain new Propoſitions about the Palatinate, which was thought to be unfit to motion at his being here, by reaſon of the engagement of his perſon. And there is a Commiſſion ſent to the Earl of *Briſtol* to treat of theſe two buſineſſes joyntly; and if the King of *Spain* give not a ſatisfactory anſwer therein, then he is to return home. *Buckingham* hath little obligation to *Spain*, therefore for his own particular he hath good reaſon if he cannot prop himhimſelf this way, to find other means for his ſupport: unkindneſſes paſſed between him and *Olivarez*, and a hot heart-burning between him and *Briſtol*, who told him here before the Prince, that being ſo far his ſuperior in honor and might, he might haply contemn him, but he could never hate him. Ever ſince his departure he hath attempted to cruſh *Briſtol* to pieces, who is out of purſe two thouſand pound of his own ſince his coming hither, & he is ſo croſſed that he cannot get a peny from *England*. If he cannot get a ſurrender of the Palatinate to the Kings mind, he is in a poor caſe; for he muſt hence preſently: he is much favoured of the King here and *Olivarez*, therefore they will do much for him before *Buckingham* work his revenge upon him: he hath received lately more comfortable diſpatches from *England*, and in the laſt the King ſent him, he requires his advice in certain things. The Proxie the King of *Spain* had to marry the *Infanta* in the Princes name, is prorogged till March. There is great reſentment of the delayes in the Court here; and the *Infanta* hath given over ſtudying of *Engliſh*. The two Ambaſſadors here ever ſince the Princes departure, have viſited the *Infanta* as vaſſals; but now they carry themſelves like Ambaſſadors again. We are all here in ſuſpenſe, and a kind of maze to ſee the event of things, and how matters will be pieced together again, we know not.

## *A Memoriall to the King of Spain, by Sir* Walter Aſhton, *Ambaſſador in Spain. Aug.* 29. 1624.

SIr *Walter Aſhton*, Ambaſſador to the King of *Great Britain*, ſaith, That the King his Maſter hath commanded him to repreſent to your Majeſty, that having declared to your Majeſty the reaſons why he could receive no ſatisfaction by your Majeſties anſwer of the firſt of *January*, and that thereby according to the unanimous conſent of his Parliament he came to diſſolve both the Treaties of the Match and Palatinate, he received another anſwer from your Majeſty, wherein he finds leſs ground to build upon; and having underſtood that either by the *Padre de Maeſtro*, or your Majeſties Ambaſſadors which have aſſiſted theſe dayes paſt in this Court, there was ſomething to be propounded and declared touching the buſineſs of the Palatinate, whereby he might have received ſatisfaction, the ſaid Ambaſſadors untill now have not ſaid any thing at all to purpoſe; which comparing with other circumſtances of their ill carriage, he gathers and doubts, that according to the ill affection, and depraved intentions wherewith they have proceeded in all things, but eſpecially in particular they have laboured to hinder the good correſpondency and ſo neceſſary and deſired intelligence which ſhould be conſerved with your Majeſty. Furthermore he ſaith, That the King his Maſter hath commanded him to give account to your Majeſty, that in an Audience which he gave to the Marqueſs *de Injioſa* and *Don Carlo Colomma*, they under Cloak and pretext of zeal & particular care of his perſon, pretended to diſcover unto him a very great conjuration againſt his perſon and Royall Dignity, and it was,

That at the beginning of the Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham* had conſulted with certain Lords, of the arguments and means which were to be taken touching the breaking and diſſolving of the Treaties of the Palatinate and Match; and the conſultations paſſed thus far, That if his Majeſty would not accommodate himſelf to their councels, they would give him a houſe of pleaſure whither he might retire himſelf to his ſports, in regard that the Prince had now years ſufficient to, and parts anſwerable for the government of the Kingdom.

The Information was of that quality, that it was ſufficient to put impreſſion in him of perpetual jealouſies, in regard that through the ribs of the Duke he gave wounds to the Prince his ſon, and the Nobility;

and

and it is not probable that they could bring to effect such designs without departing totally from the obligation of faith and loyalty which they owed to his Person and Crown, because the Lords made themselves culpable as concealers: And it is not likely that the Duke would hurl himself into such an enterprize, without communicating it first with the Prince, and knowing his pleasure.

And because this information might be made more clear, he did make many instances unto the said Ambassadors, that they would give him the Authors of the said Conjuration, this being the sole means whereby their own honor might be preserved, &c. whereby their great zeal and care they had pretended to have of his person, might appear. But instead of confirming the great zeal they had pretended to bear him; all the answer they made him, consisted of Arguments against the discovery of the Conspirators: So that for the confirmation of the said report, there remained no other means then the examination of some of his Councell of State, and principall subjects, which he put in execution, and made them take oath every one particularly in his own presence, and commanded that such interrogatories and questions should be propounded unto them that were most pertinent to the accusation; so that neither part, particle, or circumstance remained, which was not exactly examined and winnowed, and he found in the Duke and the rest that were accused, a sincere Innocency touching the accusations and imputation wherewith they were charged.

This being so, he turned to make new instances unto the said Ambassadors, that they should not prefer the discovery of the names of the Conspirators to the security of his Royall person, and truth and honor of themselves, and the hazard of an opinion to be held, and judged the Traytors of a plot of such malice, sedition and danger. But the Ambassadors remaining in a knotty kind of obstinacy, resolved to conceal the Authors. Nevertheless afterterwards he gave them an audience, wherein the Marquess of *Injiosa* took his leave.

Few days after they demanded new audience, pretending that they had somthing to say that concerned the publique good, and conduced to the entire restitution of the Palatinate, with desire to lose no opportunity that might conduce thereunto, and therewith the confirmation and conservation of the friendship with your Majesty having suspended some few days to give them audience, thinking that being thereby better advised, they would resolve upon a wiser course, and declare the Authors of so pernitious an action, and having since made many instances, and attended the success of so long patience, he sent his Secre-

tary, and Sir *Francis Cottington* Secretary to the Prince, commanding them that they ſhould ſignifie unto the Ambaſſadors, that he deſired nothing more then the continuance of the friendſhip 'twixt both the Crowns; and if ſo they had any thing to ſay, they would communicate it to the ſaid Secretaries, as perſons of ſo great truſt, which he ſent to that end: And if they made difficulty of this, that they would chuſe amongſt his Councell of State, thoſe which they liked beſt, and he would command that they ſhould preſently repair unto them; and if this did not likewiſe ſeem beſt unto them, that they would ſend what they had to ſay in a Letter ſealed up, by whom ſhould ſeem beſt unto them, and he would receive it with his own hands. But the Ambaſſadors misbehaving themſelves in all that was propounded, the ſaid Secretaries according to the order which they brought, told them, that they being the Authors of an information ſo dangerous and ſeditious, had made themſelves uncapable to treat further with the King their Maſter; and were it not for the reſpect to the King his dear and beloved brother and their Maſter, and in contemplation of their condition as Ambaſſadors of ſuch a Majeſty, he would and could by the Law of Nations, and the right of his own Royall Juſtice, proceed againſt them with ſuch ſeverity as their offence deſerved, but for the reaſons aforeſaid he would leave the reparation hereof to the juſtice of their King, of whom he would demand and require it.

In conformity whereof the ſaid Ambaſſador of the King of *Great Britain*, ſaith, that the King his Maſter hath commanded him to demand reparation & ſatisfaction of your Majeſty againſt the ſaid Marquis *de Injioſa* and Don *Carlos Colomma*, making your Majeſty Judge of the great ſcandall and enormous offence which they have committed againſt them and the publick right, and expect juſtice from your Majeſty in the demonſtrations and chaſtiſements which your Majeſty ſhall inflict upon them, which for his proceeding ſake with your Majeſty, and out of your Majeſties own uprightneſs and goodneſs ought to be expected.

Furthermore he ſaith, that the King his Maſter hath commanded him to aſſure your Majeſty, that till now he hath not mingled the correſpondence and friendſhip he held with your Majeſty, with the faults and offences of your Miniſters, but leaves and reſtrains them to their own perſons; and that he remains with your Majeſty in the true and ancient friendſhip and brotherhood, as heretofore; and that he is ready to give hearing to any thing that ſhall be reaſon, and to anſwer thereunto: and when your Majeſty is pleaſed to ſend your Ambaſſadors thither, he will make them all good treaty, and receive them with that good love that is due.

For

For concluſion, the ſaid Ambaſſador humbly beſeecheth your Majeſty will be pleaſed to obſerve and weigh the care and tenderneſs wherewith the King his Maſter proceeded with your Majeſties Ambaſſadors, not obliging to precipitate reſolutions, but giving them much time to prove and give light of that which they had ſpoken; and beſides opening unto them many ways that they might comply with their orders, if they had any ſuch. Which courſe if they had taken, they might well have given ſatisfaction to the King his Maſter, and moderated the ſo grounded opinion of their ill proceedings againſt the peace, and ſo good intelligence and correſpondence betwixt both the Crowns.

*Madrid*, Aug. 5. 1624.

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## *The Petition of* Francis Philips *to King* James *for the releaſe of Sir* Robert Philips *Priſoner in the Tower.*

*Moſt dread Soveraign,*

IF the Thrones of Heaven and Earth were to be ſollicited one and the ſame way, I ſhould have learned by my often praying to God for your Majeſty, how to pray to your Majeſty for others. But the Liturgies of the Church and Court are different, as in many other points, ſo eſpecially in this, That in the one there is not ſo poor a friend but may offer his vows immediately to the Almighty; whereas in the other a right loyal ſubject may pour out his ſoul in vain, without an *Ora pro nobis*. Now ſuch is the obſcure condition of your humble Suppliant, as I know no Saint about your ſacred Majeſty to whom I can addreſs my oriſons, or in whoſe mediation I dare repoſe the leaſt aſſurance. Let it be therefore lawful for me in this extraordinary occaſion, to paſs the ordinary forms; and raiſing my ſpirits above uncertainties, to fix my intire faith upon your Majeſties ſupreme goodneſs, which is and ever ought to be eſteemed both the beſt Tribunal, and the beſt Sanctuary for a good cauſe. But how good ſoever my cauſe be, it would be high preſumption in me to ſtand upon it. I have therefore choſen rather to caſt my ſelf at your Majeſties feet, from whence I would not willingly riſe, but remain a monument of ſorrow and humility till I have obtained ſome gracious anſwer to my Petition: For though your Majeſties thoughts cannot diſcern ſo low, as to conceive how much it importeth a poor diſtreſſed

Suppliant to be reviled, neglected, yet you may be pleaſed to believe that we are as highly affected, and as much anguiſhed with the extremities that preſs our little fortunes, as Princes are with theirs. Which I ſpeak not out of any pride I take in comparing ſmall things with great, but only to diſpoſe your Maieſty to a favourable conſtruction of my words, if they ſeem to be overcharged with zeal and affection, or to expreſs more earneſtneſs then perhaps your Majeſty may think the buſineſs merits as my ſelf values it. The ſuit I am to make to your Majeſty is no ſleight one, it may be eaſily granted without references: For I dare aſſure your Majeſty upon my life, it is neither againſt the Laws of the Kingdom, nor will diminiſh any of your treaſure, either that of your coffers, or that of your peoples hearts; it being an act of clemencie, or rather a word, for even that will ſatisfie to create in your poor dejected Suppliant a new heart, and ſend him away as full of content as he is now of grief and deſpair. Nor is it for my ſelf I thus implore your Majeſties grace, but for one that is far more worthy, and in whom all that I am conſiſts, my dear Brother, who I know not by what misfortune hath fallen, or rather been puſhed into your Majeſties diſpleaſure; not in dark and crooked ways, as corrupt and ill-affected ſubjects uſe to walk, and near to break their necks in, but even in the great road, which both himſelf & all good *Engliſhmen* that know not the paths of the Court, would have ſworn would have led moſt ſafely and moſt directly to your Majeſties ſervice from your Majeſties diſpleaſure; there needs no other invention to crucifie a generous and honeſt-minded ſuppliant, upon whom hath iſſued and been derived a whole torrent of exemplary puniſhment, wherin his reputation, his perſon, and his eſtate grievouſly ſuffered.

For having (upon the laſt proceſs of Parliament) retired himſelf to his poor houſe in the Countrey, with hope a while to breathe after theſe troubleſome affairs, and ſtill breathing nothing but your Majeſties ſervice; he was ſent for ere he had finiſhed his Chriſtmas, by a Sergeant at Arms, who arreſted him in his own houſe with as much terror as belongs to the apprehending of treaſon it ſelf: But (thanks be to God) his conſcience never ſtarted; and for his obedience herein ſhewed, it was not in the power of any authority to ſurprize it: For at the inſtant without asking one minutes time of reſolution, he rendered himſelf to the officers diſcretion, who (according to his directions) brought him up captive, and preſented him at the Councell Table as a Delinquent, from whence he was as ſoon committed to the Tower, where he ever ſince hath been kept cloſe priſoner, and that with ſo ſtrict a hand, as his own beloved wife and my ſelf having ſometime ſince urgent and unfaigned occaſion to ſpeak with him about ſome private buſineſs of his Family; and hereupon making humble petition to the Lords of your Majeſties

moſt

moſt honorable Privy Councell for the favour of acceſſe, we were to our great diſcomforts denied it, by reaſon as their Lordſhips were pleaſed to declare unto us, that he had not ſatisfied your Majeſty fully in ſome points, which being ſo far from being his fault, as I dare ſay it is the greateſt part of his affliction, that he ſees himſelf debarred from means of doing it. The Lords Commiſſioners that were appointed by your Majeſty to examine his offence, ſince the firſt week of his impriſonment, have not done him the honor to be with him; by which means not onely his body, but (the moſt part of his mind) his humble intentions to your Majeſty are kept in reſtraint. May it pleaſe therefore your moſt excellent Majeſty now at length after five moneths impriſonment and extream durance, to ordain ſuch expedition in this cauſe, as may ſtand with your juſtice, and yet not avert your mercy, either of them will ſerve our turns; but that which is moſt agreeable to your Royall and gracious inclination, will beſt accompliſh our deſire. To live ſtill in cloſe priſon is all one to be buried alive; and for a man that hath any hope of ſalvation, it were better to pray for the day of judgment, then to lie languiſhing in ſuch waking miſery; yet not ours but your Majeſties wil be done. For if in your princely wiſdom you ſhall not think it a fit ſeaſon to reſtore him to his former condition, or to accept the fruit of his correction, an humble and penitent ſubmiſſion for his unhappineſs in offending your Majeſty, which I aſſure my ſelf is long ſince ripe and grown to full perfection in ſo forward affection, and ſo proper for all duties as his hath ever been: If (I ſay) it be not yet time to have mercy, but that he muſt ſtill remain within the walls of bondage to expiate that which he did in theſe priviledged ones, my hope is, that he will die at any time for your Majeſties ſervice, and will find patience to live any where for your Majeſties pleaſure; only thus much let me beſeech your Majeſties grace again and again, not to deny your humble and moſt obedient ſuppliant, that you will at leaſt be pleaſed to mitigate the rigor of his ſufferings ſo far as to grant him the liberty of the Tower, that he may no longer groan under the burthen of thoſe incomodities which daily prejudice his health & fortune, in a higher degree (I believe) then either your Majeſty knows or intends; I am the more bold to importune your Majeſty in the point of favour, becauſe it concerns my own good & preſervation: For your Maj. ſhall deign to underſtand that I your ſuppliant have no means to live but what proceeds from his brotherly love and bounty; ſo as if I may not be ſuffered to go to him and receive order for my maintenance, I know none but *Our Father which art in heaven* to beg my daily bread on; he that was my father on earth is long ſince departed (if I have not been misinformed) who was then beyond ſea, your Majeſties anger was to him little better then the meſſenger of death, though I perſwade my ſelf it was rather ſent in your Majeſties Name then in your Warrant.

For what use could your Majesty have of his not being, who neither was, nor could be ever but your faithful and affectionate servant, who in his soul adored your Royal Majesty as much as ever mortal man did any mortal God; lastly, whose heart was so bent to please your Majesty, as the very sound of your displeasure was enough to break it. And more perfect obedience then this can no subject shew, to make his Soveraigns favour equal to life and death.

Pardon me, dread Soveraign, if in this occasion I cannot hinder my Fathers ghost from appearing: For how can it possibly be at rest, as long as your fatal displeasure reigns still in his family, and makes it the house of continual mourning? Remove then(if it be your blessed will)the clouds that have been so long hanging over our heads; and let not the present storm that wants matter to produce, extort a thunderbolt: For what is *Philips*, or the son of *Philips*,that your Majesty should so destroy them? We are unworthy of *Cæsar's* anger,as well in regard of our means as of our innocencie?

To conclude my prayers, I most humbly beseech your Majesty to forgive them; and let not the ignorance of the stile, or ceremonies used in the Court, be imputed to your humble and well-meaning Suppliant, as a willing want of reverence; in whose breast these two legal qualities, Love and Fear, do more vigorously meet, or who could more willingly part with his essence, to add the least acquisition to the greatness and majesty of his Soveraign. True it is, that the subject that imployed the faculties of my soul at this present, is of such a nature, as I could not deny it the uttermost of my affection; and he that thinks he can never speak enough, may easily speak too much. That neither my self nor my brother have failed in any thing but words, that your Majesty will pardon, without that all crimes are equal, and as much danger lies in an humble Petition as in a plot of high Treason.

Be pleased then (most gracious Soveraign) to give us back one gracious word, and keep our undoubted hearts, at least shew us so much mercy as to judge us according to your own goodness: For if we had not liberty to appeal thither, we should be in danger of losing the best part of our birthright, and instead of your Majesties subjects become other mens slaves. From your Majesty therefore, and from no other, your faithful suppliant craves and expects the joyfull word of grace: which if I may be so happy as to carry my poor brother before he grows any elder in misery, I shall fill an honest heart with prayers and thanksgiving: And for my particular, your Majesties greatest favour and liberality shall not more oblige or better affect others, then your Royal clemencie shall me. In memory whereof I shall daily pray, that your Majesty

Majesty may obtain all your desires of heaven, and so be obeyed in all your commandments on earth, that we may live to see your holy intentions to take effect for the good of Christendom, and so you may honour the age you live in with the miracles of your wisdom. Finally, that your felicity in this world may overtake that in the highest to make you wear a perpetual Crown to Gods glory and your own.

*Your Majesties most humble, loyal, and true-hearted English subject,*

FRANCIS PHILIPS.

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## Oliver St. Johns *to the Major of* Marlborough *against the Benevolence.*

AS I think, this kind of Benevolence is against Law, Reason, and Religion.

First, the Law is in the Statute called *Magna Charta*, 9. *H.* 3. *cap.* 29. That no Free-man be any way destroyed but by the Lawes of this Land.

Secondly, besides that the said Statute of *Magna Charta* is by all Princes since established and confirmed, it is in the speciall case of voluntary or free grants enacted and decreed 25. *E.* 1. *cap.* 5. That no such be drawn into custome, and *cap.* 6. That henceforth be taken no such Aids, Tasks, free Grants, or Prizes, but by assent of all the Realm, and for the good of the same. And in *primo R.* 3. *cap.* 2. That the Subjects and Commons in this Realm from henceforth shall in no wise be charged by any charge or imposition called a Benevolence, or any such like charge, and that such exactions called a Benevolence, shall be damned and annulled for ever.

First, it is not onely without, but against reason, that the Commous in their severall and particulars, should be made relievers or suppliers of his Majesties wants, who neither know his wants, nor the sums that may be this way raised to supply the same.

Secondly, it is against reason that the particular and severall Commons distracted, should oppose their judgment and discretion to the judgement and discretion of the wisdom of their Land assembled in Parliament, who have there denied any such aid.

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It argueth in us want of love and due respect of our Soveraign Lord and King, which ought to be in every of us towards each other, which is to stay every one which we see falling, and reduce the current. What prosperity can there be expected to befall either our King or Nation, when the King shall haply of ignorance, or ('tis I hope) out of forgetfulnesse or headinesse, commit so great a sin against his God, as is the violating of his great and solemn oath taken at his coronation for the maintaining of his Lawes, Liberties and Customes of this Noble Realm,& his Subjects,some for fear,some in pride,some to please others, shall joyn hands to forward so unhappy an atchievement, can he any way more highly offend the Divine Majesty(whom he then invocated) as also can he then give unto another. *Hen.* 4. If such an one should rise up (which God forbid) a greater advantage,let these Articles put up against *R.* 2. be looked on, it will appear that the breach of the Laws, infringing the Liberties,& failing in this his oath, were the main blemishes wherewith he could distain and spot the honor of that good and gentle Prince, who indeed was rather by others abused, then of himselfe mischievously any way disposed.

Secondly, as very irreligiously and uncharitably we help forward the Kings Majesty in that grievous sin of perjury; so into what an hellish danger we plunge our selves even so many of us as contribute, is to be learned out of the severall curses and sentences of excommunination given out against all such givers, and namely the two following, *viz.* the great curse given out the 36. *H.* 3. against all breakers of the Liberties and customes of the Realm of *England*, with their Abettors, Councellors, and Executioners, wherein by the sentence of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the chief part of all the Bishops of this Land, are *ipso facto* excommunicated. And that of 24. *Ed* 1. denounced immediatly upon the Acts made against such Benevolence, free Grants and Impositions had and taken without common assent; which because it is not so large as that former, I will set down as our Books deliver the same.

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IN the Name of the Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt, *Amen.* Whereas our Soveraign Lord the King, to the honour of God, and of the Holy Church, and for the common profit of the Realm, hath granted for him and his heirs for ever theſe Articles above written: *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, admoniſhed all his Province once, twice, and thrice, becauſe that ſhortneſs will not ſuffer ſo much delay, as to give knowledge to all the people of *England* of theſe preſents in writing. We therefore enjoyn all perſons of what eſtate ſoever they be, that they and every of them as much as in them is, ſhal uphold and maintain thoſe Articles granted by our Soveraign Lord the King in all points; and all thoſe that in any point do reſiſt or break thoſe Ordinances, or in any manner hereafter procure, counſel, or in any ways aſſent to, reſiſt or break thoſe Ordinances, or go about it by word or deed openly or privatly by any maner of pretence or colour: We therefore the ſaid Archbiſhop by our authority in this Writing expreſſed, do excommunicate and accurſe, and from the body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and from all the company of Heaven, and from all the Sacraments of the holy Church do ſequeſter and exclude.

Sir, hearing that to morrow the Juſtices will be here about this buſie work of Benevolence, wherein you have both ſent unto, and talked with me, and thinking that it may be you would deliver up the names of the not-givers. Foraſmuch as I think I ſhal ſcarcely be at home to make my further anſwer, if I ſhould be called for, I pray you both hereby to underſtand my mind your ſelf, and if cauſe ſo require to let the Juſtices perceive as much. So leaving others to their own conſciences, whereby in that laſt and dreadfull day they ſhal ſtand or fall before him who will reward every man according to his deeds, I commend you to the grace of the Almighty, and reſt,

*Your loving Neighbour and Friend,*

OLIVER St. JOHN.

## *The Justices of Peace in the County of* Devon *to the Lords of the Councell.*

THe Letters from his sacred Majesty unto the Justices of Peace in this County, together with your Lordships, have been opened and read according to the directions in your Lordships Letter to our high Sheriff expressed, and the weighty business therein contained, hath been maturely and speedily debated, according to our most bounden duties to his excellent Majesty, and the many concurring necessities which press the expedition of such a service: and in those respects we can do no less then give your Lordships a timely knowledge of the vote and opinion of us all, which was this day almost in the same words delivered by every of us.

That the sum enjoyned to be levied by the first of March, is not to be so suddenly raised out of this County by any means, much less by way of perswasion; and hereof we had lately a certain experience in the business of the loans, which notwithstanding the fear apprehended by the presence of the Pursivant, hath come at least 6000. l. short of the expected sum, and without him we suppose would have been much less, and we are confident that nothing but extremities, which had need also be back't by Law, will raise his Majesty a sufficient quantity of treasure for his occasions. For our selves, at the time of the proposition of the forementioned Loans, we did according to his Majesties proclamation and instruction then sent us, engage our faithfull promise to our Countreymen, that if they willingly yeilded to his Majesties necessities at this time, we would never more be Instruments in the levy of aids of that kind, his Majesties intentions so clearly manifested not to make that a president, was the cause of that engagement, and we conceive it cannot be for his honor or service for us to be the means of such a breach. That his Majesties affairs and of his Allies, do all want an instant supply of Royall provisions; his provident and Princely Letter hath fully taught us; but we have much more cause to wish then hope that these parts so lately and so many ways impoverished, can yeild it.

Your Lordships may vouchsafe to remember how much this County hath been charged since the beginning of the war, though sometimes refreshed with payment, which we acknowledge with humble thanks. By our own late loan of 35000. l. and 6000. l. more sent by Sir *Thomas Wise*

*Wiſe* and Mr. *Stroad*, and yet there remains due to it for the Coat and Conduct of their own impreſt Soldiers, for divers voyages for the Recruits intended for the Iſle of *Ree* for the conduct of the whole Army hence, beſides three Companies ſtand yet here for *Silly*, and no ſmall number of ſcattered ſick, whoſe mortall infection hath more diſcouraged the people then the charge.

That many and almoſt unaccountable are our ways of expence, few or none have we of in-come for the want of Trade, how then can there be any quantity of money to disburſe; their bodies and goods are left which (we are aſſured) will be ever ready for his Majeſties defence, and to be imployed in his Majeſties ſervice as far forth as ever our forefathers have yeilded them to his Majeſties Royall Progenitors.

Particular proofs we would have made of the peoples diſability to have ſatisfied his Majeſties demands, but we had rather adventure our ſelves, and this humble advertiſement upon your Lordſhips private and favourable inſtructions, then to expoſe his Majeſties honor to publique deniall, and miſpend his pretious time, which applied to more certain courſes may attain his Princely and religious ends, wherein to be his Majeſties Inſtruments will be our earthly happineſs, and ſingular comfort to be your Lordſhips obedient ſervants.

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## *The Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *to the Biſhops concerning King* James *his Directions for Preachers, with the Directions, Ang.* 14. 1622.

RIght Reverend Father in God, and my very good Lord and Brother, I have received from the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty, a Letter, the tenor whereof here enſueth.

Moſt reverend Father in God, right truſty and right entirely beloved Councellor, we greet you well. Foraſmuch as the abuſes and extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been in all times repreſſed in this Realm by ſome Act of Councell or State, with the advice or reſolution of grave and learned Prelates, inſomuch as the very licencing of Preachers had beginning by an Order of Star-Chamber the 8. day of July in the 19. year of King *Henry* 8. our Noble Predeceſſor: and whereas at this preſent divers young Students by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unſound, ſeditious and dangerous Doctrine, to the ſcandall of the Church, and diſquiet-

ing of the State and present Government; We upon humble representation to us of these inconveniences by your self and sundry other grave and reverend Prelats of this Church, as also of our Princely care and zeal for the extirpation of schisme and dissention growing from these seeds, and for the setling of a religious and peaceable government both of the Church and State, do by these our speciall Letters straitly charge and command you to use all possible care and diligence that these limitations and cautions herewith sent unto you concerning Preachers, be duly and straitly henceforth observed and put in practice by the severall Bishops in their severall Dioceses within your jurisdictions. And to this end our pleasure is, that you send them forthwith severall Copies of these Directions, to be by them speedily sent and communicated to every Parson, Vicar and Curate, Lecturer and Minister in every Cathedrall and Parish Church within their several Dioceses; and that you earnestly require them to imploy their uttermost indeavour in the performance of this so important a business, letting them know that we have a speciall eye to their proceedings, and expect a strict account thereof both of you and them, and every of them. And these our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. Given under our Signet at our Castle of *Windsor* the fourteenth day of August, in the twentieth year of our reign of *England, France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the fifty sixt.

*Directions concerning Preachers.*

THat no Preacher under the degree of a Bishop, or a Dean of a Cathedrall or Collegiat Church, and that upon the Kings days, and set Festivals, do take occasion by the expounding of any Text of Scripture whatsoever, to fall to any set Discourse or Common-place, otherwise then by opening the coherence and division of his Text, which be not comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or naturall inference within some one of the Articles of Religion set forth by authority in the Church of *England*, and the two Books of Homilies set forth by the same authority in the year 1562. or in some of the Homilies set forth by authority of the Church of *England*, not onely for the help of non-preaching, but withall for a Patern or a Boundary as it were for the preaching Ministers; and for their further instruction for the performance hereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.

2. That no Parson, Vicar, Curat, or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermon

mon or Collation hereafter upon Sundays or Holidays in the afternoon in any Cathedral or Parish-Church throughout the Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some Text taken out of the Creed, the ten Commandments, or the Lords prayer, ( Funeral-sermons only excepted ) And that those Preachers be most encouraged and approved of who spend their afternoons exercises in the examination of Children in their Catechism, which is the most antient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of *England*.

3. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever under the degree of a Bishop, or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular Auditory the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or the universality, efficacie, resistibility or irresistibility of Gods grace; but leave these Theams to be handled by learned men, and that moderately and modestly by way of use and application, rather then by way of positive doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Universities then for simple Auditories.

4. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever shal presume from henceforth in any Auditory within this Kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out by way of positive doctrine in any Sermon or Lecture the power, prerogative, jurisdiction, authority, right or duty of soveraign Princes; or otherwise meddle with these matters of State, and the differences betwixt Princes and people, then as they are instructed and presidented in the Homilies of Obedience, and in the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion set forth as before is mentioned by publique Authority, but rather confine themselves wholly to these two heads, Faith and good life, which are all the subject of ancient Homilies and Sermons.

5. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever shall causelesly or without invitation of the Text fall into bitter invectives, or undecent railing speeches against the persons of either Papists or Puritans; but modestly and gravely when they are occasioned thereunto by the text of Scripture, cleer both the doctrine and discipline of the Church of *England* from the aspersions of either adversary, especially when the Auditory is suspected with the one or the other infection.

6. Lastly, That the Archbishop and Bishops of this Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remisness) be more wary and choise in the licensing of Preachers, and revoke all grants made

made to any Chancellor, Official or Commissary, to pass Licences in this kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom, a new body, and severed from the antient Clergie of *England*, as being neither Parsons, Vicars, nor Curates, be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties only upon recommendations of the party from the Bishop of the Diocess under his hand and seal, with a *Fiat* from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and a confirmation under the great seal of *England*; and that such as transgress any of these Directions, be suspended by the Lord Bishop of that Diocess, or in his default by the Lord Archbishop of that Province *(ab officio & beneficio)* for a year and a day, untill his Majesty by the advice of the next Convocation shall prescribe some further punishment.

By this you see his Majesties Princely care that men should preach Christ crucified, obedience to the higher powers, and honest and Christian conversation of life, but in a regular form, and not that every young man should take unto himself an exorbitant liberty to teach what he listeth to the offence of his Majesty, and to the disturbance and disquiet of the Church and Commonwealth. I can give unto your Lordship no better directions for the performance hereof then are prescribed to you in his Majesties Letter, and the Schedule hereunto annexed. Wherefore I pray you be very carefull, since it is the Princely pleasure of his Majesty to require an exact account both of you and of me for the same. Thus not doubting but by your Register or otherwise you will cause these Instructions to be communicated to your Clergy, I leave you to the Almighty, and remain your Lordships loving brother,

*Croydon, Aug.* 15.
1622. *George Cant.*

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*King*

## *King* James *Inſtructions to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury concerning Orders to be obſerved by Biſhops in their Dioceſſes.* 1622.

1. THat the Lords the Biſhops be commanded to their ſeverall Sees, excepting thoſe that are in neceſſary attendance at Court.

2. That none of them reſide upon his land or leaſe that he hath purchaſed, nor on his Commendum if he hold any; but in one of his Epiſcopall Houſes if he have any, and that he waſte not the woods where any are left.

3. That they give their charge in their Trienniall Viſitations, and at other convenient times both by themſelves and the Archdeacons, and that the Declaration for ſetling all queſtions in difference, be ſtrictly obſerved by all parties.

4. That there be a ſpeciall care taken by them all, that the Ordinations be ſolemn, and not of unworthy perſons.

5. That they take great care concerning the Lecturers in their ſeverall Dioceſs, for whom we give theſe ſpecial Directions following.

Firſt, That in all Pariſhes the after-noon Sermons may be turned into Catechiſing by Queſtion and Anſwer, when and whereſoever there is no great cauſe apparent to break this ancient and profitable order.

Secondly, that every Biſhop ordain in his Dioceſs, that every Lecturer do read Divine Service according to the Liturgy printed by authority, in his Surplice and Hood, before the Lecture.

Thirdly, That where a Lecture is ſet up in a Market Town, it may be read by a company of grave and Orthodox Divines neer adjoyning, and in the ſame Dioceſs, and that they preach in Gowns, not in Cloaks, as too many uſe to do.

Fourthly, That if a Corporation do maintain a ſingle Lecturer, he be not ſuffered to preach till he profeſſe his willingneſſe to take upon him a living with cure of ſouls within that Incorporation, and that he actually take ſuch Benefice or Cure, ſo ſoon as it ſhall be fairly procured for him.

Fifthly, That the Biſhops do countenance and encourage the grave & Orthodox Divines of their Clergy, and that they uſe means by ſome of the Clergy, or others, that they may have knowledge how both Lecturers

cturers and Preachers within their Dioceſs, do behave themſelves in their Sermons, that ſo they may take order for any abuſe accordingly.

Sixthly, That the Biſhops ſuffer none under Noblemen, or men qualified by Law, to have any private Chaplain in his houſe.

Seventhly, That they take ſpeciall care that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for Prayers and Catechiſmes as for Sermons, and take particular note of all ſuch as abſent themſelves as Recuſants, or others.

Eighthly, That every Biſhop that by our grace and favour, and good opinion of his ſervice, ſhall be nominated by us to another Biſhoprick, ſhall from that day of nomination not preſume to make any Leaſe for three lives or one and twenty years, or concurrent Leaſe, or any way renew any eſtate, or cut any Wood or Timber, but meerly receive his Rents due and to quit the place. For we think it an hatefull thing that any man leaving the Biſhoprick ſhould almoſt undo his Succeſſor. And if any man ſhall preſume to break this Order, We will refuſe him Our Royall aſſent, and keep him at the place he hath ſo abuſed.

Ninthly and laſtly, We command you to give us an account every year the ſecond of *January* of the performance of theſe our commands. Subſcribed at *Dorcheſter*.

I. R.

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*Biſhop*

*Biſhop of* Wincheſter *to his Archdeacon to the ſame effect.*

*Salutem in Chriſto.* I have received Letters from the moſt Reverend Father in God the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the tenor whereof foloweth.

Right reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and brother, I have received from the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty a Letter, the tenor whereof here enſueth.

Moſt reverend Father in God, right truſty and right entirely beloved Councellor, we greet you well. For as much as the abuſes and extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been, &c.

According to the tenor of theſe Letters you are to ſee that theſe limitations and cautions herewith ſent unto you be duly and ſtrictly from henceforth obſerved, and put in practice, and that ſeveral Copies of thoſe Directions be ſpeedily communicated to every one of thoſe whom they ſhall concern, and that you may imploy your uttermoſt endeavors in the performance of ſo important a buſineſs, conſidering that his Majeſty will have a ſpecial eye over you and me, and expect a ſtrict accompt at both our hands, whereof praying you to have all poſſible care, I commend your endeavours therein to the bleſſing of God.

Your very loving friend,

From *Farnham*, Aug. 15.
1622.

*Lan. Winton.*

## *The Bishop of Lincoln L. Keeper, to the Bishop of London, concerning Preaching and Catechising.*

*My very good Lord,*

I Doubt not before this time you have received from me the directions of his most excellent Majesty concerning Preaching and Preachers, which are so graciously set down, that no godly or discreet man can otherwise then acknowledge that they do much tend to edification, if he take them not up upon report, but do punctually consider the tenor of the words as they lie, and doth not give an ill construction to that which may receive a fair interpretation. Notwithstanding because some few Church-men and many of the people have sinisterly conceived, as we here find, that those Instructions do tend to the restraint of the exercise of Preaching, and do in some sort abate the number of Sermons, and so consequently by degrees do make a breach to ignorance and superstition, his Majesty in his Princely wisdom hath thought fit that I should advertise your Lordship of the grave and weighty reasons which induced his Highness to prescribe that which was done.

You are therefore to know, that his Majesty being much troubled and grieved at the heart to hear every day of so many defections from our Religion both to Popery and Anabaptism, or other points of Separation in some parts of this Kingdom; and considering with much admiration what might be the cause thereof, especially in the reign of such a King who doth so constantly profess himself an open adversary to the superstition of the one, and madness of the other, his Princely wisdom could fall upon no one greater probability then the lightness, affectedness, and unprofitableness of that kind of Preaching which hath been of late years too much taken up in Court, University, City and Country.

The usuall scope of very many Preachers is noted to be soaring up in points of Divinity too deep for the capacity of the people, or mustering up of so much reading, or a displaying of their own wit, or an ignorant medling with Civill matters, as well in the private severall Parishes and Corporations, as in the publique of the Kingdom, or a venting of their own distastes, or a smoothing up those idle fancies (which when the Text shall occasion the same), is not onely approved but much commended

mended by his Royall Majesty ) both against the persons of Papists and Puritans.

Now the people bred up with this kind of teaching, and never instructed in the Catechism, and fundamentall grounds of Religion, are for all this airy nourishment, no better then a brass Tabret, new Table-books to be filled up either with Manuals and Catechismes of the Popish Priests, or the papers and pamphlets of Anabaptists, Brownists and Puritans.

His Majesty therefore calling to mind the saying of *Tertullian*, *Id verum quod primum*; and remembring with what doctrine the Church of *England* in her first and most happy Reformation did drive out the one, and keep out the other from poysoning and infecting the people of this Kingdom, doth find that the whole scope of this doctrine is contained in the Articles of Religion, the two books of Homilies, the lesser and the greater Catechism, which his Majesty doth therefore recommend again in these Directions as the theams and proper subjects of all sound and edifying preaching.

And so far are these Directions from abridging, that his Majesty doth expect at our hands that it should increase the number of Sermons, by renewing every Sunday in the afternoon in all Parish-Churches throughout the Kingdom that primitive and most profitable exposition of the Catechism, wherewith the people, yea very children may be timely seasoned and instructed in all the heads of Christian Religion. The which kind of exposition (to our amendment be it spoken) is more diligently observed in all the Reformed Churches of *Europe*, then of late it hath been here in *England*. I find his Majesty much moved with this neglect, and resolved ( if we that are Bishops do not see a reformation thereof, which I trust we shall ) to recommend to the care of the Civil Magistrate: so far is his Highness from giving the least discouragement to solid preaching, or discreet and religious Preachers.

To all these I am to add, That it is his Majesties Princely pleasure that both the former Directions and those reasons of the same be fairly written in every Registers Office, to the end that every Preacher of what denomination soever may, if he be so pleased, take out Copies of either of them with his own hand *gratis*, passing nothing in the name of fee or expedition: But if he do use the pains of the Register or the Clerk, then to pay some moderate Fee to be pronounced in open Court by the Chancellor and Commissaries of the place, taking the direction and approbation of my Lords the Bishops.

Lastly, That from henceforward a course may be taken that every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer do make and exhibit an account for the performance of these his Majesties directions, and the reasons for the same, at the ensuing Visitation of the Bishops and Archdeacons, paying to the Register 6*d.* for the exhibiting. And so wishing, but withall in his Majesties name requiring your Lordship to have a special and extraordinary care of the premisses, I leave you to the Almighty.

Your very loving friend,

*Septemb.* 3. 1622.

*J. Lincoln, C.S.*

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*Instructions*

## *Instructions for the Ministers, and Church-Wardens of* London. *Jan.* 28. 1622.

1. THat his Majesties declaration, published *Anno Dom.* 1628. before the Articles of Religion, for setling all questions in difference, be strictly observed.

2. That speciall care be had concerning Lectures in every Parish.

3. That the Minister and Churchwardens in every parish, or one of them, do by writing under his or their owne hands, certifie unto the *Arch Deacon* of *London*, or his official, at, or before the 28 of this present *January* and afterwards at, or before every visitation, the Christian and Sirnames of every Lecturer in their parishes, and the place where he preacheth, whether exempt, or not exempt; together with his quality or degree.

4. That they doe in like manner certifie the names of such men, as being not qualified by Law, do keep Chaplains in their houses.

5. That they do further certifie the names of all such as absent themselves *from*, or are negligent *in* coming to divine service, as wel Prayers, as Catechising and Sermons.

6. That the Minister and Church-Wardens of every Parish, successively, doe keep a severall Copy of those Instructions by them, whereby they may be the better informed of their duty; and that the said Copies be shewed at every visitation, when they shall present all such persons as have disobeyed these instructions; that according to his Majesties pleasure, such as do conforme, may be encouraged, and such as are refractory, may be punished. Subscribed *Tho. Paske, Arch-Deacon* of *London.*

## Monsieur Bevayr, *Chancellour of* France, *discharged to the* French King.

LO Sir, I willingly resign into your hands, the charge with which you were pleased to honour me, and with the same Countenance that I received it. without seeking for it, I leave it without grieving for it; the Law had sufficiently taught me to obey your Majesty, so that I needed not to have been sent for by a Captain of the Guard, and twenty Archers; violence should only be used against those that resist, and not against me that know how to obey; and that have ever esteemed this honour a heavy burden, rather then a dignity,

which yet I had accepted for the good of your service, because every able man owes his cares and his years to the publick good; and because it had been a shame for me to refuse to die with the stern in my hand, being able to hinder, or at the least delay the shipwrack that threatens us. God grant Sir, that I be the greatest loser in this disfavour, and that you and your state be the least touched in it. This accident hath not taken me on the suddaine, having ever well foreseen, that as I followed as much as I could, the integrity and vertues of *Monsieur de Villeroy*, and the President *Janin*; so I ought to expect the like fortune to theirs: your commandment in this, agrees with the choice my self had made, if I had been at full liberty; for I love a great deal better to be companion in their disgraces, (if I ought so to stile the being disburthened of affaires) then to be imployed in the managing the State with them that there remaine; since I might in time have taken an ill day by the Company of such people, to whom I no whit envy the increase of authority, which is given them at my cost; for I have not used to give accompt of my actions every morning by stealth, neither will I be prescribed what I ought to doe, if the States good, and reason doe not counsell me unto it. This is much more honourable for me, then to have betrayed your Majesty, in sealing a discharge to an accomptant of 80000 pound, in the great poverty of the Treasury, and that to further the good of a man that blushes not (besides this) to demand the Dutchy of *Alanson* by way of mortgage, which is the portion of the Kings Sons, and to pretend to the office of Constable, which the late Kings will expressly was, should be suppressed after the death of the late Lord *Monmorency*. Think not Sir, that in not giving my consent to this, I desired to oppose my self against your Authority; I know well that that hath no bounds, but those of your wil; but yet are you bound to rule your self according to reason, and to follow the Counsel of those which have entred into the managing of the State by the choice which the late King had made of them, as being more able to give it you, then certain new comers drawn out of the dregs of businesse and of the people. This exchange which is made of us for them, is the trick of the Wolves to the Sheepe, when they tooke their dogs from them; doth not your Majesty perceive it, or dare you not redresse it for fear of disobedience? Sir, you owe obedience by nature to those that preach it to you, but they themselves owe it you both by divine and humane right; and though you should yeild them lesse they have given you but too many examples so to doe. Remember if it please you, that you are past fifteen years old, and Kings

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are of age at fourteen. *Isaac* followed *Abraham* his Father to be sacrificed, because he was not old enough to fear any thing: I believe if he had been a man grown, and had foreseene the danger, he would not himself have carried the sticks upon his shoulders; he was but the appearance of a sacrifice, I pray God in these occasions keep you from the effect: for when I see that men move the Authority of the Court when they will, that men set to sale and dispose of the offices of the Crown, without being once hindred by any; the Princes of the blood having been some imprisoned, and other Princes having retired themselves for the security of their persons; when I see that among the great ones, they that are made see some shadow of better fortunes, are faine to lend their hands to bring themselves into bondage; that they which have attained some settledness in this alteration, maintain it only for fear of returning to the former miserie of their former condition ——. Besides, it seemes also that the people, and the Provinces partake of this change after the example of the great ones, seeing the help of the law is unprofitable; every thing being out of order by canvasing, by violences, and by corruptions; the Louvre it self hath put on a new face, as well as the affaires of the Kingdome; there remains nothing of the old Court but the walls, and even of them the use hath been changed; for they were wont to serve for the safeguard of Princes, and now they serve for their prison, and for yours it may be, (if it be lawfull to say so:) for it is not without some end, that when you go abroad, you have a company of light horse to attend you, chosen by a suspected hand; this is your Guard after the fashion of the Bastile, this distrust counsels you enough, what you ought to doe, and you need no other advice. I am hist at, I am scoft at, and my discourse; so was *Cassandra* used, when she foretold the destruction of *Troy*. Sir, I have nothing left but my tongue to serve you with; If I were so happy to draw you out of the errour in which you are fed, I would bless a thousand times my disgrace; for having emboldned me to speake freely in a time, wherein even words are punished. The falseness of the *Alcharan*, is only authorised, by that it is forbidden under paine of death to speak of it. The incroachment which is made upon your Authority, takes footing only by the danger that is in telling it you freely; consider (if it please you) that those which usurpe power over you, are of a Country where every body would raigne; thence it is that there is not a City on the other side the Alpes, that hath not her republick or her petty King; and if your Majesty had but a little tasted the History of your owne Kingdome, you would

have found that the most learned Tragedies that were ever seen in *France*, have come from that side: the last — upon occasion of a little book which I published, touching *Constancy and Comfort in publick calamities*, I fear much that (contrary to my designe) this is a Work for your Reigne if the goodness of God take not pity on us. Think not Sir, that the grief to see my self removed from the State Affairs, breeds so bold a discourse; if I had felt any grief for that, 'tis but as new married Wives weep to leave the subjection of their Fathers, to enter into the equality of Marriage: Yet it is true, that owing you my service I should with more contentment have imployed it in your Counsels of State, then in your Parlaments, where the matters are of lesse importance. For I suppose, that if the Carpenter which made the frame of the Admirall wherein *Don John de Austria* commanded at the Battell of *Lepanto*, had known that she should have served in so important an occasion, wherein depended the safety of the rest of Europe, hee would have taken more pleasure in the making her, then if he had made a vessell destined onely for Traffick. Notwithstanding, since your Majesty commands mee to retire my self, in a good hour be it, the lesser stars bear a part in the perfection of the Universe, though they contribute lesse to it then the Sun or Moon. In what condition soever I live, I will ever bring all I shall be able to the good of your service: and if there be any of those which are neer you, that lament mine absence, for my own sake, I would willingly say to them, Weep for your selves, children of *Jerusalem*, that for want of courage suffer your Majesty to be betrayed; and not for me, that have no other fault, then that I am an honest man. I take leave therefore of you, Sir, praying God to take pity of your Estate, and care of your Breeding.

## Mon^r Richer *forced, recants his opinions against the Papal Supremacy over Kings.*

*EGo Librum quem composui Ecclesiastica potestatis, & me ipsum meaque omnes Propositiones subjicio Eccles. Cathol. Apost. & Roman. & sanctæ sedi Apostolicæ, quam matrem omnium Ecclesiarum esse agnosco; & in qua semper viguit infallibile Judicium veritatis in rebus fidei decernendis. Vehementerque doleo in prædicto meo Libro quædam esse Propositiones quæ scandalum genuerint, & quæ sint veritati Catholicæ ut sonant contrariæ.*

Cardi-

## Cardinal Richlieu *to the Roman Catholicks of great Brittain*, Aug. 25. 1624.

*VIri præclari, longius differo ad vos scribere, quia res vestræ facta non verba desiderant, vota vestra nostra sunt studia, & utraque pr pitio Deo, aliqua ex parte saltem optatos speramus exitus inventura; spondet hoc nobis Rex Christianissimus, qui aut nullas, aut certè honorificas Religioni, pro Regia sua inaole conditiones fœderis unquam admissurus est, Ita a nobis formatus, ita animo præparatus est, ut se rei divinæ augendæ non minus quam finibus propagandis natum vocatumque esse meminerit: serenissima Regina ejus Mater, sedulâ operâ, intentâ curâ cavebit, non modo ne quid detrementi Religio capiat, sed etiam ut quâ possit promoveri, promoveatur, & adjuvetur. Equidem ita me rerum vestrarum miseret, ut si non dico consilio, non fide, non authoritate (quæ sentio quam sint exigua:) sed si vitâ ipsâ & sanguine vos eripere vel levare etiam malis possem, libentissimè facerem. Ex animo dico, testis est conscientia, qua me vestrum omnium, libertatisque vestræ semper et omni loco fore studiosissimum polliceor. Vobis ex animo addictissimus,*

*Amandus*, Cardinalis Richlieu.

*Apud Sanctum German.*
25 August. 1624.

## Monsr. Balsac *to the Cardinall dela* Valette.

MY LORD, I am retired here into *Ciceroes* house, where I take the fresh aire, and the shade of every houre of the day and laugh at those that broile themselves at *Rome*. But although I be come hither as well to untire my Spirit, as to recreate my body, notwithstanding it is impossible that the first can rest, but must doe businesse where it findes none; It crosses the Sea, and passes over the Alpes without my consent, and because there is nothing to doe at *France*, it goes to seeke some at *Constantinople*, at *Madrid*, at *London*, and at *Montauban*. Now, to the end you may not thinke me a lyer, and that under an honest pretext, I would palliate a reproveable idlenesse; I am going to write you the adventures of my yesterdaies walk, and speak to you in the same stile, and the same sort as I rave. While the King is busied to make warre, the King

of

of *Spaine* passeth his time with Ladies, and into places that may not honestly be named; I will give no judgment upon the different inclination of these two Princes, but I very well know, that so long as they live in that fashion, the King of *Spaine* shal take no Townes, nor the King of *France* the Pox. You have surely heard it reported, that the *Polanders* have defeated the *Turks* Army, which was composed of two hundred thousand Combatants, the halfe whereof, lay dead upon the place. It must necessarily be granted, that but he only after such a losse, could make such a second, and that he hath a source of men that cannot be drawn dry, either by warres, by plagues, or by any other ill disposition of the aire, seeing that in the abundance of all things, that his Empire produces, there is nothing at so low a price, as the lives of souldiers. When I dream that the Duke of *Bouillon* is shut up in *Sedan*, from whence he cannot come forth to goe and make his partie, I imagine to my selfe, a poore mother standing upon the brink of a River, seeing her sonne slaine on the other side, neither being able to help him or bid him farewel: never was man so assaulted with such diversity of thoughts, nor oppreest with unprofitable cares; one while it vexes him that sufficient resistance was not made at St. *Jehan de Angeli*; and again I find that they made not use of the advantage which they might have taken At one and the same time I would have been at *Montauban* to defend, and in *England* to get succour for it. But why dwels so great a spirit in a body that hath no more heate in it then a feaver gives it, and which is never removed but by *Amber-Greece* and Phisick? Its known that the better part of it dwels in the history of troubles, and that in this world it holds but the place of another. In the mean time, the affaires of the Rebels grow to ruine; and if they make any small attempts, it is not that their hopes increase, nor their courage strengthens, but it is Gods will that they shall not have either victory or peace.

The Duke of *Bouillon* sees all this, not being able to remedy, and if sometimes to divert his spirit from so vexing an object, he thinks to seek some comfort out of the kingdome, and amongst strangers affaires, of one side he discovers a puissant Army under the conduct of *Spinola*, which threatens all *Germany*; and of the other side he sees his *Nephew*, whom from having been *Count Palatine*, and King of *Bohemia*, is become pensioner to the *Hollanders*, and a Gentleman of the Prince of *Orange* his traine; as the beasts in time past, were wont to be crowned, which ought to be sacrificed; so fortune presented a Kingdome to this poor man, to the end he should lose his life; but

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not to lie, he hath shewed himselfe craftier then she, and fled so we he could never be overtaken. Notwithstanding to speak home, the gaine which he got by not dying at the battaile of *Prague*, is not so great as the reproach which shall be cast upon him for living by his owne fault, and for having witnessed to all the people of the world, that the end of his desires, was only to attaine to be old; and without doubt, as it is a great advantage to be the Grand-child of an usurper, so there is not a more miserable condition, then to have been a King, and now to be no more but the subject, or tragedy to playes. Let men then as much as they please, praise the designes of this man, and his good intention. I for my part, find nothing so easie as to fly and lose; and posterity shall put him rather in the number of theeves that have been punished, then of conquerours which have triumphed upon the earth. Since it is true, that the persecution ceases in *England*, and that the King wearieth himself with giving us Martyrs, it may be, that within a short time, he will altogether set soules at liberty, that stil makes one step to his mother Church. As for my part, I despaire not of this great conversion, that all honest men will with salt tears, desire this from heaven, knowing to the contrary, that he hath a reasonable spirit, and may be perswaded upon a thing that he determined on. I assure my selfe that he studies every day the truth of the instructions the great Cardinall *Peron* left him, and that that will be the strongest in his Kingdomes assoon as his Conscience ——— authority better reestablished then his. His predecessors knew not how to reigne in regard of him, no not she that plaid with so many heads, and who was more happy then needful for the Christian Common-wealth. It is certain, that heretofore *England* believed in God, but this day it only believes in its Prince, and Religion makes but a part of the obedience yeilded unto him; in so much, that if he would but set in the place of all the points of Faith, all the fables of Poesie, he should find in his subjects complying enough to bring them to his will, and perswade himself, that he may make all things just that he does, and all things culpaple that he condemns; his Authority came not so far at the first stroake; and there must be time to make men lose *reason, but at this time when all spirits are vanquished, and that the great beliefe that he hath given of his judgment, takes away the liberty of theirs; they can imagine nothing above the wisdome of the King, and without medling with any thing that passes between God and him, they believe that if he com-

*See King* James *his Remonstrance against Cardi* Peron.

* *The way for Romish Conversion.*

cõmand them to tread under foot all the Holy things, and to violate all the Lawes, all that was but for the safety of their Consciences. But it is to be believed, that this Divine providence, which conducts things to their ends, by means which in apparance are contrary, will use the bloodinesse of this people to procure their salvation, and cause them to come again into the Church, by the same doore they went out of it. And since the hearts of Kings are in the hands of God, there wants nothing but a good motion sent unto him, to build againe the Altars which he hath beaten downe, and at one clap to turne to the true Religion the soules of three Kingdomes. A while agoe he sent a Gentleman expresly to this Court, that it might not be contrary with the Marriage which he treated with *Spaine*, and to endeavour to make the *Romans* think well of it; and that one of these daies, it may be, he will call his Holinesse, and the sacred Colledge of Cardinals; but hitherto these are terms of a tongue unknowne to him. Furthermore, in this Country we imagine, that there will be no lack of warrs till *Rochel* be reduced to extremity: It is very true, that the forces which the King hath left before it, are not great; but for how many men think you, they count the Captaine into whose hands he hath put them! It is not permitted to judg of that which he will doe by the ordinary course of the things of this world, his actions cannot be drawn into example; and though he be infinitely wise, notwithstanding it is certaine, that in what he undertakes, it alwaies appears somewhat greater then mans wisdome; Yet truly my Lord, after having considered the motion of the Stars which are so just; the order of the seasons, which are so governed; the beauties of nature, which are so divers; I find in the end, that there is nothing in the world, where God sheweth himself so admirable, as in the guiding of the life of my Lord your Father. But to the purpose, behold this that I added yesterday to the great discourse (which I made by your Commandment and which you much praised the first time.)

## Monsr. Balsac *to the King Louis.*

SIR, The late King your father hath not done more, and nevertheless not to speak of the Actions of his life; your Majesty knowes that his last thoughts made all the Kings of the earth to tremble, and his memorie untill this day is reverenced to the uttermost ends of the world. Notwithstanding, Sir, be it that you are come

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in a better time then he, be it that God hath destinated your Majesty for higher things, the glory which you have gotten at the going out of your infancy is not lesse then that which that great Prince deserved when he was was growne old in Armes: and in affaires as he, so you make your selfe redoubted without tyranny; as he, so you governe your people. But I am constrained to avow that your Majesty must needs yeild to him in one thing, which is, that you have not yet begot a Sonne that resembles you. But certainly Sir, wee cannot any longer time have this advantage over you. All *Europe* requires Princes and princesses of you, and it is certaine, that the world ought not to end, but when your race shall faile: if you will then that the beauty of the things we see, passe to another age; If you wil that the publick tranquillity have an assured foundation, and that your victories may be eternal, you must talke no more of working powerfully, nor of doing greate Acts of State, but with the Queen.

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## Monsr Toyrax *to the Duke of* Buckingham.

MY Lord, your curtesies are sufficiently known to all the world; and you place them with so much judgment, that those only may hope after them that make themselves worthy by their actions. Now I know no action so worthy of that merit, as for a man to imploy himself,—— if in the defence of this place he vanquish not all difficulties —— so that no despair of succor nor fear of rigor, in case of extreamity, can ever make me quit a design so generous; as also I shall esteeme my self unworthy of any your favours, if in this action I omit the least point of my duty; the issue whereof cannot be but honourable: and by how much you adde to this glory by your valour and carriage, by so much I am more bound to remaine during my life, your Lordships humble and most obedient servant, *Toirax.*

## Ab ignoto *concerning the estate of* Rochel *after the surrender.*

SIR, I presume you have long since heard the particulars of *Rochel*; and that by farre better relations then mine; notwithstanding you may be pleased to know what I observed and learned there my selfe eight daies after the Kings entrance, whither curiosity and some other causes drew me. For the siege and Dike, they *præ cæteris excellens*, were in all parts most royall and farre more perfect and uniforme, then relation could make me conceive: The misery of the siege almost incredible, but to such only as have seene it, or some part thereof: Corn was worth after the rate of 800 Franks the bushel; an Oxe or Cow, sold after the rate of 2000 Franks. The host where I lay, sold a Jade horse, worth it may be four or five pounds, for 800 Franks, and for five and twenty weeks, tasted no bread: of twelve persons in his family, only he and his wife are living; who also within two daies had dyed, if the Town had not been rendred. He and his wife made a Collation the day before the Town was rendred, which cost him about six or seven pound sterling; their chear was a pound of bread, made of Straw, Sugar, and other Spices; halfe a pound of horse flesh, three or foure ounces of Comfits, and a pint of Wine, which they imagin'd, was the last good chear they should make together; and in like ease, were all the rest of the Towne, only two or three families of the better sort excepted; by which you may conjecture what rates such kind of provision were at. There were eaten between 3000 or 4000 Cow-hides, all the dogs, cats, mice and rats they could get, not a horse left alive, which was food for the better sort, only Madam *Rohan*, after having eaten her Coach horse, and her servants the Leather of her Coach; removed, though full sore against her will, her lodging from *Rochel* to the Castle of *Mooke* or *Nioeul*, where she is under guard, and since (it is said) to the Bastile in *Paris*: God send her and hers to heaven. There died for want of food in *Rochel* 15000 and rested living when the King entred betweene three and four thousand, of which there are since very many dead; they dayly discover new miseries, which when I was there, were not spoken of; the mother and the child at the brest both dead, the child having eaten most

most part of the mothers breſt; a ſouldier was found dead with a piece of his fellows fleſh in his mouth; a Burger having a ſervant killed, powdred her, which fed him and his wife a long time, and dainty meat too: many languiſhing and finding themſelves draw neer their ends, cauſed their coffins to be carried into the Churches, laid them down in them and ſo dyed; theſe were of the better ſort. The common ſort laid themſelves down in Coffins in the Church yards and there dyed; others in the ſtreets, others not able to go out of their houſes dyed and remained there, their friends being not able to remove them thence. So that when the firſt Forces of the King entered, there were in the Town, of Corps unburied, ſome in the Church-yards, others in the ſtreets, ſome in their houſes, ſome on the floore, others in their beds, beſides them that died without the Gates under hedges, and in ditches round about the Towne, which I ſaw my ſelfe when I was there; halfe devoured with Ravens and other beaſts, and fowls of the aire; In fine, the like miſery hath not been ſeene nor heard of.

The King on All-Saints day, which was the day of his entry, with a wax Candle in his hand, together with the Cardinall and all the Nobility, in like manner, went all over the Town in proceſſion with the B. Sacrament. The chiefe Temple of the *Hugonots* ſhall be converted into a Church Cathedral, and *Rochel* to be a Biſhoprick. All the fortifications and walls to Landwards to be razed, and the Foſſes filled ſo that a plough may paſſe, as in arable Land. The Maior, with ſome of the chiefeſt, are baniſh'd for ever, others for a certaine time limited, though quietly to poſſeſſe their goods, moveable and immoveable, and a general remiſſion of all crimes paſt: and all others that were in the Towne before the deſcent of the Engliſh into *Rhee*, and when the Town was rendred, ſhall likewiſe enjoy the ſame priviledge, though no child or heir abſent, is, or ſhall be capable to inherit the goods or lands of his parents or friends deceaſed, but all is at the Kings diſpoſing. The King hath granted them free liberty of their Religion in the Town of *Rochel*, which in ſhort time will all be rooted out; for no Forrainer (though naturalized) ſhall be admitted to repair and inhabit in *Rochel*, nor *French* but *Roman* Catholicks. The King hath added to the revenues of his Crown 20000 Franks *per annum*, which was a rent belonging to the Town-houſe, for the maintenance of the fortifications and State of *Rochel*. The Town-houſe is to be razed, and a pillar or pyramids with an ample inſcription of the particulars of the ſiege and rebellion, there tobe erected. The forts of the Iſle of *Rhee* and *Oleron*, to be razed, & (as it is ſaid)

moſt of all the chief forts of *France*, except on the frontiers. Four Regiments are yet in *Rochel*, the reſt of the Army (at leaſt the moſt part) are gon to winter in thoſe parts of *France*, towards the coaſts of *Italy*, to be ready on all occaſions to ſuccor the Duke of *Mantua*, as it is thought. The Fathers of the ſociety have very faire buildings given them for their eſtabliſhing there, and 1000 Franks to begin to build; to which is added a revenue which I know not, the place is ſaid to be where the Hereticks kept their ſchools of Divinity, and Councel of warre, or rebellion. And where the *Engliſh* had their Church, the *Oratorians* are likewiſe eſtabliſhed with large augmentations; The Capuchins are where was the chiefeſt Fort, called *Le Baſtion de Levangile*; The Minors are where the Dike was, and divers other elſewhere. There are at leaſt 8000 houſes in *Rochel*, which are faine to fall to the King to diſpoſe of for want of heirs. The Pariſians are preparing a moſt ſumptuous and magnificent receipt for the King, which is the cauſe he hath not been at *Paris* ſince his return from *Rochel*, but is at *St. Germins*, and thereabouts, till all things are ready for his entry, which is thought will exceede in bravery and magnificence all the preſidents of many years. The *Jeſuits* are by the body of *Paris* imployed to make the ſpeeches and inſcriptions for that purpoſe, which the body of the *Sorbon* take ill; The Prince of *Conde* doth daily get ground of *Rohan*, and hath lately taken priſoners (as it is ſaid) thirty Captaines and eight hundred ſouldiers. Thoſe of *Montauban* boaſt (as it is ſaid) that they have proviſion for three or four years, and will ſtand out til the laſt: though ſome of the beſt eſteeme, think it is only to draw the King to the beſt compoſition they can.

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## *The Proteſtants of France, to* Charles *King of Great* Britain.

SIR, the knowledg and reſentment which it hath pleaſed your Majeſty to take of the miſery of the afflicted Churches of *France*, hath given us the boldneſſe to awaken your Compaſſion in ſuch meaſure, as our calamities are aggravated by the unmercifull rigour of our perſecutors, and as the preſent ſtorme doth threaten neer at hand the total ruine, and lamentable deſtruction of that which the mercy of God had yet kept intire unto us ſince the deſolation of *Rochel*: and as we have adored with humility the judgment of God

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in this bad succeſſe (which we impute only to his wrath juſtly kindled againſt us for our ſins) ſo our ſilence could be thought no leſſe then ingratitude, if we had not at the beginning of our Aſſembly reſolved the moſt humble and moſt affectionate acknowledgment which wee now render to your Majeſty, for the great ſuccour which you have ſent us, intereſsing your ſelf ſo far in the grief of our oppreſſion, and in the means of our deliverance. The moſt humble ſupplication which we do offer to your Majeſty next after this our thanſgiving, is, that your Majeſty (according to the ſweet inclination of your goodneſſe) would permit us ſtil to preſent our complaints, and diſcover our wounds before the eyes of your royall charity, proteſting unto your Majeſty, that we ſee none other hand under heaven by which we may be healed, but your Majeſties, in caſe your Majeſty will ſtill vouchſafe to lift it up on the behalfe of oppreſſed innocents, and of the Church of our Lord outragiouſly perſecuted by the moſt invenom'd paſſion that our age, or any age preceedent hath ſeen; we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to read this letter which is written with our tears and with our blood; and (according to your exquiſite judgement, your incomparable wiſdome, and the devotion of your zeale, to the glory of God) to conſider our eſtate, which is ſuch, that our perſecutors upon the loſſe of *Rochel*, ſuppoſing we had been put to utter diſcomfiture, and into a weakneſſe without recovery or reſiſtance, and boaſting themſelves, that now there remained no more any eyes unto us, but to bewaile our ſelves, nor any ſenſe, but to feel the ſmart thereof, without further imploying our hands or our arms for our defence, have made uſe of this advantage, with ſo much fierceneſſe, inſultation and cruelty, that they have not only ſacked the houſes, and with an unheard of rudeneſſe and barbariſme, rifled the goods of our poore brethren of this Province of *Languedock*, relying themſelves upon publick faith, and the benefits of the edicts of pacification (eſpecially of the laſt which your Majeſty had favourably procured and confirmed unto us) diſſipating whole families, and exiling them with perfidious inhumanity, but alſo they have laid waſt and deſtroyed almoſt all the Churches of the ſame, which are at their command and diſcretion under the liberty of edicts; imploying Monks (the *Popes Emiſſaries*) aſſiſted with force of ſouldiers, and of the tyrannicall Authority of Governours, to raviſh mens ſouls, and to draw the moſt conſtant with violence to *Maſſe*, and to the feete of the Idol, interdicting aſſembles, and all exerciſe of true Religion in the ſame places, beating, impriſoning, ranſoming, aſſaſinating the faithful and their paſtors with an inraged fury, which hath exceed-

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ed all the inhumanities of the Inquiſition, profaning and demoliſhing of Temples; their violence having proceeded ſo farre, as publickly to burn in pomp and triumph, the ſacred books of Gods Covenant in preſence of the Governor of the Province, with damnable ſacriledge, which cryeth vengeance before God, and doth elevate its voice to the eares, (Sir) of a moſt puiſſant Monarch, profeſſing the purity of the Goſpel, zealous of his glory, and capable to revenge ſo outragious an injury. But your Majeſty ſhal underſtand, that all this hath produced an effect much contrary to the intention of our perſecutors; for ſo farre it is from us, that their objects of pity and griefe, whereof the very thought doth make us repine, ſhould render us faint-hearted, and cauſe us to yeild our ſelves in prey to their rage, that on the contrary, ſeeing the Mask taken off, and the pretext which they had alledged of the Army of rebellion whereof they accuſed us, quite removed; and that without any more diſſimulation, their deſign goes on to the ruinating of our Religion, and the extirpation of our Church, and that there remained no more hope of ſafety and liberty, but generall reſolution to die in the Arms of our juſt and vigorous defence, and that our perſecutors poſſeſſing the ſpirit of our King, and hindring the effects of his bounty, have obtained a declaration of the fifteenth of *December* laſt, which alluring us to implore his grace and mercy, yet leaveth us not any hope of enjoying the benefits of any edict, nor by conſequence of any tolerable peace, and ſoliciting us to diſarm our ſelves, and to put our ſelves into the condition of ſacrafices deſtined by one and by one to the ſlaughter, to be all at one ſtroak offered up to the fury of Antichriſt, by one general Maſſacre throughout the whole Kingdome, whereof we doe not only heare the vaunts, but doe almoſt ſee great armies upon our backs for execution. This makes us (Sir) have recourſe to your Royal and redoubtable puiſſance, as to a place of refuge, which God hath yet left open to us, in your Ardent charity, to finde within your aſſiſtance aſſured and effectual means to avoid ruine, which is ready inevitably to fal upon our heads. And to attaine thereunto, (Sir) we have religiouſly renewed in this aſſembly, the oath of union, which binds us with a ſacred bond unto the Armes of your Majeſty; of the violating whereof your Majeſty may be aſſured, that we will never make our ſelves guilty, being encouraged to this reſolution by the reiterate confirmations, which my Lord the Duke of *Rohan* hath lately given us, that your Majeſty continues to take to heart the aſſiſtance and deliverance of our Churches according to your Royal promiſes, being debtors to his ſage and valorous conduct, and to his pious magnanimity,

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for all that ſtrength and liberty which we yet enjoy: and we will leave unto poſterity memorable examples of our Conſtancie which prefers death before reproachfull cowardize and ſhameful ſervitude, hoping that out of our aſhes, God will draw matter for his glory, and the propagation of his Church; being perſwaded (Sir) that you are the inſtrument of his election to give us comfort and deliverance from our evils in time convenient. Be you aſſured alſo, that he wil uphold us in that extraordinary valour wherewith he hath inſpired us to endure all extremities with a patience invincible, expecting the ſuccour of his hands through yours. Of all (Sir) which a great Monarch could ever doe in the world, nothing can be more juſt then this interprize, nor more glorious then this deliverance: the Lord having exalted you to the moſt eminent degree of dignity and power to be the nurſing father of his Church, ſhe hath right, being thus mangled and bloody, to ſtretch forth her arms unto you, even ſhee that Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, the common mother of Chriſtians, and and your mother alſo, by the reſpect of her bruiſed members, and of the fearing of her innocent breſt, covered with wounds, ſhe will move your pity; She aſſures her ſelfe (Sir) that the glorious title which you beare of the Defender of the faith, ſhall interceede for your accepting of her humble requeſt: if you doe extend unto us your cares, your affections, and your formidable Armes, you ſhall nouriſh in our hearts affections of honour and obedience which ſhall never die; you ſhall daunt all powers that would raiſe themſelves againſt your Crown; you ſhall raiſe your glory to ſuch a height, that all the earth ſhall admire it all Chriſtendome ſhall celebrate it, and your name ſhall be of ſweet odour unto Angels and men; and in perpetual benediction unto all poſterity of Saints, and your reward ſhall be great and eternal in heaven. May it pleaſe your Majeſty to pardon us, if our neceſſities preſſing us, we all do preſſe your Majeſty by our inſtant ſupplications accompanied with a moſt humble reſpect to ſtrengthen our ſelves ſo ſoon as may be with the honour of your commandments, and the declaration of your favour, the wholeſome effects of your aſſiſtance, according to the ſweetneſſe of your compaſſion, and Charity, and we will redouble our prayers to the divine clemency, for the length and ſafety of your life, and the proſperity of your eſtate, being ready with a moſt holy and ardent affection to expoſe our goods and lives to render us worthy of the quality which we dare take of your moſt humble, moſt obedient, and moſt faithful ſervants, the Deputies of the reformed Churches of *France*, in their general Aſſembly held at *Niſmes*, and for all *Jaques de Mareſey adjunct la Reque*.

## *The Duke of* Rohan *to his Majesty of great* Brittain, *the* 12 *of* March 1628.

SIR, the deplorable accident of the losse of *Rochel*, which God hath suffered to humble us under his hand, hath redoubled in the hearts of our enemies their passionate fierceneſſe to our utter ruine with an assured hope to attain thereunto. But it hath not taken away from the Churches of those Provinces, either the heart or the affection to oppose their unjust plots by a just and lively defence. This is it hath made them take resolution to assemble themselves to cojoyn in the midst of these commotions to assist me with their good counsels, and with me to provide the means of their deliverance. And for as much as the greatest support which God hath raised unto them upon earth is the succour our Churches have, and do look to receive from your Majesty, the general Assembly hath desired that my Letters, which alone hitherto have represented unto your Majesty the interest of the publick cause, might be joyned to their most humble supplications put up to your Majesty. I do it Sir, with so much the more affection, because I am a witnesse that these poor people, who with sighes and groanes implore your assistance, having once laid down their weapons which the oppression of their enemies made so necessary, because they knew such was your desire to take them up again, so soon as they heard that your Majesty did oblige them thereunto by your Counsel and Promises; they have upon this only assurance, continued all dangers, surmounted all oppositions, accounted their estates as nothing, and are still ready to spend their bloud till the very last drop; they esteem your love and favour more precious then their own lives, and whatsoever promises or threatnings have been used to shake their constant resolution, they could never be brought to make any breach in that they had tyed themselves to, never to hear of any Treaty without your consent. This great zeal for the preservation of all the Churches of this Kingdome, which is naturally knit to the preservation of these few we have left, and that fidelity with our example, are worthy and glorious subjects to exercise your Charity and Power. You are (Sir) Defender of that Faith whereof they make profession, suffer it not to be so unjustly oppressed; you have stirred up their affection in this defence by your royal promises, and those Sacred words

words, that your Majesty would imploy all the power in your Dominions to warrant and protect all our Churches from the ruine that threatned them, have been (after Gods favour) the onely foundation of all their hope: so the Churches should thinke no greater a Crime could be committed by them, then doubt of your Royal performance thereof, if their miseries and Calamities have at the beginning moved your Compassion. This wofull subject hath increased with such violence, that nothing but your succor can prevent their utter undoing: for at this day the greatest offence our Enemies lay to our Charge, (and proclaim nothing can expiate but our blood) is, to have implored your aid, and hope for it: for this cause, our Lands and Possessions are taken away and destroyed; our houses made desolate, and reduced to ashes; our heads exposed to sale to murtherers; our families banished; and whersoever the cruelty of them that hate us can extend, men and women are dragged and beaten to Mass with Bastinadoes. To be short, the horrour of the persecution we suffer is so great, that our words are too weak to express it. Moreover, we see great and mighty Armies at our Gates, that waite their onely fit time to fall with impetuosity upon the places of retreat that remain; and after that, to expel and banish the exercise of Religion, and massacre all the faithfull ones throughout the whole kingdomes. These things considered (Sir) I do beseech your Majesty not to forsake us. I should feare by such words to offend so great, so potent, and so faithfull a king; But because of urgent necessity that presseth us, I have presumed importunately to intreat the hastening of your assistance, to keep us from falling under the heavy burthen of our Enemies endeavors. Your Majesty need not to draw, but out of the source of your own profound wisedom, for the fit meanes how to make your succor dreadfull and powerfull to those that contemne it, and salutiferous to so many people that wait and long for it. Your Majesty shall by this meanes acquire the greatest glory that can be desired, pluck out from the fire and sword three hundred thousand families that continually pray to God for your prosperity; preserve a people whom God hath purchased with his most pretious blood, and which hath (even in the middest of most eminent dangers, and cruellest torments) kept intire a sound and an upright faith, both towards God and man; you shall settle the fidelity of your word, the reputation of your kingdomes and Armes, to a pitch worthy of your grandeur; and in repressing of the audaciousnes of those that go about every day to blemish the same, through their vile and unworthy reproches, you shal add to your titles that of the Restorer of a people,

the most innocent and most barbarously persecuted that ever was. In that which concerns me, Sir, I will not make mention to your Majesty of my owne Intereſt, though I might doe it, having, as it seems, the honor to be unto you what I am: but I have so long since consecrated all things with my selfe to the publicke good, that I shall esteeme my self happie enough, so that the Church were not miserably distressed; and that I may have this advantage, that through my actions (which your Majestie will not disavow) I may make it known, that I am

Your Majesties most humble and most obedient servant,

*Henry de Rohan.*

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## *Pope* Gregory *the* 15 *to the Inquisitor-General of* Spain, April 19. 1623.

*Venerable Brother,*

THe protection of the Orthodox Religion in the most spacious Kingdoms of *Spain*, we think to be happily committed to your Fraternity: for we know with what watchful vigilancie, in this renowned station, you are careful that Monsters of wicked doctrine steal not into the bounds of the Church and Vine. But at this time occasion from heaven is offered you, by which you may extend the benefits of your piety beyond the bounds of those Kingdoms, and extend them also to forraign Countries. We understand that the Prince of *Wales*, the King of *Great Britains* son, is lately arrived there, carried with a hope of Catholike Marriage: Our desire is, that he should not stay in vain in the Courts of those Kings, to whom the defence of the Popes authority, and care of advancing Religion, hath procured the renowned name of *Catholique*. Wherefore by Apostolike Letters we exhort his Catholike Majestie, that he would gently endeavour sweetly to reduce that Prince to the obedience of the Romane Church, to which the ancient Kings of *Great Britain* have (with heavens approbation) submitted their Crowns and Scepters. Now to the attaining of this victory, which to the conquered promiseth triumphs, and principalities of heavenly felicity, we need not exhaust the Kings treasure, nor levie Armies of furious souldiers; but we must fetch from heaven the armour of Light, whose divine splendor may allure that Princes eye, and gently expel all errours from his minde. Now in the managing of these businesses,

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what power and art you have, we have well known long ago: wherefore we wish you to go like a religious Counsellor to the Catholike King, and to try all ways which by this present occasion may benefit the Kingdoms of *Britain* and the Church of *Rome*. The matter is of great weight and moment, and therefore not to be amplified with words. Whosoever shall enflame the minde of this Royal youth with the love of the Catholike Religion, and breed a hate in him of Heretical impiety, shall begin to open the Kingdom of heaven to the Prince of *Britain*, and to gain the Kingdoms of *Britain* to the Apostolike See; into the possession of so great glory, I make no doubt but that your Fraternity, armed with the sword of Verity, will be desirous to come. About which matter, our venerable brother *Innocent* Bishop of the Apostolike Nuncio, shall discourse with you more at large; whom you may trust. And we with most accurate prayers will endeavour to procure the assistance of God for you, upon whom most lovingly we bestow our Apostolical benediction.

*Given at* Rome *in St.* Peters, *under the Fishers Seal*, April 19. 1623. *of our Popedom* 30.

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## *Pope* Urban *to* Lewis *the* 13. Aug. 4. 1629.

*To our dearest Son in Christ Jesus*, Lewis *the most Christian King of France*; *Pope* Urban *sendeth greeting.*

MOst dear Son in Christ, Health, and Apostolical benediction. The high exploits of your Royal valour, which have drawn upon them all the eyes of Christendom, bring a great deal of comfort to our fatherly care, as well in regard of the glory of your Arms, as the hope of your triumphs. For considering, as we do, with much grief, the impiety of Hereticks, living in some places without fear or danger, we now thank the Lord of hosts, that hath in so fit an opportunity made your Majestie to maintain with Arms the dignity of the Catholike Religion. Oh fair Apprentishiip of Royal Warfare, and worthy of a most Christian King! What an admirable thing it is, that the age which other Princes, out of a kinde of softness and idleness, use to pass away in sports and delights, your Majesty should employ so generously, so fortunately, in appeasing differences, conducting Armies, and besieging the strongest places of Heretiks, and all not without the special counsel of God, by which Kings raign!

Is it almost credible, that the very first steps of your thoughts should carry you in so high and troublesome an enterprise; and that the dangers and difficulties which have stopt others in their course, should onely serve for a spur to the greatness of your courage? Enjoy (dear Son) the Renown your name hath got, and follow the God that fights for you; to the end that as you are now held the Thunderbolt and Buckler of War, so you may hereafter be esteemed the praise of Israel, and the glory of the world. From the height of our Apostolick Dignity, whereto it hath pleased God of his goodness to raise us, unworthy of so great grace, we assist your Arms with heart and affection, and by our frequent prayers prepare the divine remedies. And though we doubt not but your own vertue will make you constant in the work you have begun, nevertheless we have thought good to adde Exhortations, that the world may see the care we have of the advancement of true Religion, and how willing we are to give way to your glory. You have been hitherto infinitely bound to God for his bounty towards you; and, as we hope and wish, you shall hereafter a great deal more. For you having your minde endued with celestial doctrine, and not with the bare precepts of humane wisdom, do well know, that Kingdoms have their foundation upon the truth of Orthodox faith: and unless God keep the City, what principality can subsist with any assurance? It may easily be judged with what fidelity they are likely to defend your Royal Throne, that have cast the very Saints themselves out of their Temples, and done as much as in them lay to put them out of the number of the blessed, yea out of Paradise it self, that with impious temerity condemn the Institutions of our Fathers, the Custom of Kings, the Decrees of Popes, and the Ceremonies of the Church. These are the disturbers of the Christian Commonwealth, and the reproaches of *France*, whom the great God hath reserved, to be exterminated, as it were, in the beginning of your Raign. Know then, that all *Europe* (which the event of your Arms holds all this time in suspence) hopes shortly it will hoyse sail upon the Ocean under the conduct of your Greatness and Power, and go to the place which serves now for Sanctuary and protection to the Hereticks and Rebels, and it will shortly serve for a Trophie of your Victories. We are confidently perswaded, that neither fear nor inconstancie shall ever be able to divert you from the pursuit of your so glorious enterprise, nor hinder you to subvert that unsanctified people: Onely, by the way, we would have you remember, that the Saints in heaven assist that Prince who takes upon him the defence of Religion, and fight on his side like fellow-

ellow-ſouldiers. The ſame God that hardned the waters like dry land, and turned the waters of the Sea into walls, to give ſafe paſſage to his childrens Army, will certainly in this moſt pious action be as favourable to you: and then we ſhall have good cauſe to hope, that having eſtabliſht your own Kingdom, and cruſht the impiety that was and yet is there, you may one day, by the progreſs of your victorious Arms, joyn the Orient to the Occident; imitating the glories of your Anceſtors, who have ever born as much reſpect to the Exhortations of Popes, as to the commandment of God. St. *Lewis*, whoſe name you bear, and whoſe ſteps you follow, invites you to it: ſo did the firſt of your Race, who in defending the Apoſtolike authority, and propagating Chriſtian Religion, laid the beſt and ſureſt foundation to your Royal Houſe. Follow (dear Son) which are the ornaments of the world, the commandments of heaven: pour out your wrath and indignation upon thoſe people that have not, nor will not know God, and our Apoſtolike benignity; to the end the divine treaſure of heaven may belong unto you by a juſt acquiſition. In the mean time, we ſend you moſt affectionately our Apoſtolike benediction.

*Given at* Rome *at great St.* Maries, *under the Seal of the Fiſher, the 4 day of* Auguſt 1629. *being the ſeventh yeer of our Pontificate.*

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## *The Duke of* Buckingham, *Chancellor elect, to the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *June* 5. 1626.

MR. Vice-Chancellor, and Gentlemen of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, there is no one thing that concerneth me more near, then the good opinion of good and learned honeſt men; amongſt which number as you have ever held the firſt rank in the eſtimation of the Commonwealth, and fame of the Chriſtian world; ſo in conferring of this Honour of Chancellorſhip upon me, I muſt confeſs you have ſatisfied a great ambition of mine own, which I hope will never forſake me, and that is, To be thought well of, by men that deſerve well, and men of your profeſſion. Yet I cannot attribute this Honour to any deſert in me, but to the reſpect you bear to the ſacred memory of my Maſter deceaſed, the King of Scholars, who loved you, and honoured you often with his preſence; and to my gracious Maſter now living, who inherits with his bleſſed Fathers vertues, the affection he bore your Univerſity. I beſeech you, as you have now made your

your choice with so many kinde and noble circumstances, as the manner is to me acceptable and grateful as the matter; so to assure your selves, that you have cast your votes upon your servant, who is as apprehensive of the time you have shewed your affection in, as of the Honour you have given him. And I earnestly request you all, that you would be pleased not to judge me comparatively by the success and happiness you have had in your former choice of Chancellors, who as they knew better, perhaps by advantage of education in your Universitie, how to value the deserts of men of your qualities and degrees; so could they not be more willing to cherish you then my self, who will make amends for want of Scholarship, in my love to the professors of it, and unto the Source from whence it cometh: having now most just cause more chiefly to employ my uttermost endeavours, with what favour I enjoy from a Royal Master, to the maintaining of the Charters, Priviledges, and Immunities of your Universitie in general, and to the advancing of the particular merits of the Students therein. And since I am so far engaged unto you, I will presume upon a further courtesie, which is, That you will be pleased to supply me with your advice, and suggest a way unto me (as my self likewise shall not fail to think on some means) how we may make Posterity remember you have a thankful Chancellor, and one that both really loved you and your Universitie. Which is a resolution writ in an honest heart, by him that wanteth much to express his affection to you; who will ever be

*York*-house, 5 *Junii*, 1626. Your faithful friend, and humble servant, *Geor. Buckingham.*

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## *King* Charles *to the Universitie of* Cambridge, *in approbation of the Election.* June 6. 1626.

TRusty and Welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas upon Our Pleasure intimated unto you by the Bishop of *Durham* for the choice of your Chancellor, you have with such duty as We expected highly satisfied Us in your election, We cannot in Our Princely nature (who are much possessed with this testimony of your ready and loyal affections) but for ever to let you know, how much you are therein made partakers of Our Royal approbation: and as We shall ever conceive, that an Honour done to a person We favour, is out of a loyal respect had unto Our Self: and as we shall ever justifie *Buckingham*

*Bingham* worthy of this your Election, so shall you finde the fruits of it: for We have found him a faithful servant to our dear Father of blessed memory; and Our Self cannot but undertake that he will prove such a one unto you; and will assist him with a gracious willingness, in any thing that may concern the good of the University in general, or the particular merits of any Students there.

*Given under Our Signet at Our Palace of* Westminster, *the sixth of* June, *in the second yeer of Our Raign.*

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## *The University of* Cambridge *Answer to the Duke*, June 6. 1626.

Illustrissime Princeps, atq; auspicatissime Cancellarie,

NEptunum *perhibent gratum cum* Minerva *iniisse certamen, utere re magis mortalium conserret donum: ille potens maris Deus illico effudit equum, Illa pacis & musarum numen, suppeditavit oleam; utrumq; certe Deo dignum munus. Adeo nostrum non est tantam litem dirimere, quin faceſſat potius litis importuna vox, ubi non alia quam Amoris propinantur pignora. Perinde tecum se res habet, excellentissime Dux, quem jam olim potentissimus Oceani Britannici Neptunus, non solum suprema Maris Praefectura cohonestavit, sed & Praetorio donavit Equo: adeo ut illius munere & propria virtute, unus audias, Terra Mariq; summus Dictator, ut sic dicamus Classis, & Magister Equitum. Post tanta honorum vestigia, ecce, nostra* Minerva *tua jam* Cantabrigia *supplex suas obtendit oleas, tanquam inter victrices lauros lambentes hederas; oleas quidem quibus & tuis rebus, & rebus tum publicis tum Literariis precatur simul & auspicatur pacem. Nec ad usque summus gens togata impotenter superbi, ut hoc Cancellariatu arbitremur, Nos tantillos tibi in id Meritorum & Gratiae culmen evecto, quicquam vel testimonii ad aestimationem, vel tituli ad gloriam contuliſſe. Quod autem ipse aliter opinaris vestra illa pietas est, haud ambitio, major tua tum virtus tum decus est, quam ut eis aut nostra quidpiam suffragia addere, aut aliorum possit Invidia detrahere: stella in primo orbe, quas fixas vocant, altiores sunt, quam ut ad eas valeat terrarum umbra pertingere, quanquam fœlicissimae memoriae* Jacobo *pientissimoq;* Carolo *non est, quod hoc quicquid est nominis te debere dicas, citra est, misellum munus Academicum, citra est quam ut tantos auctores mereatur, quin vestram potius celsitudinem, vestrum tutelare numen, Nos illis Principibus imputabimus, qui inde ex illius potissimum voto te elegimus, unde non nisi immortalia accipere beneficia solebamus. Quod si nostrum hoc*

in

*in vestram Excellentiam studium tibi ipsa uti scribū commenda: tempestivitas, nos illud saltem debituri sumus temporibus cæterum nonnimis felicibus, quod tibi vel inde gratiores sumus; quanquam suspicamur, ut hoc totum quod de oportunitate insinuas merum sit, nec magnis ingeniis insolens bene de suis cultoribus merendi artificium, quæ eo consilio singula suorum officia maxime tempestive autumant, quo uberius sibi remunerandi argumentum aucupentur: nam faciles credimus honorificis quibus nos dignaris promissis. Jamdiu est, ex quo te animo atque opera Cancellarium sensimus, nihilq; tibi hoc tempore nostra potuere suffragia quam nomen adjicere. Nolis tamen ut cum illustrissimis heroibus præcessoribus tuis, te committamus, in quo sane tua prædicanda modestia illorum honori & memoriæ consuluit, ne tanti fulgoris claritudine offuscentur, ut enim nulla re magis se jactat* Cantabrigia *quam præteritorum gloria ac splendore Patronorum; hodie tamen, nescio quid solito angustius spirat, & tuis superba auspiciis quasi* Buckinghamiensis *aucta tutelis, magnaq; sphe gravida intumescit. Ad extremum nos ad concilium vocas, quâ potissimum ratione quo digno monumento tuo, in nos amoris memoriam posteritati consecres, verum enim vero (Illustrissime Dux, indulgentissimeq; Cancellarie) major est ea provincia, quam ut nos eam subeundo simus, quod tuo amori par sit monumentum, tuum potest solummodo excogitare ingenium. Nos interea alia manebit cura quibus nimirum apud Deum precibus quibus studiorum vigiliis officiorum obsequiis tantæ Clientelæ fœlicitatem nobis propriam & perpetuam despondeamus,*

Datæ frequentissimo Senatu nostro, sexto Idus Junii, 1626.

*Vestræ Excellentiæ humillimi devotissimiq; Clientes Serviq;,*

Procancellarius, & reliquus Senatus Cantabrigiensis.

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## *The University of* Cambridge *Answer to the King.*

Serenissimo invictissimoq; Principi ac Domino nostro, CAROLO Dei gratiæ, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regi, Fidei Defens. *&c.*

*SEreniſſime Domine noſter invictiſſime* Carole, *multum nos fortunæ noſtræ, ſed tuæ clementiæ infinitum quantum debemus, ſatis nempe erat judicio noſtro ſatisfeciſſe cum illum nobis præficeremus, quem unum certiſſime præfici poſſe conſtabat. At tua admirabilis bonitas non patitur*

nos

*nos gratis obligasse metipsis benefacere, sed tibi imputari vis quod nobis fecimus beneficium. Enimvero arduam aliquam sibi materiam obsequium nostrum poscebat, & cujus tenuitas sublimitatem vestram assequi non posset, difficultatem — se, & molestia commendaret. Tu autem à te gratiam — quod tanti Patroni beneficio usi sumus, qui ita nos amat, ut plurimum velit, ita à te amatur, ut plurimum nostra causa possit per quem vestra in nos transeat benignitas, & difficultates nostras discutiat: si quæ tamen in hac divina bonitate tua existere possit difficultas superasti, nempe majorum tuorum Clementiam, qui & easdem nobis immunitates indulges, & id etiam prospicis, ut iis rectissime utamur. Et quod unum tantæ fœlicitati reliquum erat ut esset perpetua, id ipsum precibus nostris supereresse non sinis; præcurris enim vota nostra, & spem ipsam, qua nihil est importunius, exuperas: nam & ipsa fines suos habet, quos tuæ bonitati nullos esse experti sumus. Exhausisti votorum nostrorum materiam, Serenissime Regum, nec quicquam nobis deinceps optandū est quam ut tu regnes ut vincas, ut nos in perpetuum simus quod sumus,*

Datæ frequentissimo Senatu nostro, sexto Idus Junii, 1626.

*Excellentissime Majestatis vestræ humillimi servi & subditi,*
Procancellarius, & reliquus Senatus Academiæ Cantabrigiensis.

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## *A Privie Seal for transporting of Horse.* June 3. 1624.

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To the Treasurer and under-Treasurer of our Exchequer for the time being, greeting. We do hereby will and command you, that out of our Treasure remaining in the receipt of our said Treasury forthwith to pay, or cause to be paid unto *Philip Burlamack* of *Lond'* Merchant, the sum of 30000 *l.* to be by him paid over to the *Low-Countries* by Bill of Exchange, and *Germany*, unto Our Trusty & Welbeloved Sir *William Belfour* Knight, and *John Dabler* Esq; or either of them, for levying and providing a certain number of Horse, with Arms for Foot and Horse to be brought over into this Kingdom for our Service; *viz.* for the levying and transporting of 1000 Horse, 15000 *l.* for 5000 Muskets, 5000 Corslets, 5000 Pikes, 10500 *l.* for 1000 Curasiers compleat, 200 Corslets and 200 Carbines, 4500 *l.* amounting in the whole to the said sum of 30000 *l.* And this Our Letter shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. *Given under Our Privie Seal at Our Palace of Westm' the* 30 *of* Januar' *in the third yeer of Our Reign*, Anno Dom. 1627.

## The University of Cambridge to the Duke.

Illustrissime Princeps,

*Quam paterno cum affectu, quam divina cum charitate vestræ hujus Academiæ salutem utilitatemq; vestra Celsitudo semper procuraverit, nec nos effari possumus, nec ætas ulla conticere.*

*Ingentia beneficia seculum præsens admiratione obruunt; nec alio queunt quam perennis famæ & immortalitatis præmio compensari. Vestræ Celsitudinis singulari patrocinio, de Typographis Londinensibus triumphavimus. Hostium undequaque ferociam persensimus imminutam, auctamq; Academiæ dignitatem: Nihil nos votis expetisse, nihil vestra Celsitudo conferre potuit, quod a vestra benignitate non acceperimus. Et quid nos præter hanc sterilem cultus nostri messem reportamus? At beneficia vestra, quam sanctæ posteritas alet, quibus præconiis, quam æternis laudibus vestræ Celsitudinis memoriam nepotes nostri celebrabunt, facile conjiciet is qui norit quantum Academia tranquillæ administrata, vindicata privilegia, immunitates conservatæ, otium, libertas, ipsa vita Musis donata, promereantur! Quot hostes Reipublicæ Literariæ infensos vestra Celsitudo profligavit, quot in nos munera contulerit, nec illi sine gemitu agnoscere, nec nos sine stupore recitare valeamus. Dum te licet conspicari, dum tua genua prehendere, flocci faciamus mortalium iras, & in recessibus nostris abditi tuto literis indulgeamus.*

*Jam vestra Celsitudo novam parat Militiam (quam vestro nomini gloriosam, Religioni Christianæ faustam, nobis omnibus fœlicem, omnipotens Deus faxit) quibus nos periculis exponimur? Alii flumen nostrum siccare, eumq; ablatum a quo forsan ipsi aquas olim ingrati hauserunt: alii nobis Imprimendi facultatem rursus adimere conabuntur. Illustrissime Princeps, pauca sunt nostra bona, suppellex curta, angusta Athenarum pomœria: nullæ tamen opes* Crœsi *vel* Midæ *perditorum hominum insidiis petuntur atrocius, quam inermis & nuda paupertas nostra. Videt vestra Celsitudo quam in ipsa fiduciam collocamus, qui tempestas prius quam ingruit, ad vestras aras confugimus. Et quamvis haud ignari sumus quanta moles vestræ Celsitudinis humeros jam premat, audacter tamen tot curarũ montibus nostrum Parnassum superaddimus. Perficiat vestra Celsitudo hanc suam Academiam, ut incipit: florentem ornet, trepidantem excitet, depressam sustentet, periclitantem expediat; quæ Deum perpetuo implorat, ut omnia tua glorioſa molimina vestra Celsitudo consequatur, & illa vestræ Celsitudinis patrocinio fruatur in æternum.*

Dat' e frequenti Senatu nostro, Nonas Julii, 1628.

*Celsitudinis vestræ devinctissimi,*
Procancellarius, reliquusque Senatus Academiæ vestræ Cantabrigiensis.

The

## *The Dukes Answer.*

*Gentlemen,*

SUch and so cordial have your respects been unto me, that no other Pen then your own can express them, nor no other heart then mine can apprehend them: and therefore I labour not any verbal satisfaction, but shall desire you to believe, that what service soever you please to think I have hitherto done for you, I cannot so much as call an expression of that I would willingly do for you. And whereas in your Letters you seem to fear that my absence may be an advantage of time to make your adversaries active and stirring against you, and your affairs consequently meet with partiality and opposition; I have therefore most humbly recommended them to the Justice of my Royal Master, and to the bosomes of some friends, where they shall likewise meet with mediation and protection, to what part of the world soever my Master or the States service shall call me. I can carry but one Chancellor of your University along with me, but I hope I shall leave you many behinde me. And I shall presage likely of the success of our actions, since they are all so followed by your wishes and devotions; which I shall endeavour you may always continue unto

*Chelsey*, 30 *July*, 1628.

Your most affectionate friend, and humble servant, *BUCKINGHAM.*

Directed,

*To my very worthy and much-respected friends, The Vicechancellor and Senate of the University of* Cambridge.

## *The Vicechancellor of* Cambridge *to the King, upon the Dukes death.*

*Dread Soveraign,*

THe fatal blowe given your most loyal servant, whom your Majesty made our Patron and Chancellor, hath so stounded our University, as (like a Body without a Soul) she stirs not, till your Majesties directions breathe life again, in the choice of another. And al-

though I am but one of many, and therefore (having to do with a multitude) cannot abſolutely aſſure the effecting of your pleaſure; yet I dare undertake for my ſelf, with the reſt of the Heads, and many others, truely and faithfully to labour in your Majeſties deſires, and now preſume to ſend fair and ſtrong hopes to give them full ſatisfaction: Humbly intreating the continuance of your Majeſties love and care of your Univerſity; the onely ſtay and comfort of this her ſad and mournful eſtate, occaſioned by ſuch an unexpreſſible diſaſter; cheriſhing her ſelf with that bleſſed word your Majeſtie uſed upon her laſt Election, That howſoever your Majeſties appointment ſhadowed out another, yet your Self in ſubſtance would be her Chancellor. This, as an indelible Character in her memory, ſhall ever return, as all thankful obſervance, ſo to God prayers full of cordial zeal, for your Majeſties long and happie Raign.

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## *King* Charles *to the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *for a new Election.*

RIght Truſty and Welbeloved, We greet you well. As We took in gracious part your due reſpect in electing heretofore for your Chancellor a man who for his parts and faithful ſervice was moſt dear unto Us: ſo now We are well pleaſed to underſtand, that you are ſenſible of your own and the common loſs, by the bloody aſſaſſinate of ſo eminent a perſon, and that you deſire and expect for your comfort an intimation from Us of a capable ſubject to ſucceed in his room. This expreſſion on your part, hath begotten in Us a Royal affection towards you, and more care for your good; out of which, We commend unto free election of you the Vicechancellor and Heads, and of the Maſters Regents and Non-Regents (according to Our ancient Cuſtom) Our Right Truſty and Right Welbeloved Couſin and Counſellor, *Henry* Earl of *Holland*, lately a member of your own Body, and well known unto you all: whoſe hearty affection to advance Religion and Learning generally in Our own Kingdoms, and eſpecially in the Fountains, cannot be doubted of. Not that We ſhall ceaſe to be your Chancellor in effect, according to Our promiſe; but the rather for your advantage, We adviſe you to the choice, that you may have a perſon acceptable unto Us, and daily attending on Our perſon, to be Our Remembrancer and Sollicitor for you upon all occaſions. And your general concurring herein, ſhall be to Us a

pledge

pledge of Our affections, which We are willing to cheriſh.
*Given at Our Court the* 28 *of* Auguſt, *in the fourth yeer of Our Raign.*

*CAROLUS* Rex.

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## *The Earl of* Holland *to the Univerſity.*

*Mr. Vicechancellor and Gentlemen, the Senate of the Univerſity of* Cambridge,

THe condition of man is ſo frail, and his time ſo ſhort here, that in the ſum of his account there are few accidents can deliver him worthy to poſterity: yet to prevent my deſtiny in this defect, you have made my name to live, by your general and free election of me to be your Chancellor; the which will give me ſo to the world, not my merit. I take but my beginning by this Creation, and will endeavour to proceed with ſuch ſtrength, in my ſerious affection to ſerve you all, as you ſhall ſee this Honour is not conferred upon an unthankful perſon. It is my hap to ſucceed the moſt excellent example of the beſt Chancellor, who had both will and power to oblige you: for the firſt, none can exceed me, that am tyed by my education to ſerve you: for my power, although it be but ſhort in all other things, yet in what concerns you, my Maſter, whoſe word you have, and whoſe thanks you will receive in my behalf, will for his own ſake, if not for mine, accept of all humble requeſts for you, which may conduce to the ſupport of every particular good, that can any way advantage your whole Body, or advance the ſeveral members of our Univerſity. For whoſe increaſe of fame and honour I do wiſh, from an affectionate heart, as I profeſs my ſelf obliged, being

Your moſt thankful friend,
and humble ſervant,

*Henry Holland.*

*The*

## *The University of* Cambridge *to the King.*

Sereniſſimo, & Magnificentiſſimo Principi, *CAROLO* Dei gratiæ, Britanniæ Regi, &c.

Sereniſſime & Potentiſſime Monarcha,
*Carole*, Defenſor Fidei, Pater Patriæ:

*DUlm ad Majeſtatis tuæ pedes diſcumbimus, veniam humillime deprecamur temeritatis noſtræ, Quod Majeſtati tuæ in illud gloriæ faſtigium evectæ, ad quod nulli Principes a multis retro ſeculis provenere, Chartas has ineptas auſi ſumus, & querimonias obtrudere, ſed nullum jam in terris effulget Majeſtate tuâ aut illuſtrius, aut magis beneficum ſidus, cujus cœleſti aſpectu mortales afflicti ab adverſis, ad ſalutis portum perduci poſſint. Senſimus nos perſæpe, laſi ſenſimus vivificam charitatis tuæ auram, divinam clementiam amplectimur, & benignitatem incredibilem ſempiterna veneratione adoramus. Quæ enim per te nobis pax data ſit, quæ privilegia indulta & confirmata, quæ gratia, candor, miſericordia, beneficentia nobis impertita, nec nos effari poſſumus, nec ulla ſecula conticere. O nos fœliciſſimos ſub tuo Sceptro,* Carole! *qui certe miſerrimi eſſemus, ſi Regio Majeſtatis tuæ Patrocinio ac favore deſtitueremur: irruunt in nos omne genus illiteratorum hominum longum harent in noſtris malis, & ſine magno numine non amoventur. Centum olim annos cum oppidanis noſtris de ſummæ privilegiorum decertavimus, quinquaginta cum Typographis Londinenſibus, adeo crudelis eſt, ac pertinax malitia, quæ literis bellum indicit; Typographis per tuam in nos pietatem nuper compoſitis oppidani, veterem odii Camarinam incipiunt commovere. Ita ab Oppidanis ad Typographos, a Typographis ad Oppidanos, noſtra in gyrum calamitas circumacta volvitur, & infinitis controverſiarum nodis aſtringimur, & jugulamur. Deflexis genibus Excellentiſſimam Majeſtatem tuam imploramus, ut qua ſerenitate ſuam Academiam ſemper aſpexerit, eadem dignetur huic cauſæ ad dictum a ſe diem intereſſe. Et Deum Optim. Max. precabimur, ut te nobis quam diutiſſime conſervet clementiſſimum Principem, & Patrem indulgentiſſimum: In cujus ſalute, totius Regni incolumitas, tranquillitas Literarum, publica ſeculi fœlicitas, & bonorum omnium vota abunde continentur.*

*Servi Majeſtati tuæ devoti & fideles ſubditi,*
Procanc' & Senat'.

*An*

## *An Order made at Whitehall betwixt the Univerſity and Town of* Cambridge, *Decemb.* 4. 1629.

*Lord Keeper.*
*Lo. Archb. of* York.
*Lord Treaſurer.*
*Lord Preſident.*
*Lord Privie Seal.*
*Lord high Chamberlain.*
*Earl Marſhal.*
*Lord Steward.*
*Lord Chamberlain.*
*Earl of* Suffolk.
*Earl of* Dorſet.
*Earl of* Salisbury.
*Earl of* Bridgewater.
*Earl of* Holland.
*Earl of* Danby.
*Earl of* Kelly.
*Lord Viſc.* Dorcheſter.
*Lord Viſc.* Grandiſon.
*Lord Biſh. of* Winton.
*Maſter of the Wards.*
*Maſter Chamberlain.*
*Mr. Secretary* Cook.

THis day his Majeſtie ſitting in Councel, did hear at large the controverſie between the Univerſity of *Cambridge* and certain Burgers of the Town, concerning the rating and ſetting the price of *Victualia*, and particularly of Candles and other neceſſaries compriſed under the terms of *Focalia*; and of the conſequences lately fallen out upon the controverſie: which having been long debated by Counſel learned on both ſides, his Majeſtie finally ordered, by advice of the Boord, That as well the late Maior and Bayliff, and *William Bridges*, as *Edward Almond*, *John Ball*, *Jonas Scot*, and *Thomas Oliver*, ſhall acknowledge and ſubmit themſelves (by ſetting their hands to this Order in the Councel-book) to the Juriſdiction and Priviledges of the Univerſity, as well for the rating and ſetting the price of all manner of *Victualia*, and of Candles, and all other neceſſaries under the term of *Focalia*, as for the correcting and puniſhing of all ſuch inhabitants of the Town as ſhall break and exceed the ſaid rates and prices ſo ſet by the Vicechancellor, or ſuch Officers of the Univerſity as are in that behalf authorized. And it is further ordered, That all the parties fined by the Vicechancellor, ſhall pay the Fines, and ſuch charges of the Court as were ſet upon them by the Vicechancellor; and ſhall make publike confeſſion, in the Vicechancellors Court, of their fault, in breaking the ſaid rates and prices ſo ſet, and refuſing to pay the fines ſo aſſeſſed upon them, and queſtioning the priviledges of the Univerſity. And as touching the diſcommuning of any of the ſaid perſons in this Order mentioned, It is ordered, That peace and agreement ſhall be ſetled between the parties, according to the performance of that reſpect and ſubmiſſion which is due from

from the inhabitants of the said Town of *Cambridge* to the said University.

Ex. *Will. Becher.*

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## *The University of* Cambridge *to the Archbishop of* York.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, & summo Archi-præsuli, *Samueli*, Dei gratia, Archiepiscopo *Eborazensi*, Patrono nostro æternum colendo.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Archi-præsul amplissime,

*NIsi perspecta esset Paternitatis tuæ in Academiam gratia & favor supra quam meremur immensum, vererem̃r sine multis ambagibus, ad tam illustre in Ecclesia caput accedere; verum ea semper fuit indulgentia tua, & stabile nobis patrocinium, ut in difficultatibus nostris ultro fueris magis ad accurendum alacer, quam nos esse potuimus ad implorandum; temerarii incidimus in veterem controversiæ lacunam cum nostris Oppidanis. Novit sat Paternitas tua ab experientia multiplici, quas illi erga nos mentes gerant, quam atra lolligine & invidiæ succo a teneris unguiculis pasti fuerint, neque jam incipiunt ferocire, nec unquam credimus, desinent homines insulsi, tam dignitatis nostræ immemores, quam rationis suæ, nonnullis eorum commersium cum nostris interdiximus, dum procacius, quam parerat fasces nostros videbantur contemnere, sed grave est, & permolestum quicquid cadit in præcipites animos, & ira impotentes. Illi tanquam fulmine perculsi ad publica judicium subsellia, Lymphatice festinant, cum possent consultius forsan in domibus suis —— Nos autem veriti ne Majestas Reipub. Literariæ minueretur, si in foro publico prostituta Academia de privilegiis, & summa rerum trepidaret, Senatus Regis tribunali appellavimus. In quo cum jam auspicatissime consedisse tuam Paternitatem, intelligeret Alma Mater, & de honore tua, & sua fœlicitate eximie triumphabat, nunquam oblita virtutis tuæ, & magnanimitatis invictæ, qua solebas hic toties Vicecancellarius ad immortalem nominis tui laudem istiusmodi perduelles contundere humillime rogamus Paternitatem tuam, pro suo summo in nos affectu & pietate, ut quemadmodum semper Academiam ornare studuit, ita nunc dignetur eidem periclitanti succurrere.*

*Pat' tuæ devotiss.*
Procanc' & Senat.

The

## *The University of Cambridg to the Earl of* Manchester.

Illustrissimo, nobilissimo, nostroque amantissimo Domino, Comit *Manchestriæ* Privati Sigilli Custodi, Regiæ Majestati à Sanctioribus Consiliis, Patrono nostro plurimum colendo.

HOnoratissime *nostrumque amantissime Domine* Montacute, *Nescimus an ipsi nobis vanâ credulitate blandiamur, sed cum singula tua pro nobis gesta perpendimus, fruimur hâc opinione, vix quenquam vivere, qui nostram salutem, literarum incrementum, tranquillitatem Academiæ magis ex animo velit quam nobilissimus* Montacutus; *tot indies apparent indubitata testimonia amoris tui erga nos integerrimi et profusissimæ benevolentiæ. Quid dicemus de Typographis, quos tandem aliquando post varios casus et tot discrimina subegimus, quamvis nodum controversiæ Gordianum consuerant non nisi* Alexandri *gladio explicabilem, et tanquam sepia piscis longa perplexæ litis caligine capita involverant ne caperentur. Ac hæc ultima sententia vestra momento beneficii favoris magnitudine, celeritate conficiendi trajecit, quicquid ulla spes nobis dictare potuit, aut suggerere, sententia celebris, sanctæ memorabilis ad opprimendam in perpetuam morosam oppidanorum insolentiam; sententia quam quo penitus contemplamur, eo magis sub stupore bonitatis vestræ, et admirationis onere laboramus.*

*Noli (nec enim fas est) metiri observantiæ nostæ rationem, ex nostro scribendi modulo. Majora de te sentimus quam verba nostra expedire valent, multo minus rependere. Illud nostrum erga te tantum est et tam firmum, ut nulla novæ opportunitatis accessione augere queat, aut temporum injuria diminui.*

Honori tuo æternum obligati Procanc'
& Senatus reliquus Academiæ.

## *The University of Cambridg to Sir* Humphrey May.

Clarissimo & spectatissimo Domino *Humphredo May* Equiti Aurato, & Regiæ Majestatis Procamerario, amico & fautori nostro æternum observando.

*Æternas agimus tibi gratias, Clarissime Domine Procamerarie, quod favore tam subito, tam propensâ & inclinatâ benevolentiâ ad nostram causam ultro accesseris: subiit forsan & pupugit (clarissime Domine) conditionis nostræ pia commiseratio cum videret Musas litibus implicatas circa Tribunalia tremere, quas æquius erat inter lauros & virgulta pacifica in veritatis disquisitione occupari. Verum est, & in hac ætate improba sic vivimus, ut frequenter depositâ togâ & calamo, pallia & Clientum soccos induere cogamur: Maximè vero nos ad incommoda pellunt opidani nostri, qui hoc à natura principium mordicus tenent, & nullo dimittunt fato, turbare semper pacem literarum, et bonis Academiæ quovis modo insidiari. O quam magna merces est prudentia, et sobria mens, aqua in utriusque sortis importunitate! sunt quos ipsum fœlicitatis tædium fatigat ad mortem, & dira contentionis ambitio fanatico quodam æstro impellit ad suam perniciem. Post triginta annos simulatæ pacis, & induciarum oppidulani nostri quietis impatientiâ, & invidiæ aculeis acti, nuper tentare voluerunt quantum possent calcibus contra spinas, aut contra Solem jaculis; at præter pœnitentiam ac suspiria nihil domum reportarunt; Ita Musas in æternum sibi devinxit Senatus ille tremendus & gloriosus, in quo majores dii gentis nostræ sedent. Tu in illa scena splendida Regiæ Majestati adstare maluisti, quam tuam inter divos reliquos classem retinere, ut nostro momento inservires, & illud pectus sacrum proprius attingeres, in quo omnes gratiæ nidificant, & nostra beatitudo reconditur. Magna sunt hæc amoris tui testimonia, nolis vero messem sementi parem à nobis expectare; Musæ non sunt solvendo. Et tamen, si preces, vota, laudes, encomia pro nobis sufficere possint, Nihil nos tuis meritis debituros confidenter promittimus.*

Dignitati tuæ devinctiss. Procanc' & Senat'
vel Academ. Cantabrigiens.

*Instructions*

*Instructions by King* Charles, *to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of* Cambridge *for Government, &c.* March 4. 1629.

## CHARLES REX.

FIrst, that all those directions and orders of our Father of blessed memory, which at any time were sent to our said University, be duly observed and put in execution.

2. Whereas we have been informed that of late years many Students of that our University, not regarding their own birth, degree, and quality, have made divers contracts of marriage with women of meane estate, and of no good fame in that Town, to their great disparagement, the discontent of their parents and friends, and the dishonour of the Government of that our University; we wil, and command you, that at all times hereafter, if any Taverner, Inholder, or Victualer, or any other inhabitant of the Towne, or within the Jurisdiction of the University, shall keep any daughter or other woman in his house to whom there shall resort any Scholars of that University, of what condition so ever, to mispend their time, or otherwise to misbehave themselves in marriage without the consent of those that have the Gardiance and tuition of them, that upon notice thereof, you doe presently convent the said Scholars or Scholar, and the said woman or women thus suspected, before you, and upon due examination, if you find cause therefore, that you command the said woman or women, according to the forme of your Charter against women, *de malo suspectas*, to remove out of the University, and foure miles of the same: And if any refuse presently to obey your commands, and to be ordered by you herein, that you then bind them over with sureties to appeare before the Lords of our Privy Counsel, to answer their contempt, and such matters as shall be objected against them. And if any refuse presently to obey, to imprison them til they either remove or put in such bonds with sureties.

3. That you be careful that all the statutes of our University be duly executed, especially those *de vestitu Scholarium, et de modestia et morum urbanitate*. And whereas we are informed, that Batchelors of Law. Physick, and Masters of Arts, and others of higher degree, pretend they are not subject to your censure, if they resort to such houses

and places as are mentioned in the ſaid ſtatutes, to eat, drink, play, or take Tobacco, to the miſpending of their time, and corrupting of others by their ill example, and to the ſcandalizing of the government of our ſaid Univerſity: Our will and pleaſure is by theſe preſents, that you doe alſo command them and every of them, to forbeare coming to any ſuch houſes, otherwiſe, or at other times, then by the ſaid ſtatute others of inferiour order and degree. are allowed to doe, any ſtatute or conceſſion whatſoever to the contrary notwithſtanding. And if any refuſe to obey you herein, that you proceed againſt them as contumacious; and if there be cauſe, that you alſo ſignifie their names to us, or the Lords of our privy Counſel.

4. That you doe ſeverely puniſh all ſuch of your body, of what degree or condition ſoever, as ſhall contemne their ſuperiors, or misbehave themſelves either in word or deed towards the Vice-Chancellour or Proctors, or any other officers of our Univerſity, eſpecially in the executing of their office.

5. Laſtly we will and command that a Copy of theſe our directions be delivered to the Maſter of every Colledge, and that he cauſe the ſame to be publiſhed to thoſe of his Colledge, and then to be Regiſtred in the Regiſters of their Colledges, and duly obſerved and kept by all perſons whom they concern.

*Examinatur, et concordat cum Originali. Ita atteſtor* Jacobus Fabor *Regiſtrarius.*

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## *The Univerſity of Cambridg to the Lord Chief Juſtice* Richardſon.

Honoratiſſimo Domino *Thomæ Richardſon* Commmunium Placitorum Proto Juſticiario, & Proedro amico Academiæ, & Patrono ſingulari.

*Amplisſime et honoratisſime Domine, ſuperiori et Termino et Anno noſtris literis & negotiis graviter defatigavimus, & nunc novas afferre moleſtias neutiquam dubitamus; ſed tu pro candore quo polles maximo hanc noſtram moroſitatem benigne interpretare, & da veniam impatienti noſtræ occaſioni ad Sacerdotium* Hallingburii, *quod de cujuſdam papicolæ lapſu in manus noſtras ex diplomate ſereniſſimi Regis* Jacobi *nobis indulto, et per Senatum Regni ſolennem confirmato venit. Hunc Magiſtrum*

*stirum* Love *Collegii divi* Petri *promovimus, virum fide, doctrinâ, integritate, sanctimoniâ præclarum, qui Procuratoris Officium, magistratum apud nos amplissimum, insigniter administravit, et non sine magna laude fasces ante biennium deposuit, unde liquido constet dominationi tuæ, quibus opulentiis abundat Alma mater, cum virum consularem, et de republica nostra tam bene meritum, tali sacerdotiolo auctum & remuneratum dimittimus. Utinam tamen vel tantillum hoc quod est beneficii homini nostro placidè concederent mortales Dii, et se precibus ad æquanimitatem flecti paterentur. Enim vero nescimus quo malo fato nostro id comparatum sit, et inter sacrum & sacrum semper hæreamus, quemadmodum in proverbio est, Inter sacrum quod ambimus, et hominum præcordia saxo duriora, nihil nos sine controversia impetrare possumus; sed cogimur virtute nostrâ nos involvere, & probam pauperiem sine dote quærere, cum Poeta* Horatio; *nam in tanta dominorum et captatorum turba, difficile est ad omnes articulos sic excubare, ut qui modestè prensat in lutum non detrudatur; et certe usque adeo præclusus est industriæ nostræ ad eadem honoris et emolumenti aditus, ut multi repudia literis in æternum renunciare mallent, quam post tot laboribus, consumptam juventutem et senectam studiis immature acceleratam, vanæ spei cassa nuce ludificari; cum non solum sua nobis negare beneficia, sed et nostra abripere terrarum Domini flagitiosè contendant. Quid ad te hæc verba spectant, facile conjicias: Nos te Patronum appellamus, quem adversarii nostri Judicem; et per omnia patrocinia tua nobis ante hac gnaviter concessa, per omnia sacra clementiæ tuæ et amoris in Academiam te obtestamur, ut huic Alumno nostro jus suum et Academiæ dignitatem, sanctam tectam, authoritate tuâ conservare velis: et cum tua merita non aliâ re consequi valeamus, quam debiti agnitione cui sumus impares, memoriæq; animi gratâ testificatione, utramque tibi sempiternam religiosè pollicemur.*

*Dat' è frequenti Senatu nostro,*
*pridie Calend. Maii,* 1630.

Honoris tui Clientes assidui Procancel' et Senatus integer Academ' Cantabrig.

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## *Bishop of* Excester *to the lower House of Parliament.*

*Gentlemen,*

FOR Gods sake be wise in your well meant zeale: why doe we argue away precious time, that can never be revoked, or repaired? Wo is me, whilst we dispute, our friends perish, and we must follow them.

them. Where are we if we break? (and I tremble to thinke it) we cannot but break if we hold too ſtiffe. Our Liberties and properties are ſufficiently declared to be ſure and legal; our remedies are cleare and irrefragable; what do we fear? Every ſubject now ſees the way chalked out before him for future Juſtice, and who dares henceforth tread beſides it? certainly whilſt Parliaments live we need not miſdoubt the like violation of our freedomes and rights; may we bee but where the loanes found us, we ſhall ſufficiently enjoy our ſelves, and ours; It is now no ſeaſon to reach for more. O let us not whilſt we over rigidly plead for a higher ſtraine of ſafety, put our ſelves into a neceſſity of ruine, and utter deſpair of redreſſe; let us not in a ſuſpicion of evil that may be, caſt our ſelves into a preſent confuſion: if you love your ſelves, and your Country, remit ſomething of your owne Terms; and ſince the ſubſtance is yeilded by your noble compatriots, ſtand not too curiouſly upon points of circumſtance: fear not to truſt a good King, who after the ſtricteſt Law made muſt be truſted with the execution; think that your Country, yea Chriſtendom lyeth in the mercy of your preſent reſolution, relent or farewell. Farewell from him whoſe faithful heart bleeds in a vowed ſacrifice for his King and Country.

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## King Charles *to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.*

WEE being deſirous of nothing more then the advancing of the good peace and proſperity of our people, have given leave to free debates of higeſt point of our prerogative Royal, which in the times of our Predeceſſors, Kings and Queens of this Realm, were ever reſtrained as matter they would not have diſputed; and in other things we have been willing ſo farre to deſcend to the deſires of our good ſubjects, as might fully ſatisfie all moderate minds, and free them from all juſt feares and jealouſies, which thoſe meſſages we have ſent unto the Commons Houſe wil well demonſtrate to the world; and yet we find it ſtil inſiſted on, That in no caſe whatſoever, ſhould it never ſo neerly concerne matters of State and Government, we or our privy Counſel have power to commit any man without the cauſe be ſhewed. The ſervice it ſelfe would be thereby deſtroyed and defeated; and the cauſe it ſelfe muſt be ſuch as may be determined by our Judges of our cauſes at *Weſtminſter*, in a legal and ordinary way of Juſtice; whereas the cauſe may be ſuch, as theſe Judges have not capacity

pacity of Judicature, nor rules of Law, to direct and guide their Judgments in cases of transcedent nature, which happening so often, the very intermitting of the constant rules of Government for so many ages within this Kingdome practised, would soone dissolve the very frame and foundation of our Monarchy; wherefore as to our Commons we made faire propositions, which might equally preserve the just liberties of the subject: So my Lords, we have thought good to let you know, that without the overthrow of our soveraignty, we cannot suffer this power to be impeached; yet notwithstanding, to clear our conscience and intentions, this we publish, that it is not in our heart or will, ever to extend our Royal power (lent unto us from God) beyond the just rule of moderation in, any thing which shall be contrary to our Lawes and Customes, wherein the safety of our people shal be our only aime. And we do hereby declare our Royal pleasure and resolution to be, which (God willing) we wil ever constantly continue and mantaine, that neither we nor our Privy Counsel shall, or will at any time hereafter commit or command to prison, or otherwise restraine the person of any for not lending mony unto us, or for any other cause which in our conscience, doth concern the publick good, and safety of us and our people; we wil not be drawn to pretend any cause which in our conscience is not, or is not expressed, which base thought we hope no man can imagine, can fall into our Royal brest: and that in all causes of this nature which shall hereafter happen, we shall upon the humble Petition of the party, or addresse of our Judges unto us, readily and really expresse the true cause of their Commitment or restraint, so soone as with conveniency or safety the same is fit to be disclosed and expressed; and that in all causes Criminal of ordinary Jurisdiction, our Judges shall proceede to the deliverance and bailment of the Prisoner, according to the known and ordinary rules of the Lawes of this Land; and according to the Statute of *Magna charta*, and those other six statutes insisted on, which we do take knowledge stand in full force, and which we intend not to weaken, or abrogate against the true intent thereof.

This we have thought fit to signifie unto you, the rather for the shortning of any long debate upon this question, the season of the year being so far advanced; and our great occasions of State, not lending us many daies of long continuance of this Session of Parliament.

Given under our signet, at our Pallace at *Westminster*, the twelfth day of *May* in the Fourth Year of our Reigne.

CAROLUS REX.

*A Coun-*

*A Counſel Table Order againſt hearing Maſs at Embaſſadors houſes.*
March 10. 1629

## At *White-hall* the tenth of *March.* 1629.

PRESENT.

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| *Lord Keeper.* | *Lord Wimbleton.* |
| *Lord Treaſurer.* | *Lord Viſcount Dorcheſter.* |
| *Lord Preſident.* | *Lord Viſcount Wentworth.* |
| *Lord Privy Seale.* | *Lord Viſcount Grandiſon.* |
| *Lord Steward.* | *Lord Viſcount Faulkland.* |
| *Lord Chamberlaine.* | *Lord Savile.* |
| *Earl of Suffolk.* | *Lord Newbergh.* |
| *Earl of Dorſet.* | *Mr. Vice Chamberlaine.* |
| *Earl of Salisbury.* | *Mr. Secretary Cooke.* |

AT this Sitting the Lord Viſcount *Dorcheſter* declared, that his Majeſty being informed of the bold and open repaire made to ſeveral places, and ſpecially to the houſes of forraine Ambaſſadors, for the hearing of Maſſe, which the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome do expreſly forbid his Subjects to frequent: and conſidering in his Princely wiſdome, both the publick Scandals, and dangerous conſequence thereof, is reſolved to take preſent order for the ſtopping of this evil before it ſpread it ſelfe any further, and for this purpoſe had commanded him to acquaint the Board with his pleaſure in that behalfe, and what courſe he thinketh fit to be held therein; and withal to demand the opinion and advice of their Lordſhips concerning the ſame, his Majeſty being deſirous to uſe the beſt and moſt effectuall expedient that can be found. Hereupon his Lordſhip proceeding, did further declare, that his Majeſty (to ſhew the clearneſſe and earneſtneſſe of his intention herein) hath begun at his owne houſe, *viz.* Whereſoever the Queens Majeſty hath any Chappel being intended for the only ſervice of her, and for thoſe French who attend her; for which the Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlaine to her Majeſty, hath been commanded to take ſpecial care; according to ſuch directions as he hath received from his Majeſty. That for ſo much as concerneth

cerneth the repaire to the houses of Forraine Embassadors at the time of Masse, his Majesty thinks fit that some messengers of the Chamber, or other officers or persons fit for that service, shall be appointed to watch all the several passages to their houses, and without entring into the said houses, or infringing the freedoms and priviledges belonging unto them, observe such persons as go thither, but at their coming from thence, they are to apprehend them and bring them to the Board; and such as they cannot apprehend, to bring their names. But to the end that the said Forraine Embassadours may have no cause to complaine of this proceeding; as if there were any intention to wrong or disrespect them, his Majesty doth likewise think fit, that for the preventing of any such mistaking and sinister Interpretation, the said Embassadors shall be acquainted with the truth of this businesse; and likewise assured in his Majesties name, that he is, and wil be as careful to conserve all priviledges and rights belonging to the quality of their places, as any of his Progenitors have been, and in the same manner as himselfe expecteth that their Princes shall use towards his Embassadors.

Lastly, That it is his Majesties expresse pleasure that the like diligence be used for the apprehending of all such as repaire to Masse in prisons or other places.

The Board having heard this declaration, did unanimously conclude, that there could not be taken a more effectuall course for the preventing of these evils, then this which his Majesty in his wisedome hath set downe, and therefore did order that the same be immediately put in strict and careful execution. And it was likewise thought fit, that the Lord Viscount *Dorchester*, and Mr. *Secretary Cooke*, should be sent to the forraine Embassadours severally, to acquaint them with his Majesties intention, as is before mentioned; and that the messengers of the Chamber to be imployed in the service before specified shall be appointed and receive their charge from the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Bishop of *London*, and the Secretaries, who are to take a speciall care to see this put in execution.

## *King of* Spaine *to Pope* Urban. Sept. 21. 1629.

MOst Holy Father, I condescended that my forces should be imployed in the execution of *Mountferrat*, to divert the introduct on of strangers into *Italie*, with so evident danger of Religion: I suffered the siege of *Casal* to run on so slowly, to give time that by way of negotiation those differences might be composed with the reciprocal satisfaction of the parties interessed; and to shew in effect, what little reason all *Italy* had to be jealous of the Arms of my Crown, for having possessed many places of importance; some I have freely given away, and others after I had defended them in a time the owners had need, I presently restored with much liberality. Upon this moderation the Duke of *Nivers*, being hardned against the Emperor my Uncle, and he perhaps and other Princes calling thither the most Christian King, who not contenting himselfe to have attained that which he publickly professed to desire, and having left Garrison in *Mountferrat*, and in *Suza*, and as (I am told) having fortified some places, hath thereby given occasion to the Emperour my Uncle, to give order his Army should passe into *Italy*, to maintaine the Authority, Jurisdiction and preheminency of the Empire, with whom I can doe no lesse then concurre, and give him assistance, in respect of the great and strict obligation of Blood, of Honour, and of Conveniency which I hold with his imperial Majesty, and for the ----- which I doe acknowledge from the sacred Empire; declaring now, as I have done heretofore, and as my Embassadours have told your Holinesse; that in this businesse, I do neither directly nor indirectly aim at any other end of mine own particular interest. But beholding the numerous Armies of the Emperour in *Italy*, and with extreme griefe foreseeing the harmes, inconveniences and dangers that *Italy* must thereby suffer in matter of Religion, being that which most importeth; I doe not only resent it, in respect of that portion which God hath given me in Christendome, but especially as a King and Prince of *Italy*, the peace of those Provinces being disturbed, which my Progenitors with so much Judgment and providence, and with so much Authority and benefit of the Natives had so many years preserved. Wherefore I thought it my duty to present unto your beatitude that experience hath demonstrated that to oppose and straighten the Jurisdiction of the Emperour, and to resist his commandments, hath brought matters

to

to theſe difficult terms, and this way being ſtill perſiſted in, there muſt needs follow thoſe miſchiefs which we deſire to ſhun. Now the moſt convenient manner how to compoſe theſe buſineſſes, is that your Holineſſe doe effectually perſwade the Duke of Nivers to accomodate himſelf to the Juſtice and obedience of the Emperour, and the King of *France* to recall his Armies out of *Italy*, and the Princes that doe aid Nivers, no more to intereſt themſelves in the buſineſſe, even as from the beginning my Miniſters have propounded to your Beatitude; becauſe this difference being ended juridically, all the perſons intereſſed ſhall come off with honour and reputation, and ſo all of them ſhall have a ground to beſeech the Emperour, that out of his wonted clemency, he wil take off that impreſſion, which he juſtly might have conceived againſt the Duke of *Nivers*; whereupon things inclining to this iſſue, I ſhal with a very good will imploy my beſt offices to the end that ſpeedy and exact juſtice may be adminiſtred, and alſo that his *Cæſarian* Majeſty may give experimental effects of his magnanimity and ſtability, deſiring with a moſt ſincere affection, that ſo much Chriſtian blood may be ſpared, as would be ſpilt in this war, and that thoſe forces might be imployed to the ſervice, and not to the prejudice of Chriſtendome. Thus have I cleerly and ſincerely delivered my meaning unto your Holineſſe, to the end that knowing my intention, you may do thoſe offices which your manifold wiſedome ſhall find proper for the place whereto God hath advanced you; and if God for our ſins have decreed to chaſtiſe Chriſtendome, by continuing the war; let this diſpatch be a teſtimony of my good wil, and real intention towards peace; for the proſecuting whereof, I on my part, will alwaies imbrace any reaſonable and proportionable meanes. Oar Lord God preſerve your Beatitude a thouſand yeares.

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*The Councel of* Ireland *to King* Charles *in defence of the Lord Deputie* Faulkland. April 28. 1629

MAy it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, we ſtand ſo bounden to your royall Self, and your moſt bleſſed Father our late deceaſed Soveraigne Lord and Maſter, as we are urged in duty to proſtrate this act of our faith at your Majeſties feet, as an aſſay to cleer ſome things wherein miſinformation may ſeem to have approached your high Wiſdome. We underſtand that it is collected out of ſome

late Diſpatches from hence, that there are ſuch diſorders in the Government here, as by the preſent Governors are remedileſſe; all which is aſcribed to the differences between perſons of chief place; We do in all humility teſtifie and declare that we have not ſeen or known any inconvenience to the publick ſervice by the difference between your Majeſties Deputy and Chancellor, neither have of late ſeen or heard any act or ſpeech of contention between them. Other difference between perſons of any eminent Action wee underſtand none, neither are any diſorders here yet ſo overgrown, as to ſurpaſſe the redreſſe of the preſent Governour, eſpecially ſo long as he hath ſuch a ſtanding Engliſh Army, as your Majeſty now alloweth; if only we may receive ſome ſupply of Armes and munition, which we have often written for, do daily expect, and which ſhall be no loſſe to your Majeſty. It is true, moſt gracious Soveraign, that in ſome late diſpatches we mentioned three grievances in this government, which in extent may threaten much, if we be not timely directed from thence concerning them, *viz.* the inſolence and excreſcence of the Popiſh pretended Clergie, the diſorder and offence of the *Iriſh* Regiment, and the late outragious preſumption of the unſetled Iriſh, in ſome parts; towards all which (being parties perhaps otherwiſe conceived of there, then underſtood here) your Deputy and Councel have of late uſed particular abſtinence, holding themſelves ſomewhat limited concerning them, by late Inſtructions, Letters and directions from thence. And therefore leſt countenance of that courſe, might turn to greater damage, we make choice ſeaſonably to crave expreſſion of the good pleaſure of your Highneſſe, and the moſt Honourable Lords of your Councel, leſt our actions and zeal therein might vary from the purpoſes on that ſide, and ſo want of unanimity in both States, breake the progreſſe of the Reformation; not that we any way make doubt to give your Majeſty a good accompt of our ſelves therein. and of the ful eviction of thoſe evils in due time, ſo we might be aſſured of your Majeſtys and their Lordſhips good allowance of our endeavours, being confident in all humility, to declare and affirme to your Sacred Majeſty, that the reſt of this great body, (as to the civil part thereof) is in far better order at this time, then ever it was in the memory of man; as wel in the current and general execution of Juſtice according to the Lawes, in the freedome of mens perſons and eſtates, (the preſent charge of the Army excepted) and in the Univerſal outward ſubjection of all ſorts of ſetled inhabitants to the Crowne and Lawes of *England*, and alſo in the advancement of the Crowne Revenues; and laſtly, in the competent number of Biſhops, and o-

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ther able and Learned Miniſters of the Church of *England* of all ſorts, which we eſpecially attribute to the bleſſedneſſe of your time, and to the Induſtryes, Zeale, Judgment and moderation of your Deputy, as well in your Majeſty ſervice, as towards this people, having now well learned this great office; and to the good beginnings of the two laſt precedent Deputies under direction of your moſt Renowned Father.

Secondly, we underſtand that your Deputy and Councel are blamed for the preſent ſurcharge of your Revenues here, far beyond the ſupport thereof.

Herein your Royal Majeſty may be pleaſed to cauſe a review of our diſpatch from hence, in *Auguſt* 1627. wherein it wil appear, that their part in that offence hath been only obedience to extraordinary warrants from thence, and that if thoſe warrants had not beene fully performed out of your Revenues, you had had about 40000 pound Iriſh to pay penſioners, in your Coffers, and anſwer other neceſſities which have ſince increaſed.

So as we humbly crave pardon freely to affirme, that the fault hath not been here; and further alſo to ſay for your Majeſties honour and our comfort, that during 200 years laſt paſt, *England* hath never been ſo free of the charge of Ireland, as now it is.

Thirdly, we underſtand that your Deputy is accuſed for miſcarriage in the legal proſecution of *Phelim Mach Fregh*, and others adhering to him in certain treaſonable Acts and Practiſes. Herein we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that a review may be of a declaration ſent from hence about the beginning of your Deputies government, ſigned hy him and all the Counſel then here, whereby wil appear how the parts of *Lemſter*, at leaſt, have been from age to age infeſted by him and his predeceſſors, and the inhabitants of the territory of *Ranelagh*, wherein he tooke upon him a Chiefery; and therein will alſo appeare, that it was the ſpecial affection and endeavour of ſeveral worthy Deputies here to have cleared that offenſive plot, which no wiſe State could ſuffer ſo neer the ſeat thereof, and that they alſo ſeverally attempted it by force, the ſaid *Phelims* Father being ſlain by actuall Rebellion by Sir *William Ruſſels* proſecution; but the generall Rebellion of the Kingdome alwaies interrupted the ſettlement thereof. This being at that time the declaration of the State, moved your Deputy, being a ſtranger, to have a wary aſpect upon the people, for the Common peace, which he hath carefully performed. Afterwards at the time when the general voice was amongſt the *Iriſh*, that the *Spaniards* would be here, your Deputie had cauſe

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to examine several persons and causes concerning that Rumour wherbyfell out to be discovered to him among others, that this *Phelim* had confederated for raising a Commotion in *Lemster*, and murthering a *Scottish* Minister, and Justice of peace (a ready instrument in Crown Causes) inhabiting about the border of the said territory. Before which time, we never heard of any displeasure or hard measure born by your said Deputy to him, or offence taken by him, at any particular done to him, unless he were offended that your Deputy refused his mony offered to blanch your Majesties title to the Lands in *Ranlagh*, now granted to undertakers, discovered and prosecuted at first by his brother *Redmond* and his Councel *Peter de la Hoyd*, We do also herein in all humility testifie, and declare that he acquainted several Privy Councellors here, and others of Judgment with the same. And also in every Act and passage thereof used the labour and presence, either of your Majesties Privy Concellours, Judges, or learned Councel, alwaies professing publickly and privately (which we also in our consciences do believe) that he had no particular envy or displeasure to *Phelims*'s person, or any of his, neither had any end in what might fall out upon that discovery or pains, or any act done concerning that Country, other then the reducement thereof, to the conformity of other civil parts; the common peace of your Majesties good Subjects adjacent, and the legal and plenary effecting of that which by so many good governours in times of disturbance could not be done, there being no power in him to make any particular benefit of the Escheate, either in lands or goods; and before any thing was to be done for the tryal of him and the rest for their lives, he made a speedy and immediate address to your Majesty, dated 27. *August* 1628 upon the indictment found, to inform you of the then present estate of that businesse, which we have seen, not doing it before (as he affirms) for that he had formerly received gracious approbations of his proceedings in the like discoveries.

We also in all humblenesse and duty do declare and protest, that if upon their evil demerits, and the due proceedings of Law, those now questioned may be taken away, and the Territory settled in legal Government and English order, (towards which a strong Fort is already almost built in the midst of it by your Majesties Undertakers lately planted there: It will be a service of the greatest importment to bridle the Irish, assure the inhabitants of other Parts, and strengthen the generall peace of the Kingdom (next to the great Plantation of *Ulster*) that hath been done in this age. If otherwise they shall by fair tryall acquit the course of your Majesties free and indifferent justice,

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it will make them wary in point of duty and loyalty hereafter. And we do further in all submission declare, That in these discoveries, (the persons and Causes considered) it was of necessity that the personal pains of your Highness Deputy should be bestowed; the rather, for that the Evidences being to be given for the most part by persons involved in the same confederacyes, and who were to become actors, they would not be drawn to confess truths to any inferior Ministers being of stubborn and malign spirits; besides the disswasions of Priests, and of the Dependants and manifold Allies of the said *Phelim*, if they had not been warily look'd after.

Lastly, We in all humbleness of heart and freedom of faithful servants, do beseech your most sacred Majesty to consider how much the sufferings of your zealous servants may prove to your disservice, especially in this place, where discouragement of your most dextrous service is most aimed at by multitudes of several qualities, and cannot but soon perplex the present happy state of your affairs. Wee beseech the eternall God to guide and prosper your Majesties advices and designes.

28. *April* 1629.

Your most humble and obedient Subjects and Servants.

Signed by

L. *Primate*
V. *Valentia*
V. *Kilmallock*
V. *Ranelagh.*
L. *Dillon.*
L. *Cauffeild,*
L. *Anngier*
L. Pr of *Munster*
L. *Chief Justice*
S^r *Adam Loftus*
M^r of the *Wards*
L. *Chief Baron.*
S^r *Charles Coote.*

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## Ab Ignoto, *Of the Affairs of Spain, France and Italy, 5 Jan.* 1629.

SIR,

THough it be now full three months since I received any line from you, yet I dare not, nor will I for that respect discontinue my writing to you; and because no private businesse occurreth, I will be bold to advise a line or two concerning the publick affairs of *Italy*: *Casal* is still made good against the *Spanyard*, not by the Duke of *Mantua*, for he poor Prince was long since bankrupt, but by the succours of *France* and this Seignory, the former contributing monthly 40000 Dollers, the latter 20000, not only to maintaine the *Casaleschi*, but also to enable the Duke to stand fast against all other the

the *Spanyards* attempts; mean while we hear say boldly, that a league offensive and defensive against the *Spanyards* in *Italy* is concluded betweene the *French* and the *Venetians*, and that the *French* King hath already sent out two Armies, one under the Duke of *Guise* by sea, who they say is landed at *Nizza*; the other under the Marquess *de Cœure*, who is marching hitherward through the Valtoline; and though I doubt something these proceedings of the French, yet I am sure the Seignior doth daily give out new Commissions for the levying of Souldiers in that number, that now every one demands what strange enterprize this State hath in hand, and all jump in this, that it is against the *Spanyard*. The Pope is still adverse to the *Spanyard*, and inclines strongly to the good of *Italy*, animating this State to meete the *French* with a declaration, and the *French* to conclude a peace on any honorable terms with us, that they may the more safely follow their present designs, which is to suppresse the *Spanyards* in *Italy*. his Catholick Majesty hath lost a great deale of credit in these parts, by the losse of his Silver Fleete; and that he is in extreme want of mony, is collected here from the present state of some of his publick Ministers. *Ognat* his ordinary Embassadour at *Rome*, being lately recalled, in stead of going home into *Spaine*, hath retyred himselfe privately to *Monte Pincio*, being in such premunire that he is not able to accommodate himselfe with necessaries for his journy. And *Mounterei* who is to succeed him is arrived as far *Sienna*, but being foundred in his purse, is able to get no farther, meane while, living there in an Inne. Moreover the Merchants in *Rome*, are advised by their correspodents in *Spaine*, to be wary in letting either of them have monies; this is from a good hand in *Rome*. Sir *Kenelm Digby* hath lately been at *Delos*, where he hath laden great store of Marble, he is said to be in very good plight and Condition. I trouble you no more.

*Venice* 5. *January* 1629. *Stilo novo.*

Your faithful servant, *C. H.*

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## *The Lords of the Councel of* England, *to the Lords of the Councel in* Ireland, 31 *Jan.* 1629.

BY your Letter dated the ninth of *January* we understand how the seditious riot moved by the Friars and their adherents at *Dublin*, hath by your good order and resolution been happly suppreſt, and we doubt

doubt not but by this occasion, you will consider how much it concerneth the good Government of that Kingdome, to present in time the first growing of such evils; for where such people be permitted to swarm, they wil soon grow licentious, and endure no government but their own, which cannot otherwise be restored then by a due and seasonable execution of the Law, and of such directions as from time to time have been sent from his Majesty and this Board. Now it redoundeth much to the honour of his Majesty, that the world shall take notice of the ability and good service of his Ministers there, which in person he hath been pleased openly in Councel, and in most gracious manner to approve and commend; whereby you may be sufficiently encouraged to go on with like resolution and moderation, til the work be solely done, as well in City as in other places of your Kingdome, the carriage whereof we must leave to your good discretions, whose particular knowledge of the present state of things can guide you better, when and where to carry a soft or harder hand; only this we hold necessary to put you in mind, that you continue in that good agreement amongst your selves, for this and other services which your Letters do expresse; and for which we commend you much, that the good servants of the King and State may find encouragement equally from you all; and the ill affected may find no support or countenance from any; nor any other connivances used but by general advice, for avoiding of further evils, shall be allowed; and such Magistrates and Officers, if any shal be discovered that openly or underhand favour such disorders, or do not their duties in suppressing them, and committing the offenders, you shall doe well to take all fit and safe advantages, by the punishment or displacing of a few, to make the rest more cautious. This we write, not as misliking the faire course you have taken; but to expresse the concurrency of our Judgments with yours, and to assure you of our assistance in all such occasions wherein for your further proceedings, we have advised. And his Majesty requireth you accordingly to take order, first that the house wherein Seminary Friars appeared in their habits, and wherein the Reverend Arch-Bishop, and the Maior of *Dublin* received the first affront, be spedily demolished, and be the mark of terror to the resisters of Authority, and that the rest of the houses erected or imployed there, or elsewhere to the use of suspicious societies, be converted to houses of correction, and to set the people on work, or to other publick uses, for the advancement of Justice, good Arts or Trades; and further, that you use all fit meanes to discover the Founders, Benefactors and Maintainers of such Societies and Colledges, and certifie their

names, and that you find out the Lands, Leases, or Revenues applyed to their uses, and dispose thereof according to the Law, and that you certifie also the places and institutions of all such *Monasteries, Priories, Nunneries,* and other Religious houses, and the names of all such persons as have put themselves to be brothers and sisters therein, especially such as are of note, to the end such evil plants be not permitted to take root any where in that Kingdome, which we require you take care of. For the supply of Munition which you have reason to desire, we have taken effectuall order that you shall receive it with all convenient speed. And so &c.

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| *Lord Keeper.* | *Earl of Salisbury.* |
| *Lord Treasurer.* | *Earl of Kelly.* |
| *Lord President.* | *Lord Viscount Dorchester.* |
| *Lord Privy Seale.* | *Lord Newbergh.* |
| *L. high Chamberlain.* | *Mr. Vice Chamberlaine.* |
| *Earl of Suffolk.* | *Mr. Secretary Cooke.* |
| *Earl of Dorset.* | *Sir William Alexander.* |

## *The Lord* Faulkland's *Petition to the King.*

MOst humbly shewing, that I had a Sonne, until I lost him in your Highnesse displeasure, where I cannot seeke him because I have not will to find him there. Men say, there is a wilde young man now prisoner in the Fleete, for measuring his actions by his own private sense. But now that for the same your Majesties hand hath appeared in his punishment, he bowes and humbles himselfe before and to it: whether he be mine or not, I can discern by no light, but that of your Royal Clemency; for only in your forgivenesse can I owne him for mine. Forgivennesse is the glory of the supremest powers, and this the operation, that when it is extended in the greatest measure, it converts the greatest offenders into the greatest lovers, and so makes purchase of the heart, an especial privileg peculiar and due to Soveraigne Princes.

If now your Majesty will vouchsafe out of your owne benignity, to become a second nature, and restore that unto me which the first gave me, and vanity deprived me of, I shall keep my reckoning of the full number of my sons with comfort, and render the tribute of

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my moſt humble thankfulneſſe, elſe my weake old memory muſt forget one.

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## *The Duke of* Modena *to the Duke of* Savoy. *July* 30. 1629.

WHen I was deprived of my Miſtriſs the *Infanta Izabella*, ſo intimately beloved of me, I was ſuddenly poſſeſſed with a moſt ardent deſire of finding the meanes how to follow her into Paradiſe; and diſtruſting in regard of my weaknoſſe and life paſt, that I was not able to ſtand in thoſe dangers wherein that holy ſoule knew how to finde ſecurity and tranquillity, I reſolved to retire my ſelfe out of the tempeſtuous ſea of Government, and to ſhelter my ſelfe in the harbour of Religion, rejoycing to ſacrifice that unto God, which uſeth to be ſo highly eſteemed in the world; and knowing that truely to raigne, is to ſerve his Divine Majeſty, hitherto I deferred the execution of my purpoſe, becauſe being bound in this, to depend upon the Counſel of him that governed my ſoule, it ſeemed not expedient to him, that I ſhould retire my ſelfe while there was need of my aſſiſtance, both in reſpect of the age of the Duke my father (which was *Ceſar d'Eſte*, who dyed 1628) and of the nonage of the Prince my ſon (which is *Don Franciſco*, who now governeth.) Now that theſe impediments are removed, I goe moſt contentedly whither the Lord doth call me, namely, to take upon me the Capuchin Religion out of *Italy*; and I doe promiſe to find for my ſelf in one little Cel, that repoſe which all the greatneſſe of the world cannot give me. True it is, if I ſhould look back upon my life paſt, I ſhould find motives rather of terrour, then of comfort: But the mercy of God doth make me confident, and my having (for his love, and to performe his wil) renounced all that I could or had, I departed alſo moſt comforted, becauſe I leave the Prince my ſon ſo well qualified, that I may confidently expect an excellent iſſue of his Government, eſpecially if your Highneſs ſhall vouchſafe to direct him with your moſt prudent Counſels, and to ſhrowd him under your benigne protection, whereunto with reverent affection I doe recommend him together with the reſt of my ſonnes, eſpecially *Carlo Alexandro* (who is now living in your Highneſſe his Court) ſince that (as a man may ſay) they have no other Father then your Highneſſe, and are branches of your Princely houſe.

Unto your Highneſſe was in all reſpects due from me the accompt

which I have given you of my vocation; I beseech you to accept it, and to believe that I will alwaies be answerable to my dutie, and will pray for the spirituall and temporal increase of your Highnesse, whose hands I reverently kisse.

Your Highnes most humble and most obliged servant,

From *Salsuolo* the 30th of *July*, 1629.

*Alfonso d'Este.*

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## *Sir* Kenhelm Digby *to Sir* Edward Stradling.

*To my Honourable Friend Sir* Edward Esterling, *alias* Stradling, *aboard his ship.*

MY much honoured freind, I am too well acquainted with the weakneſſe of my abilities (that are farre unfit to undergoe such a task as I have in hand) to flatter my selfe with the hope that I may either informe your understanding, or do my selfe honour by what I am to write. But I am so desirous that you should be possessed with the true knowledge of what a bent will I have upon all occasions to doe you service, that obedience to your Command weigheth much more with me then the lawfulneſſe of my excuse can, to preserve me from giving you in writing such a testimony of my ignorance and erring fantasie, as I fear this will prove. Therefore without any more circumstances, I wil as near as I can, deliver to you in this paper, what the other day I discourſed to you upon the 22d Staffe of the ninth Canto in the second book of that matchleſſe Poem, *The Fairy Queen*, written by our *English Virgil*, whose words are these.

*The Frame thereof seem'd partly Circuler,*
*And part Trianguler: O work Divine!*
*These two the first and last proportions are,*
*Th'one imperfect, mortal, faminine;*
*Th'other immortal, perfect, masculine:*
*And twixt them both a quadrat was the base,*
*Proportion'd equally, by seven, and nine;*
*Nine was the Circle set in heavens place,*
*All which compacted, made a goodly Diapase.*

In this Staff the Author seemeth to me to proceed in a differing manner from what he doth elsewhere generally throngh his whole book,

booke, for in other places, although the beginning of this Allegorie or mistical sense may be obscure, yet in the processe of it he doth himselfe declare his owne conceptions in such sort, that they are obvious to any ordinary capacity: But in this, he seemeth only to glance at the profoundest notions that any science can deliver to us; and then of a suddaine, as it were recalling himself out of an Enthusiasme, he returneth to the gentle relation of the Allegorical history that he had begun, leaving his readers to wander up and down in much obscurity, and to rove with much danger of erring at his intention in these lines; which I conceive to be dictated by such a learned spirit, and so generally a knowing soule, that were there nothing else extant of *Spencers* writings, yet these few words would make me esteeme him no whit inferiour to the most famous men that ever have been in any age, as giving an evident testimony herein, that he was throughly versed in the Mathemeticall sciences, in Philosophy and Divinity, unto all which this might serve for an ample Theame to make large Commentaries upon; In my praises upon this subject I am confident, that the worth of the Author will preserve me from this censure, that my ignorance only begetteth this admiration, since he hath written nothing that is not admirable. But that it may appeare, I am guided somewhat by my owne Judgement, (although it be a very meane one) and not by implicit faith, and that I may in the best manner I can comply with what you may expect from me, I will not longer hold you in suspence, but begin immediately (though abruptly) with the declaration of what I conceive to be the true sense of this place; which I shall not goe about to adorne with any plausible discourses, or with authorities and examples drawne from others writings; (since my want both of conveniency and learning would make me fall very short herein) but it shall bee enough for me to intimate my conceptions, and to offer them up unto you in their own simple and naked forme, leaving to your better Judgment, the examination of the waight of them; and after perusal of them, beseeching you to reduce me, if you perceive me to erre. It is evident, that the Authors intention in this Canto, is to describe the body of man informed with a rational soule; and in profecution of that designe, he setteth down particularly the severall parts of the one, and the faculties of the other. But in this *Stanza* he comprehendeth the generall description of them both, as (being joyned together to frame a compleat man) they make one perfect compound, which will appear bettter by taking a survey of every severall Clause thereof by it selfe.

The

*The frame thereof seem'd partly circuler,*
*And part trianguler.* ——————

By these figures, I conceive that he meaneth the Mind and the Body of man, the first being by him compared to a Circle, and the latter to a Triangle; for as the Circle of all figures is the most perfect, and includeth the greatest space, and is every way full, and without angles, made by the continuation of one onely line; so mans soul is the noblest and most beautiful creature that God hath created, and by it we are capable of the greatest gifts which God can bestow, which are Grace, Glory, and Hypostatical union of the humane Nature to the divine: and she enjoyeth perfect freedom and liberty in all other actions, and is made without composition, (which no figures are that have angles; for they are caused by the coincidence of several lines) but of one pure substance, which was by God breathed into a body made of such compounded earth, as in the preceding Stanza the Author describeth; and this is the exact image of him that breathed it, representing him as fully as it is possible for any creature, which is infinitely distant from the Creator. For as God hath neither beginning nor ending, so neither of these can be found in a Circle; although that being made of the successive motion of a line, it must be supposed to have a beginning somewhere. God is compared to a circle whose center is every where, but whose Circumference no where; but mans soul is a circle whose circumference is limited by the true center of it, which is only God. For as a circumference doth in all parts alike respect that indivisible point, and as all lines drawn from the inner side of it, do make right angles with it when they meet therein; so all the interior actions of mans soul ought to have no other respective point to direct themselves unto but God: and as long as they make right angles, which is, that they keep the exact middle of vertue, and decline not to either of the sides where the contrary vices dwell, they cannot fail but meet in their Center.

By the Trianguler figure he very aptly designeth the Body: For as the Circle is of all other figures the most perfect, and most capacious; so the Triangle is the most imperfect, and includeth the least space: It is the first and lowest of all figures; for fewer then three right lines cannot comprehend and inclose a superficies; having but three angles, they are all acutes (if it be equilateral) and but equall to two right ones; in which respect all other regular figures consisting of more then three lines, do exceed it: May not these be resembled to the three great and compounded Elements in mans body, to wit, Salt, Sulphur, and Mercury? which mingled together, do make the natural heat,

and

and radicall moisture, the two qualities whereby man liveth: for the more lines that do go to comprehend a figure, the more and greater the angles are, and the neerer it cometh to the perfection of a Circle.

A Triangle is composed of several lines, and they of points which yet do not make a quantity by being contiguous one to another, but rather the motion of them doth describe the lines. In like manner the Body of man is compounded of the four Elements, which are made by the four primary qualities, not compounded of them (for they are but accidents;) but by their operation upon the first matter.

And as a Triangle hath three lines, so a solid body hath three dimensions, to wit, Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity: but of all bodies mans is of the lowest rank (as the Triangle is among figures) being composed of the Elements, which make it liable to alteration and corruption. In which consideration of the dignity of bodies, I divide them by a general division, into sublunary, which are the elementated ones; and into the ethereal (which are supposed to be of their own nature incorruptible:) and peradventure there are some other species of corporeal substances, which is not in this place to dispute.

—— —— *O work Divine!*

Certainly of all Gods works the noblest and the perfectest is man; and for whom indeed all others were done; for if we consider his soul, it is the very Image of God; if his body, it is adorned with the greatest beauty and excellent symmetry of parts of any created thing, whereby it witnesseth the perfection of the Architect, that of so drossie mould is able to make so excellent a Fabrick: if his operations, they are free; if his end, it is eternal glory; and if you take him altogether, man is a little world; an exact type of the great world, and of God himselfe.

But in all this me thinketh that the admirable worke is the joyning together of the two different, and indeed opposite substances in man to make one perfect compound; the soul and the body, which are of so contrary a nature, that their uniting seemeth to be a miracle: for how can one informe and work in the other, since there is no meane of operation (that we know) betweene a spiritual substance and a Corporal? yet we see that it doth. As hard it is to find the true proportion between a Circle and a Triangle, yet that there is a just proportion; and that they may be equal, *Archimides* hath left us an ingenious demonstration: but in reducing it to a Probleme, it faileth in this, That because the proportion betweene a crooked line and a straight one is not known, one must make use of a mechanical way of measuring the Peripherie of the one, to convert it into the side of the other.

Those

*These two the first and last proportions are.*

What I have already said concerning a Circle and a Triangle, doth sufficiently unfold what is meant in this verse; yet it will not be amisse to speak one word more hereof in this place, All things that have existence may be divided into three Classes; which are, either what is pure and simple in it self, or what hath a nature compounded of what is simple, or what hath a nature compounded of what is compounded. In continued quantity this may be exemplified by a point, a line, and a superficies, or body; and in numbers by an Unity, a Denary, and a Centenary. The first, which is onely pure and single, like an indivisible point, or an Unity, hath relation onely to the Divine Nature; that point then moving in a sphericall manner (which serveth to expres the perfections of Gods actions) describeth the circle of our souls, and of Angels, and of intellectual substances, which are of a pure and simple nature; but receiveth that from what is so in a perfecter manner, and that hath his from none else: like lines that are made from the flowing of points, or denaries that are composed of unities, beyond both which there is nothing.

In the last place bodies are to be ranked, which are composed of the Elements, and they likewise suffer composition, and may very well be compared to the lowest of figures which are composed of lines, that owe their being to points (and such are Triangles); or to Centenaries, that are composed of Denaries, and they of Unites: but if wee will compare these together by proportion, God must be left out, since there is an infinite distance between the simplicity and perfection of his nature, and the composition and imperfection of all created substances, as there is between an indivisible point and a continuate quantity; or between a simple unity, and compounded number: so that onely the other two kindes of substances do enter into this consideration, and of them I have already proved, that mans soule is of the one the noblest, being dignified by Hypostaticall union above all other intellectual substances, and his elementated body of the other, the most low and corruptible; whereby it is evident, that these two are the first and last proportions both in respect of their owne figure, and of what they expresse.

*The one imperfect, mortal, faminine,*
*Th'other immortal, perfect, masculine.*

Mans body hath all the properties of imperfect matter, it is but the patient, of it self alone it can doe nothing, it is lyable to corruption and dissolution if it once be deprived of the forme, which actuateth it selfe, and is incorruptible and immortal.

And

And as the feminine ſex is imperfect, and receiveth perfection from the maſculine, ſo doth the body from the ſoul, which to it is in lieu of a Male; and as in corporall generations the Female doth afford but groſſe and paſſive matter, unto which the Male giveth active heat and prolificall vertue; ſo in ſpirituall generations, (which are the operations of the Mind) the body adminiſtreth only the Organs, which if they were not imployed by the Soul, would of themſelves ſerve to nothing. And as there is a mutuall appetence between the male and the female, between matter and form, ſo there is between the body and ſoul of a man; but what ligament they have, that our Author defineth not; (and peradventure Reaſon is not able to attaine unto it) yet he telleth us what is the Foundation that this Machine reſteth upon, and what keepeth the Parts together, in theſe words:

*And 'twixt them both a Quadrat was the baſe.*

By which Quadrat, I conceive, that he meaneth the four principall humours in mans body, to wit, Choler, Blood, Flegme and Melancholy; which if they be diſtempered and unfitly mingled, the diſſolution of the whole doth enſue; like to a building, which falleth to ruine if the Foundation or Baſe of it be unſound or diſordered: and in ſome of theſe the vitall ſpirits are contained and preſerved, which the other do keep in a convenient temper; and as long as they do ſo, the ſoul and the body dwell together like good friends: So that theſe four are the Baſe of the conjunction of the other two; both which hee ſaith, are

*Proportion'd equally by Seven and Nine.*

In which words, I underſtand, that hee meaneth the influences of the ſuperior ſubſtances, which govern the inferiour into theſe two differing parts of man, to wit, of the Stars (the moſt powerfull of which are the ſeven Planets) into his body; and of the Angels (which are divided into nine Hierarchies or Orders) into the ſoul, which in his Aſtrophel he ſaith, is

*By Soveraign choice from the Heavenly Quires ſelect,*
*And lineally deriv'd from Angels race.*

And as much as the one do govern the body, ſo much the other do the minde: wherein it is to be conſidered, that ſome are of opinion, how at the inſtant of the conception of a child, or rather, more effectually at the inſtant of his birth, the conceived Sperme, or the tender body doth receive ſuch influence of the heavens as then reigneth over that place where the conception or birth is made; and all the Starrs and virtuall places of the Celeſtiall Orbs

participating of the qualities of the seven planets; according to the which they are distributed into so many Classes, or the compounds of them, it cometh to passe that according to the variety of the several aspects of the one and of the other, there are various inclinations and qualities in mens bodies, but all reduced to seven general heads, and the Compounds of them; which being to be varied innumerable waies, causeth as many different effects, yet the influence of some one planet continually predominating: but when the matter in the womans womb is capable of a soule to informe it, then God sendeth one from heaven into it.

——— *Eternal God.*
*In Paradise whilome did plant this flower,*
*Whence he it fetcht out of her native place,*
*And did in flock of earthly flesh enrace.*

And this opinion the Author expresseth himself more plainely to be of, in another work, where he saith,

*There Shee beholds with high aspiring thought,*
*The Cradle of her owne Creation,*
*Amongst the seats of Angels, heavenly wrought.*

Which whether it hath been created ever since the beginning of the world, and reserved in some fit place until due time, or be created upon the Emergent, occasion no man can tell; but certaine it is, that it is immortal, according to that I said when I spake of the Circle, which hath no ending, and an uncertaine beginning.

The messengers to convey which soule into the body, are the Intelligences that move the Orbs of heaven, who according to their several natures do communicate unto it several proprieties, and they who are governors of those Stars that have at that instant, the superiority in the Planetary aspects; whereby it cometh to passe that in all inclinations, there is much affinity betweene the soule and the body, being that the like is between the Intelligences and the Stars, both which communicate their vertues to each of them. And these Angels being, as I said before, of nine severall Hierarchies, there are so many principal differences in humane souls, which doe participate most of their proprieties with whom in their descent they make longest stay, and that had most active power to work upon them, and accompanied them with a peculiar *Genius*; which is according to their several governments like the same kind of water that running through various conduits, wherein several aromatical and odoriferous things are laid, doth acquire several kinds of taste and smells; for it is supposed,

sed, that in their first Creation all soules are alike, and that their differing proprieteis arrive unto them afterwards, when they passe through the spheers of the governing Intelligences; so that by such their influence it may truly be said,

*Nine Was the Circle set in heavens place.*

Which verse by assigning his office to the nine, and the proper place of the Circle, doth give much light to what is said before.

And for further confirmation that this is he Authors opinion, read attentively the sixth Canto of the third booke, where most learnedly and at large, he delivereth the Tenets of this Philosophy; and of that, I recommend to you to take particular notice of the second, and thirty second Stanzaes, and also of the last staffe of his *Epithalamium*; and surveying his workes, you shall find him a constant disciple of *Plato's* School.

*All which compacted, made a goodly Diapase.*

In nature there is not to be found a more complete and more excellent concordance of all parts, then that which is betweene the compaction and uniting together of the body and soul of man, both which although they consist of many and most differing faculties and parts, yet when they keepe due time with one another, do altogether make the most perfect harmony that can be imagined; and as the nature of sounds, (that consist of friendly consonants and accords) is to mingle with one another, and to slide into the eare with much sweetnesse, where by their unity they last a long time, and delight it; whereas on the contrary side, discords do continually jar, and fight together, and wil not mingle with one another, but all of them striving to have the victorie, their reluctation and disorder giveth a soone end to their sounds, which strike the eare in a harsh and offensive manner, and they die in the very beginning of their conflict. In like sort, when a mans actions are regular, and that being directed towards God, they become like the lines of a Circle which all meet in the Center, then his musick is excellent and compleat, and all together are the Authors of that blessed harmony which maketh him happy in the glorious vision of Gods perfections, wherein the mind is filled with high knowledges and most pleasing contemplations, and the senses are as it were drowned with eternal delight; and nothing can interrupt this joy, this happinesse which is an everlasting Diapase: whereas on the contrary part, if a mans actions be disorderly and consisting; of discord, which is when the sensitive part rebelleth and wrastleth with the rational, and striveth to oppresse it, then this Musick is spoiled and instead of eternal life, pleasure, and joy, it causeth perpetuall

death, horrour, paine, and misery, which unfortunate estate the Poet describeth elsewhere, as in the conclusion of this staffe he intimateth. The other happy one, which is the never failing reward of such an obedient body, and etherial and vertuous mind, as he maketh to be the seat of the bright Virgin *Alma*, mans worthyest inhabitant, Reason; her I feele to speak within me, and to chide me for my bold attempt, warning me to stray no further: for what I have said, (considering how weakly it is said) your Commandment is all that I can pretend in excuse; but since my desire to obey may as wel be seene in a few lines, as in a large discourse, it were indiscretion in me to trouble you with more words, and to discover unto you more of my ignorance. I wil only beg pardon of you for this blotted and interlyned paper, whose contents are so meane, that it cannot deserve the pains of a transcription, which if you make difficultie to grant unto it for my sake, let it obtaine it for having beene yours, and now returning againe to you, as also doth the booke that containeth my text which yesterday you sent me, to fit this part of it with a Comment: which peradventure I might have performed better, if either I had afforded my selfe more time, or had had the convenience of some other books apt to quicken my invention, to whom I might have been beholding, for enlarging my understanding in some things that are treated here, although the application should stil have been my own; with these two helps, peradventure I might have dived farther into the Authors intention, the depth of which cannot be founded by any that is lesse learned then he was. But I perswade my selfe very strongly, that in what I have said, there is nothing contradictorie to it; and that an intelligent and well read man, proceeding upon my grounds, might compose a worthy and true Commentary upon this Theame; upon which, I wonder how I stumbled, considering how many learned men have failed in the interpreting of it, and have all approved my opinion at the first hearing it: but it was fortune that made me to light upon it, when first this Stanza was read unto me for an undissoluble riddle: and the same discourse that I made upon it, the first halfe quarter of an houre that I saw it, I send it you here, without having reduced it to any better forme, or added any thing at all unto it; which I beseech you receive benignely, as coming from

Your Most affectionate Friend and humble Servant,

*Kenhelm Digby.*

---

*Master*

## *Maſter Gargrave to the Lord Davers.*

MY very good Lord, I have heretofore many times both ſent and written to you touching the inſupportable burden of wrong which hath many years laine upon my ſhoulders, but you were not pleaſed to returne me any anſwer for my ſatisfaction therein : my opinion at the firſt, was, that it was meerly the reſpect of ſome, whom you would not, or might not offend, that you ſuffered your name to be uſed by others to wound and afflict me in my eſtate: to which ſo fair an opinion, I was induced partly by ancient Judgment of your honourable diſpoſition, partly and much rather by the privity of my heart, which ever conſtantly affected a good correſpondency with you every way. But ſince now this oppreſſion which I ſuffer, hath had its continuance ſo many years without relaxation, in which I ſmart beyond all example, and the admiration of the world hath concurred with my ſenſe of ſo great a bitterneſſe from ſo neere Allies; I cannot but to my griefe and wonder obſerve your too much either conſent or connivency to theſe my harms, which before I have not eaſily ſuffered my thoughts to admit; wherein if I have not miſtaken your Lordſhips intereſt, I have yet conceived hope, that although you had in the beginning a juſt ground to make me feele the weight of your diſpleaſure and alienation from me, yet that the ſufferance of ſo many years, and ſuch a ſufferance under pretence of Juſtice, as can hardly be parallell'd, might yet at the laſt, have ſatiated a very deeply intended revenge, much more ſatisfied a moderate mind poſſeſſed with Honour or Religion, as I conceive your Lordſhips to be. Herein, after a various agitation in my ſelfe, I am enforced to honour the wonderful providence of God, who hath pleaſed to convert the affinity which I affected with your Noble houſe, for my comfort and aſſiſtance, to my ruine; and that in the boſome of our neereſt and deareſt friendſhip, ſhould breed ſo inteſtine a hatred, as ſhould tend to the overthrow of my credit, wealth, lands, liberty, houſe, wife, and children, and all thoſe comforts which ſhould either ſupport or ſweeten the life of man.

Wherefore I have adventured after ſo long ſilence, to minde your Lordſhip of this my unfortunate eſtate, wherein I rather die then live, whereunto I have been ſo long ſince precipitated by your Lordſhips countenance, as I hope, pretended only by the inſtruments of my miſchiefe to proceede from you; that if now your Lordſhip ſhall think it enough that I have ſo many years, ſo many waies endured

the

the croſſes of ſo high a nature, and can be induced to affect a reparation, or at leaſt a determination of thoſe injuries which undeſervedly have been heaped upon me, I may yet at length conclude this Tragedy of my life paſt with ſome comfortable fruit of that love and kindneſſe which at the firſt I aimed at in ſeeking your Lordſhips Alliance, and which I endeavoured to deſerve for the continuance, and which after ſo long intermiſſion, I ſhall think my ſelf happy to enjoy, if ſo be your Lordſhip ſhall out of your charitable conſideration think my motion to concur with my deſire that I may not be inforced to advance my complaint further, which I wiſh may be prevented by this my Expoſtulation, ſpringing from the ſenſe of ſo great and intolerable a miſery wherein I languiſh every day.

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## *A Declaration of* Ferdinand *Infanta of Spain.* 5 July, 1636.

*Unto all thoſe to whom this preſent Writing ſhall come, greeting.*

*France* having contrary to reaſon and juſtice moved and maintained War in the States of the Emperor, and of my Lord the King, given extraordinary Succours both of men and money, to their rebellious ſubjects; procured the Swedes to invade the Empire, received and bought of them the Towns of Alſatia, and other hereditary Countries of our moſt Royall Houſe, not ſparing the Catholick League it ſelf, which had taken Arms for no other end but for the good of Religion. And it being notorious, that the ſame *France*, (after all theſe publick and manifeſt contraventions to the Treaties of Peace) hath finally proceeded to a breach thereof: whereas we rather had cauſe to denounce the War, in that ſhe hath ſent her Armies to over-run the Low Countries, the Dutchie of *Millain*, and other Feoffs of the Empire in *Italy*, and now lately the Country of *Burgundy*; contrary to the Lawes of Neutrality, contrary to the Publick Faith, and contrary to the expreſſe promiſes of the Prince of *Conde*: Diſguiſing in the mean time, theſe attempts and breaches of Faith before all Chriſtendome, with certain weak pretexts and falſe ſurmiſes, contained in divers Declarations, approved in the Parliament of *France*; and accompanying all theſe unjuſt proceedings with ſundry Inſolencies, Calumnies and Contempts of ſacred perſons. And having alſo obſerved, that this ſo long continence of ours at ſo manifold injuries hath ſerved to no other purpoſe, but to make our enemies more audacious and inſolent, and that the compaſſion we have had of *France* hath drawn on the ruine of thoſe whom

whom God had put under the obedience of their Majesties: For these considerations, according to the power which we have received from his Imperiall Majestie, we have commanded our Armies to enter into *France*, with no other purpose then to oblige the King of *France* to come to a good & secure Peace, for removing those impediments, which may hinder this so great a good. And for as much as it principally concerneth *France* to give end to these disorders, we are willing to believe that all the Estates of that Kingdome will contribute not only their remonstrances, but also if need be, their forces to dispose their King to Chastise those who have been the Authors of all these Warrs, which these seven or eight years past have beene in Christendome; and who after they have provoked and assayled all their neighbours, have brought upon France all those evils which she doth now suffer, and draw on her those other which do now threaten her. And although we are well informed of the weakenesse and devisions, into which these great disorders and evil counsels have cast her; yet we declare, that the intentions of their Mastjesties, are not to serve themselves of this occasion to ruine her, or to draw from thence any other profit, then by that means to work a Peace in Christendom, which may be stable and permanent.

For these reasons, and withal to shew what Estimation their Majesties do make of the prayers of the Queene Mother of the most Christian King, wee doe give to understand, that we wil protect and treat as friends all those of the *French* Nation, who either joyntly or severally shall second these our good designes; and have given Order that Neutrality shal be held with those of the Nobility, and with the Townes which shal desire it, and which shal refuse to assist those who shal oppose the good of Christendome, and their own safety; against whom shall be used all manner of hostility, without giving quarter to their persons, or sparing either their houses or goods. And our further wil is, that all men take notice that it is the resolution of their Majesties not to lay down Arms, til the Queene Mother of the most Christian King be satisfied and contented, til the Princes, unjustly driven out of their estates, be restored; & til they see the assurances of peace more certain then to be disturbed by him who hath violated the treaties of *Ratisbone*, & others made before, and sithence he hath had the managing of the affairs of *France*. Neither do we pretend to draw any other advantage from the good successe, which it shal please God to give unto our just prosecutions, then to preserve & augment the Catholick Religion, to pacifie *Europe*, to relieve the oppressed, and to restore to every one that which of right belongeth unto him.

*Given at* Ments, *the fifth of* July. 1636.

FINIS.

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